Yorke. b. 10

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

OF

FRANCE.

IN WHICH ARE RELATED,

The moſt remarkable TRANSACTIONS that happened during the REIGNS of

FRANCIS the Second,
CHARLES the Ninth,
HENRY the Third,

And,
HENRY the Fourth, ſurnamed the GREAT.

A NEW TRANSLATION from the ITALIAN of

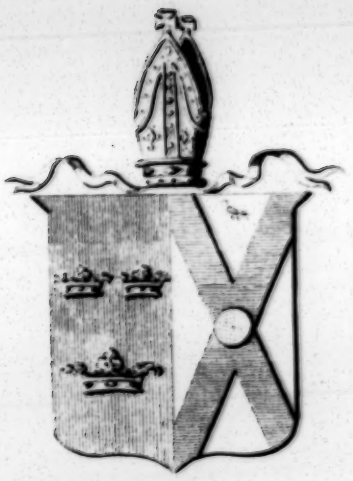
HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

By ELLIS FARNEWORTH, M. A.

VOLUME I.

Bellorum civilium hi ſemper exitus ſunt, ut non ea ſolum fiant quæ velit victor, ſed etiam ut iis mos gerendus ſit quibus adjutoribus ſit parta victoria.——CICERO Epiſt. ad familiares, Lib. xii. 18.

LONDON,
Printed for D. BROWNE without *Temple-Bar*, A. MILLAR in the *Strand*, J. WHISTON and B. WHITE in *Fleet-Street*, R. and J. DODSLEY in *Pall-mall*, and W. SANDBY in *Fleet-Street*.
MDCCLVIII.



SUCCESSORIBUS SUIS
IN
SEDE ELIENSI
LEGAVIT
PRÆSUL MUNIFICUS
HON. IACOBUS YORKE
MDCCCVIII.

53 — 5?

TO

HIS GRACE the DUKE of

DEVONSHIRE,

THIS VOLUME

OF

DAVILA,

Is humbly inſcribed,

by his GRACE's

moſt obedient Servant,

ELLIS FARNEWORTH.

THE

PREFACE.

LORD *Bolingbroke*, ſpeaking of *Davila* in his fifth Letter concerning the ſtudy of Hiſtory, ſays, " *Davila*, a noble Hiſtorian ſurely, and one whom I ſhould not ſcruple to confeſs equal to *Livy* in *many* reſpects, as I ſhould not ſcruple to prefer his Countryman *Guicciardini* to *Thucydides* in *every* reſpect, *Davila*, I ſay, was accuſed from the firſt publication of his hiſtory, or, at leaſt was ſuſpected, of too much refinement and ſubtilty in developing the ſecret motives of actions, in laying the cauſes of events too deep, and deducing them often through a ſeries of progreſſion too complicated, and too artifully wrought. But yet, the ſuſpicious perſon, who ſhould reject this Hiſtorian upon ſuch general inducements as theſe, would have no grace to oppoſe his ſuſpicions to the authority of the firſt Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had been an actor, and a principal actor, too, in many of the ſcenes that *Davila* recites:——*Girard*, Secretary to this Duke, and no contemptible Biographer, relates that this Hiſtory came down to the place where the old-man reſided in *Gaſcony*, a little before his death; that he read it to him; that the Duke confirmed the truth of the narrations in it, and ſeemed only ſurpriſed by what means the Author could be ſo well informed of the moſt ſecret counſels, and meaſures of thoſe times."

There are, indeed, ſome accounts in the following Hiſtory which do not altogether agree with the relations of the ſame events that are publiſhed by others: and yet, it would be hard to ſay they are not true for that reaſon, becauſe it is much to be queſtioned whether the latter had better grounds and informations to go upon than this Author. Certainly he may be ſuppoſed to have had, at leaſt, equal opportunities with them of knowing the truth; as he ſays, in the beginning of the firſt book, " That he had

been many years converſant in the Cabinets of Princes, and always preſent in the firſt ranks of battle; that he had carefully informed himſelf of every circumſtance, which he had not ſeen and known himſelf, from thoſe very perſons who then managed the affairs of ſtate; and that he had a perfect and particular knowledge of the tranſactions he was going to relate;" the truth of which is likewiſe confirmed by many other authentick teſtimonies, in the *Memorie iſtoriche della familia e vita di E. C. Davila*, prefixed to the laſt *Italian* edition of this Hiſtory printed at *London*, in 1755. And from the vein of candour and impartiality that ſo viſibly runs through the whole of his Hiſtory, one cannot think him guilty of making any wilfull miſrepreſentations, though ſome accuſe him of ſpeaking too favourably of his Patroneſs *Catherine De' Medici*, Queen-Dowager of *France*. But there is ſmall reaſon for this charge: for any one will ſee that, if he has done juſtice to her virtues, he has not ſpared her imperfections. It is certain he wrote his Hiſtory long after he had left *France*, without any thoughts of ever returning thither, and at a time when party connections were entirely diſſolved, and the hopes of Court favour could not be ſaid to corrupt him. " I thought, ſays he, p. 2. vol. i. I could not chuſe a nobler ſubject, or more uſeful ſtudy to employ myſelf; *now I am arrived at a maturer age*, &c." And preſently after, he declares himſelf " free from thoſe affections that often bias the pen of an Hiſtorian," as if he had then foreſeen the cavils that would afterwards be raiſed againſt him.——For the geographical errors, and miſtakes in proper names, and the profeſſions of men which he ſometimes falls into, allowance ought to be made, when we conſider he was a foreigner, and not thoroughly acquainted with the kingdom of *France*, though he took much pains to be ſo. Some of thoſe errors I have ventured to correct from maps, and the information of others, as when he ſays *Tholouſe* is in *Gaſcony*, *Tours* in *Poictou*, *&c.* And ſome, I ſuppoſe, may ſtill remain uncorrected for the ſame reaſon that firſt occaſioned them.

Theſe, and a certain peculiarity of ſtyle, are the chief objections to this admirable Hiſtorian; and yet they are in a great meaſure loſt amidſt the prodigious applauſe with which he has been received all over *Europe*. The materials for ſo great an undertaking he collected with wonderful diligence and accuracy during his long ſtay in *France*,

as

as hath been already ſaid. There he made it his buſineſs to get acquainted with men of eminence and learning, amongſt whom were *Arnaud D'Oſſat*, and the Sieur *De Perron*, afterwards Cardinals: the Preſident *Briſſon*, *Scevole De St. Martha*, Treaſurer of *France*, Father *Luſignano*, not long after Biſhop of *Limiſſo* in *Cyprus*, *Michel De Montaigne*, and many others. When he returned into *Italy* after the Civil Wars in *France* were at an end, though he was chiefly employed again as a ſoldier there for above thirty-years in the ſervice of the *Venetians*, he yet had more leiſure to proſecute his ſtudies, of which, he never loſt ſight. Here he ſeems likewiſe to have cultivated the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the moſt eminent men in all profeſſions. The Senator *Audrea Moroſini* compliments him in one of his epiſtles, as *Marti ac Minervæ æque carum:* and *Luigi Lollini*, Biſhop of *Belluno*, calls him, *armatæ non magis quam literatæ Palladis delicium.* He was exceedingly eſteemed by many of the Senators, men of great dignity and learning.

Amongſt the reſt of his friends was *Ippolito Obizzi*, Publick Profeſſor of Phyſick at *Belluno*, betwixt whom and the Author, there is ſtill extant a folio volume of *Latin* letters in manuſcript, divided into twelve books, all which are rather ſo many diſſertations upon philoſophical, medical, and other learned ſubjects, than familiar epiſtles.

The ſtyle of *Davila* in that language, as far as appears from theſe letters, is ſomething rugged and obſcure, nor is he blameleſs on that account in his *Italian*, of which he ſeems ſenſible himſelf, and makes an apology for it at the very entrance of his Hiſtory, where he ſays, " he does not pretend to elegance."

He has been compared by Lord *Bolingbroke* to *Livy* in ſome reſpects, as above-mentioned, and by others, as *Apoſtolo Zeno* ſays, to *Guicciardini*; as *Guicciardini* is preferred in every reſpect by that nobleman to *Thucydides*, though more out of an affectation of ſingularity, as * *Giuſeppi Baretti* thinks, than for any other reaſon. But though he may juſtly be ſaid to equal *Guicciardini* in the dignity of his ſubject, he certainly falls far ſhort of him in the purity of his language.

He ſeems, ſays *Zeno*, to have copied the grave and ſenatorial manner of *Paolo Paruta*, a noble *Venetian* Hiſtorian, and to have had as free acceſs to the Cabinets of Kings, as the latter had to the ſecret Councils

* Author of *the Italian Library*, a uſeful work, lately publiſhed.

of the Senate. There are ſome however, who cenſure him as affecting to have penetrated too deep into the hearts of Princes, and even *Monſeigneur De Fenelon*, Archbiſhop of *Cambray* ſays, * " *I cannot help reading* Davila *with pleaſure, though he ſpeaks as if he had been preſent at the moſt ſecret Councils:*" And adds, " *One man alone could never have had the confidence of all parties, nor have known the bottom of every thing; and an Hiſtorian that pretends to inform me of things, which I am ſenſible he cannot have known himſelf, makes me ſuſpect the truth even of thoſe things, which he really might know.*" An objection which, taken in its full force, equally affects the credit of every Hiſtorian; but of thoſe more particularly, who undertake to relate tranſactions that happened long before their own times, and in which they had no part themſelves. But this was not the caſe of *Davila*, as he himſelf affirms: and there are ſo many vouchers of great learning, integrity, and knowledge in affairs, for the truth and genuineneſs of his memoirs, that there is no room to doubt of them. Their teſtimonies are too copious to be recited in the narrow bounds of a Preface, but may be ſeen at length in the *Memorie iſtoriche* before mentioned: ſo that the ſcruples of *Monſeigneur De Fenelon*, though a perſonage indeed every way reſpectable and of very great authority, ought in reaſon to give way to them.

It is not to be wondered that the Author did not finiſh this Hiſtory, till above thirty-years after his return into *Italy*, but rather ſeems ſtrange that he ever had time to finiſh it at all, as he was continually employed either in the army or in ſome government, all that ſpace. He put the laſt hand to it at *Breſcia*, from whence he dedicates it to the Senator *Molino*, *Feb.* 1, 1630, of whom he requeſted the favour to provide him with a Printer. It appears hardly credible, though it is poſitively affirmed by the Abbé *Papadopoli*, who had it from the mouth of *Scipio Gonnemi*, both of them men of undoubted veracity, that *Davila* offered the publication of his Hiſtory, firſt to one Bookſeller, and then to another, but that it was rejected by them all: till at laſt one undertook it, after long importunity and much againſt his will, proteſting that he did it only becauſe his preſs at that time ſtood ſtill, and that if any other buſineſs more likely to ſucceed, ſhould happen in the mean-time, he would immediately abandon a work that would coſt him ſo much trouble and

* Reflexions ſur la Grammair, *&c.* p. 137.

expence

expence, and from which he expected little or no profit at all. And yet, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, it was bought up with ſuch greedineſs, that all the copies were diſpoſed of in leſs than a week: and within the ſpace of a year after, ſuch a number of them is ſaid to have been ſold, as ſeems incredible. So many editions were afterwards likewiſe printed, not only in *Italy*, but in other parts, that all *Europe* was preſently filled with them. The principal are the firſt, printed at *Venice*, 1630: the ſecond in 1634: the third in 1638, by *Paolo Baglioni*, who added large and uſeful notes, and ſays in the Title-page to it, *corrected by the Author himſelf*; though it is certain the Author died ſeven-years before: but, perhaps he meant, *corrected from the Author's own manuſcript*.

The firſt impreſſion on this ſide the *Alps* was at *Lyons* in 1641: and the ſecond, in two volumes, folio, 1644, at the Royal-Printing-Houſe in the *Louvre* at *Paris*, which is the moſt coſtly and valuable of all others, worthy of the magnificence of *Lewis* XIII, and the merit of the Author. It is ſtill looked upon as a treaſure in the collections of the curious. A third was publiſhed at *Rohan*, in folio, 1646. But to enumerate the other editions afterwards printed at *Venice*, *Bologna*, and other places, would be an endleſs labour. The laſt in two volumes, quarto, was at *London*, 1755, which I have chiefly made uſe of, and is commended by the aforementioned Signior *Baretti*.

The tranſlations of this Hiſtory into ſo many different languages, are likewiſe another proof of its excellence. The firſt verſion into *French* was by *I. Baudoin*, a native of *France*, in two volumes folio, 1642, for which Cardinal *Richlieu*, then Prime Miniſter of that kingdom, promiſed him a penſion of 12,000 Crowns, but died in the *December* following, before he had performed it.

Father *Baſilio Varen De Soto* publiſhed a good tranſlation of it in *Spaniſh* at *Madrid* in folio, 1651, and added five books to it, which continue the Hiſtory down to the year 1630: It was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Sir *Charles Cotterel* and *William Ayleſbury*, Eſq; in one folio volume, 1647, and publiſhed again in 1678, without any alteration. Some years ago it was ſaid that a *Latin* tranſlation (in which language the Author firſt intended to have wrote it) was preparing for the preſs at *Rome*, by the Abbè *Cornazzani*, and it has ſince appeared in folio. The publiſher of the ſecond edition in *Engliſh*, 1678, ſays, in his advertiſement to the Reader, " That King *Charles* the Firſt, by whoſe command this tranſlation

tion was continued and finiſhed (though not begun) at *Oxford*, read it there with ſuch eagerneſs, that no diligence could write it out fair ſo faſt as he daily called for it, wiſhing he had had it ſooner, out of a belief that being forewarned thereby, he might have prevented many of thoſe miſchiefs we then groaned under, and which the grand contrivers had drawn from this original, as ſpiders do poiſon from the moſt wholeſome plants. The truth is, their ſwords had already tranſcribed it in *Engliſh* blood, before this pen had done it: and it would not be hard to name the very perſons by whom many of the ſame parts were acted over again in the Civil Wars of *England*, &c. But I ſhall only add, continues he, that finding this book ſtill much ſought for ſince the former impreſſion has been ſold off, I obtained a right of the Copy from Sir *Charles Cotterel* (whoſe work it was, all but ſome pieces here and there in the four firſt books) with leave to reprint it, *&c.*

The ſame reaſon has induced me, at the deſire of ſome friends, to attempt a new tranſlation. For the old one is not only very ſcarce but obſolete, full of palpable miſtakes, and in many places not even intelligible. How I have ſucceeded, the Reader muſt be left to judge. This I know, that it has been no eaſy taſk. For notwithſtanding *Davila's* excellencies in all other reſpects, it cannot be denied that his ſtyle is very abſtruſe, his periods long and embarraſſed with parentheſis's, which often include others, like *wheels within wheels*, and perplex, not to ſay, obſcure the ſenſe. His connections, even in the ſame period, are ſtiff and hard to be bound together, and the arrangement of his words, ſo inverted, that it has been no ſmall difficulty to put them into a clearer order, and form them into any ſort of ſtyle: in which, perhaps, I may be thought to have made too free a uſe of participles, eſpecially thoſe of the auxiliary verbs, and other tacks, which yet, as any one will ſoon find upon tryal, are ſo abſolutely neceſſary that they cannot be diſpenſed with in ſuch long and embarraſſed periods, though a delicate ear may poſſibly be offended at them. Where the meaning has been doubtfull, I have conſulted the French verſion by Monſieur Baudoin, but generally with very little ſatisfaction. I remember, when I publiſhed the life of Pope Sixtus V, I was cenſured for being too diffuſe: and now I have endeavoured to keep as near the letter as poſſible, without being abſolutely a ſervile copier, very likely I may be thought to have fallen into the other extreme, and ſeem too literal. There is a proper mean, to be ſure,

in tranſlation, but it is hard to hit upon it. However as I have given the beſt I was able under the aforementioned difficulties, I hope it will be taken in good part, and ſhall make no further apology for this performance at preſent, except in what relates to the *Errata*, ſome of which are owing to my great diſtance from the preſs, and others, I own, to inadvertency: for, after a maturer reviſion, when the ſheets came down to me, I thought it neceſſary to alter ſome few paſſages. But as the moſt material of them are collected into a table to each volume, the Reader is deſired to have recourſe thither whenever the ſenſe ſeems broken or deficient, where it is hoped he will generally find it reſtored: and to criticiſe with candour upon errors,

quos aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

I had almoſt forgot to add, that as I am not a military man, I have now and then been at a loſs in ſome terms peculiar to that profeſſion. The title, rank, and quality of ſome officers in thoſe times, likewiſe, ſeem to have been very different from what they are at preſent. But, as I ſaid before, I am no ſoldier, and do not pretend to be a judge of ſuch matters, which I therefore muſt leave to the deciſion of thoſe that are. The Reader will find many other things more worthy of his attention in a Hiſtory, which, as the Author himſelf truly ſays in the firſt lines of it, "abounds with great actions and noble enterprizes, that may ſerve as excellent leſſons to ſuch as maturely conſider them."

To ſay any thing concerning the uſe of Hiſtory in general, or of that of Civil Wars in particular, would open too large a field and is altogether needleſs here, as that ſubject has already been ſufficiently handled in numberleſs prefaces and diſſertations by much abler pens: nor is it my deſign to anticipate the remarks that will naturally occur to every one in reading this, but to leave him to his own reflexions, that ſo, by carefully comparing the preſent with paſt times, he may be able to form a probable conjecture of thoſe that are yet to come.

Some

Some ANECDOTES *relating to the Family and Life of the Author, chiefly from the* ITALIAN *of* APOSTOLO ZENO.

THE family of *Davila*, or *D'Avila*, ſeems to have taken its name from *Avila*, a city in *Spain*, where the Author's Anceſtors, who were of very ancient Nobility, long reſided in great ſplendor. From thence one of them paſſed into *Cyprus*, which at that time was in the hands of the *Venetians*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his honour, fidelity, and the many ſignal ſervices he did the republick there, in ſuch a manner, that, beſides other penſions and rewards, he was made General of the Infantry, and High-Conſtable of the kingdom, which laſt office became hereditary in his family, and continued in it till the *Turks* conquered that iſland, in the year, 1570.

After this event, *Antonio Davila*, then High-Conſtable, having loſt all his poſſeſſions there, returned to his relations in *Spain*, with his wife, ſix ſons, and three daughters: of whom, *Franciſco* his eldeſt, and *Luigi* his third ſon, *Margherita* his eldeſt, and *Cornelia* his ſecond daughter, went with him into *France*, where *Franciſco* was taken into the ſervice of *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, ſucceſſor to his brother *Charles* the Ninth, but ſoon after returned into *Italy*; *Luigi*, often mentioned in the courſe of this Hiſtory, entered into that of *Catherine De' Medici*, Queen Dowager of *France*; *Cornelia* was appointed Maid of Honour to *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, wife to *Charles* the Ninth, after whoſe death ſhe returned with her father into *Italy* in 1583, and was married there. The reſt were otherwiſe reputably provided for.

When he had thus ſettled his family affairs, he went to *Rome*, and from thence to *Padua*, whither he had ſent his wife. At *Piove Di Sacco*, a town in the neighbourhood of this place, his youngeſt ſon *Henrico* was born in 1576, and not in *Cyprus* as ſeveral have wrote, and amongſt the reſt, the uncertain Author of the following lines upon his death, in *Giovanni Imperiali's* works,

Me puerum *Cyprus alma*, *virum me Gallia vidit*,
Otia deinde ſeni, *mi dedit Italia*;

into

into which error, perhaps, they were led by his calling himſelf a *Cypriot* in ſome of his other writings; as born of parents that were ſo. This does not ſeem a matter of any very great moment, indeed: but, as it has been no unuſual thing for different places to claim the honour of giving birth to great and eminent men, *Apoſtolo Zeno* has taken ſome pains to aſcertain that point, and ſays he had in his hands a certificate of the Author's Baptiſm, from the Regiſter of the Collegiate Church of *St. Martin*, in the aforementioned town, dated *October* 30, 1576; which is, likewiſe, mentioned by Father *Jacopo Salomoni*, a *Dominican*, in his book, entitled, *Agri Patavini inſcriptiones*, but more particularly by the Abbè *Papadopoli* *, from whom he quotes the following paſſage, "*Henricum Caterinum De Avila*, oriundum dicimus ex inſulâ *Cypro*, et familiâ in eo regno omnium nobiliſſimâ, quippe quæ titulis atque equeſtri dignitate magnorum ſtabuli comitum ſub *Luſignanis* regibus claruit. Hinc non in *Cypro*, ut quidam exiſtimant, (quos ipſe decipit cum ſæpe ſe *Cyprium* vocat) ſed in *Italiâ*, atque in oppido *Agri Patavini* quod *acci Plebem appellant*, Anno 1576, 3. *Cal. Novemb.* Patre *Antonio*, matre *Florentiâ* natus eſt. Quæ omnia conſtant ex Libro Baptiſmorum Saccenſis Eccleſiæ *S. Martini*, ex quo Ectypon Apographon habeo, manu *Angeli Perotti Archipreſbyteri* confirmatum."

This ſon, *Antonio* named *Henrico Caterino*, on account of the great favours he had already received, and in expectation of others from the Dowager, Queen *Catherine*, and King *Henry* III, who had ſucceeded his Brother *Charles*, in the Throne of *France*. With this view, he took him alſo into that kingdom, when he was not yet ſeven years old, and put him to ſchool at *Villers*, a town in *Normandy*, where his daughter *Margherita* then lived, who had been advantagiouſly married by the Queen, to Monſieur *De Villers*, one of the principal Gentlemen of the Province, and afterwards a Marſhal of *France*. Nor did he return ſoon after from thence to *Padua* with his Father, as ſome have ſaid: for it is paſt Doubt that he ſpent not only his childhood, but moſt of his youth in *France*, and did not leave it till many years after. His mother, it appears, was alive in the year, 1600, and his father did not die till 1599. So that what he ſays in the beginning of his Hiſtory, of *being carried into France when he was yet but a child*, cannot be diſproved: nor can it be true, as others have aſſerted, that, when his pa-

* Hiſt. Gymn. Pat. Lib. C.

rents died, he wandered about the world to ſeek a livelyhood for himſelf, his brother *Luigi* and two ſiſters, or that he returned to his relations in *Spain*, and meeting with a very cold reception from them, reſolved to go into *France*, where, after he had recommended himſelf to the favour of *Henry* the Third, by his turn to arms, he ſoon obtained ſuch penſions and other appointments, that he not only invited his brother and ſiſters to come, and partake of them, but placed them about the perſon of Queen *Catherine*, and got them married to perſons of diſtinction, by the countenance and indulgence of that Princeſs.

In what place, or under what maſters he ſtudied after he left ſchool, is not clearly known: but it is certain, that it was in *France*, where he himſelf ſays, he continued a long time. And one may infer, at leaſt conjecture, from a paſſage in the ninth Book of his Hiſtory, that after he had made ſome ſtay in *Normandy*, he went to finiſh his ſtudies at *Paris*, and was there educated at Court, perhaps, in quality of Page to the Queen-mother, or the King himſelf. For he there ſays, "on the 16th of *October*, 1588, (at which time he could not be above twelve years of age) the King opened the Aſſembly of the States-General at *Blois*, with an eloquent and pathetick ſpeech, which ſtung the Duke of *Guiſe*, and all his party to the quick, eſpecially, when they ſaw he was reſolved to have it printed; and though ſome writers have aſſerted, that the King, at the perſuaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, ſtruck many paſſages out of this ſpeech, which he had ſpoken in publick, yet *I myſelf, who was preſent, and ſtood ſo near as to hear every word of it*, can truly affirm, that, all that he ſpoke was printed, *&c.*" And in the tenth Book, making mention of *James Clement*, the *Dominican* Friar, that ſtabbed *Henry* the Third, which happened in the year, 1589, he ſays, "I remember to have ſeen him myſelf, and have often heard the other Friars entertain themſelves with him, when the Court was at *Paris*, and I uſed to viſit *Stephen Luſignano*, a *Cypriot*, then brother of the ſame order, and afterwards Biſhop of *Limiſſo*, &c." However that might be, it is plain from what few Anecdotes can be collected concerning him, that he was maſter both of the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, and of all thoſe other branches of Learning, and qualifications that conſtitute the man of Letters, the Gentleman, and the Philoſopher: and it ſeems wonderful, conſidering he was not only brought up, and

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ſo long a ſojourner in a foreign country, but had ſpent moſt of his life in the Camp and Cabinet, that he had either leiſure, or opportunity to make himſelf ſo good a maſter of the *Italian* Tongue, as he was. It cannot be ſaid, indeed, that the ſtyle of his Hiſtory is altogether ſo correct as could be wiſhed: for, ſometimes it is ſuch, that the authority of his example is not ſufficient to excuſe, much leſs to recommend it as a pattern to any other writer.

But, to return to the progreſs of his life. The hopes which he had ſcarcely begun to conceive from the patronage of Queen *Catherine*, were not a little checked by her death, which happened at *Blois*, in *January*, 1589, and by that of her ſon *Henry* the Third, in the month of *Auguſt* following. Some, not only of the *Italian*, but even of the *French* Hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to affirm, that he was already ſo far advanced in her favour, that ſhe had preferred him to a conſiderable poſt in the army, and another in the Cabinet: and, *Gomberville* having read *Davila's* Hiſtory, not only ſays, "He can eaſily perceive that he has been furniſhed with excellent materials, of which he has availed himſelf with much judgment and diſcretion," but poſitively aſſerts, "That all the knowledge he had of State ſecrets, was communicated to him by *Catherine De Medici*." Now, it may ſafely be left to any one's judgment, whether a boy hardly turned of twelve years of age, as *Davila* was, when the Queen died, could be a proper perſon to be truſted with the intrigues and ſecrets of State, in ſo dangerous and troubleſome times as thoſe were; eſpecially, by a Princeſs of ſuch conſummate policy, and ſo remarkably circumſpect in the choice of her miniſters, and confidants. It is true, that as he had been ſome little time in her court, and was a boy of quick comprehenſion, and underſtanding, he might have an opportunity of obſerving ſome of thoſe things, even at that age, which he relates in his Hiſtory: and that his brother *Luigi*, who had been much longer in the Queen's ſervice, and often employed by her in the moſt important affairs, might have thoroughly informed him of others.

When he arrived at the age of eighteen, his natural inclination to arms, led him to make the firſt trial of his fortune, under *Henry De Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpenſier*, who was appointed Governor of *Normandy*, by King *Henry* the Fourth, a Province where moſt of the con-

ſiderable cities and fortreſſes had taken part with the League, all which, however, at laſt were reduced to obedience, either by treaty, or force of arms, except *Honfleur*, a town very ſtrongly ſituated, and well garriſoned. The Duke, therefore, having aſſembled an army, in which there were eight hundred of the Nobleſſe Voluntiers, beſides the ſtipendiary forces, laid ſiege to that place in *April*, 1594. Upon this occaſion, *Davila* gave ſignal proofs of his courage: he himſelf relates *, "That having had his horſe killed under him in an encounter, wherein his Commander, Monſieur *De Fervaques*, raſhly engaged himſelf, he was in the utmoſt danger of being killed." Another great riſque he ran in the King's army before *Laon* †, when the Marſhal *De Biron* had cauſed the Nobleſſe to diſmount, in order to put an end to an engagement with the enemy, before the *Spaniſh* army could come to their aſſiſtance, "For in that place, ſays he, *Henrico Davila*, who was one of thoſe that diſmounted with the Count *De Torigni*, having diſlocated his ancle in climbing over a waggon, was in great danger of being lame ever after." He behaved with no leſs gallantry, in the preſence, and under the very eyes of *Henry* the Fourth, at the memorable ſiege of *Amiens*, in the year, 1597: and particularly on the day, when the *Spaniards* made ſo deſperate a ſally, that the King was obliged to put himſelf at the head of his men, to encourage them by his example, and fought bravely, till the enemy, after a long ſtruggle, was at laſt repulſed, and driven back again into the town, "many of the higheſt diſtinction in the *French* army, he ſays, ‡ were wounded in that action, beſides a great number of private Gentlemen, amongſt whom *Henrico Davila*, who wrote this Hiſtory, was alſo much hurt by a ſtroke of a halberd upon his right knee." This is the chief of what is come to light, concerning his behaviour as a ſoldier in *France*, though it is not to be doubted, but that he ſignalized himſelf in other actions, which his uſual modeſty, and reſerve in ſpeaking of himſelf, has not ſuffered him to recite.

The profeſſion of arms, however, did not ſo wholly engroſs his attention, as to extinguiſh the love of letters in him. He reſumed his ſtudies the firſt opportunity, and employed moſt of his leiſure hours in reading good authors. He likewiſe cultivated a friendſhip with many learned men, and as he had determined to write *The Hiſtory of the*

* Lib. xiv. † Ibid. ‡ Lib. xv.

Civil

Civil Wars of France, he took great pains to collect proper materials for it, both from the mouths of living men, who had been engaged in them, and from publick records, and authenticated proofs. And reſolving not to truſt altogether to the reports of others, he viſited many Provinces of *France* himſelf, on purpoſe to view the ſituation of ſeveral towns which had been beſieged, and of the places where battles had been fought, that ſo he might be able to give an exact, and proper account of every particular, both as a good ſoldier, and an accurate writer. This commendable diligence, has uſually been practiſed by the beſt Hiſtorians, and ſuch as are ſtill in the higheſt credit. *Polybius*, in particular, gives us a remarkable example of it, in deſcribing the journeys he took for this very purpoſe, and the uſeful obſervations he makes, in conſequence of them. Many others, on the contrary, for want of this neceſſary knowledge, have fallen into grievous errors: and, though they may have obtained a great degree of applauſe in other reſpects, they have not eſcaped the cenſure of negligence, and miſinformation from men of judgment, and underſtanding.

At the end of the Civil Wars in *France*, after a peace was eſtabliſhed in *May*, 1598, the period where *Davila* concludes his Hiſtory, it ſeems, he could not for ſome time prevail upon himſelf to leave that Court, where he had ſpent the greater part of his life. He thought fit, however, at laſt, to comply with the earneſt deſires of his Parents, and returned to *Padua*, in the year, 1599; where he ſoon after loſt his father, who being ſeized with a dizzineſs in his head, fell from a precipice, and was daſhed to pieces. Upon the news of which, *Luigi* alſo left *France* to comfort his mother, and family, upon this melancholy occaſion: and ſoon after aſſumed the honourable, but then profitleſs, title of High-Conſtable of *Cyprus*, and made a tender of his ſervice to the Republick of *Venice*, with an offer of raiſing two hundred horſe for them, which was thankfully accepted, as appears from a Decree of the Senate, dated 1603, in which they expreſs "the great opinion they had of the military experience he had acquired in the Wars of *France*."

Henrico retired to *Parma*, where he gave himſelf up to ſtudy for ſome time, and from thence came to *Venice*, in the year, 1606, at a juncture, when the quarrels betwixt that Republick, and Pope *Paul* V,

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ran ſo high, that they began to make preparations for war on both ſides, and to invite all Commanders of reputation into their pay. This furniſhed him with an opportunity of ſhewing his loyalty to the Republick, of which he was born a ſubject, by offering to raiſe a body of three hundred foreign Infantry for its ſervice, which the Senate accepted, and appointed him an annual ſtipend of three hundred Ducats for five years certain, and for three more, if there ſhould be occaſion. This ſtipend was afterwards augmented to nine hundred, in conſideration of his great merit. From that time, he may be ſaid, to have ſpent the reſt of his life, wholly in the ſervice of his country, with the higheſt ſatisfaction to thoſe that employed him: of which they gave many honourable teſtimonies, in the ſeveral charges and commiſſions, that he afterwards was entruſted with. For he was in the firſt place, made Governor of *Retimo*, in the iſland of *Candia*, but ſoon recalled from thence, on account of the war in *Friuli*, and appointed to defend the confines of *Cadori*, *Feltri*, and *Belluno*, then threatened with an invaſion by the Houſe of *Auſtria*. How he behaved himſelf there, appears from an order of the Doge, dated *January* 14, 1616; which, after a recital of his ſervices, grants him a yearly penſion of five hundred Ducats for his life, and to be continued after his death, during the lives of his two ſons, for the maintenance of his family.

After the war with the *Auſtrians* was over, a rupture with the *Turks* was apprehended from the exaltation of the Admiral *Ali Baſſa* to the Poſt of Prime Vizier, as he was a declared enemy to the Republick. The general opinion was, that their firſt attempt would be upon the fortreſs of *Cataro*, which is the key of *Dalmatia*, and ſeemed of ſuch importance, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to put it into a good poſture of defence. For which purpoſe, *Henrico Davila* was ſent thither as Governor, and acquitted himſelf in that office, with his uſual zeal, and fidelity. It appears from one of his letters to *Monſignore Flavio Querenghi*, dated at *Cataro*, *July* 15, 1620, that he was then Governor there: but he was recalled not long after, and had the ſucceſſive governments of ſeveral fortreſſes in *Lombardy*. His merit in all theſe employments, is made honourable mention of, in a Decree of the Senate, dated *December* 2, 1622, at which time he had juſt received a freſh Commiſſion from them. The following is an extract from the Preamble to it. " During the war in *Friuli*, in particular, *Henrico Davila* fully confirmed the high opinion, that the Publick had conceived of

of his valour, and military experience, and to their great ſatisfaction has renewed, and increaſed the merits of his anceſtors in his own perſon, and of thoſe ſervices, which he himſelf before, had ſo worthily performed: ſo that when the good ſervice he has lately done in *Dalmatia*, and laſt of all in *Lombardy*, is added to the account, all manner of favour and honour that can be ſhewn him by this Republick, ought to be looked upon as well beſtowed on a ſubject ſo worthy of it, and from whoſe virtue, and devotion to us, ſtill greater fruits may be expected." And at the end of the Decree is added, "That when he came into their Council, he ſhould take place next to the Moſt Serene Doge"; which privilege, all thoſe that were of the family of *Davila* had enjoyed, both before, and after they had obtained the Office of High-Conſtable of *Cyprus*, as appears from ſeveral publick acts and monuments.

Not long after, he was ſent again into *Dalmatia*, to be Governor of *Zara*, whither he, likewiſe, took his wife, and children: for he was married after his return to *Italy*. His eldeſt ſon was named *Giannantonio*, and already began to give proofs of a diſpoſition, not unlike that of his anceſtors. There is a letter ſtill extant from *Henrico* to *Pierantonio Davila*, his nephew, dated at *Zara*, *June* 30, 1623; in which he deſires him "to provide a good Tutor for his ſons, who now began to grow up, and ſtood in great need of one."

From *Dalmatia* he was recalled by the Senate, upon freſh emergencies, and took upon him the government of ſeveral important places nearer home, particularly that of *Breſcia*. A war had broke out in *Italy* for the ſtate of *Mantua*, and they thought it neceſſary to keep their frontiers well guarded, as a great number of foreign troops had already entered *Montferrat*, and the *Mantuan*. There, *Davila* with great care and aſſiduity, and at the expence of his health, for the ſpace of almoſt two years, kept the troops of the Republick in conſtant exerciſe and readineſs, raiſed and diſciplined eight thouſand more Infantry, ſurveyed and fortified the places that were moſt expoſed to danger, poſted guards at the principal paſſes, and took all due precautions to make a vigorous defence, if there ſhould be occaſion. For which the Senate thought themſelves ſo much obliged to him, that, in one of their acts, dated *February* 2, 1630, it is ſaid, "That after

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a courſe of many years, in which he had governed moſt of their principal towns, and fortreſſes, and *all* of them with great honour and integrity, he had lately had the Command of all the forces of the Republick beyond the *Mincio*, which he had till then governed and diſciplined with the utmoſt diligence, and good order, without regard to expence, or fatigue, or even to his health itſelf." And in one of his letters from *Breſcia* to his nephew, *Franciſco Davila*, dated *September* 9, 1630; he mentions a long and dangerous illneſs, he then laboured under, which hard duty, and conſtant fatigue had brought upon him.

In this ſtate of affairs he was ordered by *Luigi Georgio*, Commander in chief of the *Venetian* forces, to repair to *Crema*, in 1631, to take upon him the command of the garriſon, and the care of that place. And now we have followed him, as it were, ſtep by ſtep through the whole courſe of his life, to the time of his death, which happened in a manner, much to be lamented, both on account of the circumſtances that attended, and the hand that occaſioned it. For, when he arrived at *St. Michaels*, a town in the *Campagni Di Verona*, in his road to *Crema*, he took up his quarters at an inn, with his whole family. And as the General had given orders to the people there, to furniſh him with carriages for his baggage, he ſent to one *Turco*, a rough, brutal fellow, to bring his amongſt the reſt. But, inſtead of that, he came to the inn in a great rage, and began to treat *Davila* very rudely, who, being deſirous to get quit of him, mildly ſaid, "It was the General's order, and if he did not chuſe to obey it, he muſt do as he pleaſed." With this anſwer he went away, but ſoon after returned in a greater rage than before, with ſome other ſuch fellows as himſelf, and at the encouragement of the Hoſt, who ſided with him, entered the room, where *Davila* and his family were ſat down to ſupper. Upon which, being gently reprimanded by *Davila* for his impudence, he, without making any reply, fired a piſtol at him, and laid him dead upon the ſpot. His companions, likewiſe, diſcharged the piſtols they had brought with them, upon the reſt of the family, by which the Chaplain was killed, and others of them wounded. Very great, without doubt, muſt be the terror and confuſion of his family, at this dreadful ſtroke: but Divine juſtice did not ſuffer ſo horrid

rid a deed to go long unpuniſhed. For the inhuman villain thinking he had not thoroughly diſpatched *Davila*, returned into the room to finiſh the murder, where *Giannantonio* his eldeſt ſon, tranſported with rage and grief, ruſhed furiouſly upon him, and killed him with his ſword. His accomplices were ſeized the next morning, and carried along with his body to *Verona*, where they were put to death, and afterwards hung in chains, near *St. Michael's*.

Such was the life, and ſuch the unfortunate end of *Henrico Davila*, a man certainly worthy of a better fate than to be thus vilely murdered by baſe hands in the midſt of his family, in violation of all the laws of hoſpitality, and in a time of publick peace and tranquillity, after he had happily eſcaped all the dangers that he had been expoſed to *in the firſt files of battle*, in ſo many ſieges, and in other honourable, and warlike enterprizes that he had been employed in. From whence we may learn to admire, though we cannot penetrate into the wonderful diſpenſations of Providence, and at the ſame time not to depend upon any worldly ſecurity, even in our greateſt proſperity.

He died in 1631, before he had completed his fifty-fifth year; at a time when the gratitude and munificence of the Republick had enabled him to ſupport himſelf, and his family, with comfort and dignity, and when he had but juſt begun to taſte the fruits of his long labours, and enjoy the applauſe with which his Hiſtory, that had been publiſhed but a few months before, was every-where received. He was buried at *St. Michael's*, near the altar, in the Church dedicated to the *Madonna Di Campagna*, under the picture of our Saviour ſcourged, without any Monument, or Epitaph now remaining. The Republick was ſenſibly affected at the loſs of him, and made a generous proviſion for his deſtitute, and afflicted family, which conſiſted of a widow, and nine children, four ſons and five daughters, ſome of whoſe deſcendants are ſtill alive.

It muſt not be omitted, that on the ſixth of *December*, 1631, when the proviſion deſigned for his family was propoſed in the Council, the Magiſtrates, who are called *I ſavii della terra*, were allowed to give their votes, *in the affair relating to* Davila *of* Cyprus: an extraordinary favour, which ſhewed the high eſteem that the Signiory had for him when alive, and their concern for his untimely death, if he may be ſaid to die, whoſe fame and invaluable Hiſtory will probably live till the diſſolution of all things.

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BOOK I.

ARGUMENT.

The Origin of the French Nation. The Election of Pharamond, their firſt King. The Inſtitution of the Salic Law. The Rights and Prerogatives of the Princes of the Blood. The Succeſſion of their Kings to Lewis the IXth, ſurnamed the Saint. *The Diviſion of the Royal Family into two diſtinct Branches, one called Valois, and the other Bourbon. The Jealouſies betwixt them, and, in time, the Depreſſion of the Houſe of Bourbon. The Original and Aggrandiſement of the Families of Guiſe and Montmorancy, in the room of the Princes of the Blood. The Emulation and Competition betwixt them; in which that of Guiſe gets the Superiority. King Henry the Second is killed, by accident, in a Tournament. Francis, his Son, a Youth of weak Conſtitution, ſucceeds to*

the Crown. He gives up the Government of the Kingdom to his Mother, Queen Catharine, and the Lords of Guiſe. The Princes of Bourbon are affronted at it. The King of Navarre, Head of that Family, goes to Court upon the Occaſion, but to little Purpoſe. From thence he retires into Bern. The Prince of Condé, reſolving to remove the Queen Mother and the Lords of Guiſe from the Government, is adviſed to make uſe of the Hugonots for that Purpoſe. The Original and Tenets of thoſe People. La Renaudie puts himſelf at the Head of the Conſpiracy, and the Hugonots determine to ſupport him. The Conſpiracy is diſcovered. The King appoints the Duke of Guiſe his Lieutenant General, who, without much Difficulty, routs, takes, and chaſtiſes the Conſpirators.

THE Civil Wars, which miſerably diſtracted the Kingdom of *France* for the ſpace of forty Years together, contain, on one hand, indeed, great Actions and noble Enterprizes, that may ſerve for excellent Leſſons to ſuch as maturely conſider them: But on the other, they are ſo perplexed and obſcured by the various Turns of Fortune which attended them, that the Cauſes of ſeveral Events do not appear, the Motives that influenced many Deliberations are not rightly comprehended, and an infinite Number of Circumſtances not at all underſtood, through the Care of private Intereſts to conceal their Views, under divers Pretences, from the Knowledge of the World. Many admirable Writers, it is true, have endeavoured to form a conſiſtent Hiſtory out of this Plenty of Matter, by bringing to light ſuch things as they have collected with great Diligence and commendable Induſtry. The Difficultjes, however, are ſo many, and the Impediments of ſuch weight, in a multitude of Accidents, all important and conſiderable, but buried and confounded under the vaſt Ruins of Civil Diſſenſions, that the Pains which any one takes to explain and digeſt them into regular Method and Order, will not be leſs uſeful, for the time to come, than the Labours of others already have been. Wherefore, being carried into the inmoſt Provinces of *France*, by the courſe of a reſtleſs Life, to which I was deſtined, when I was yet but a Child, and having had an Opportunity of being an Eye-witneſs of the moſt ſecret and remarkable Circumſtances of ſuch memorable Events, during a Number of Years that I reſided there; I thought I could not chuſe a nobler Subject or more uſeful Study to employ myſelf in, now I am arrived at a maturer Age, than to write a full Account of the Progreſs of thoſe Troubles from the very Beginning of them. And though the firſt taking up of Arms, which happened in the Year 1560, was indeed before my Time, yet I have carefully informed myſelf of every Circumſtance from thoſe very Perſons who then managed the Affairs of State. So that with a perfect and particular Knowledge of all the following Tranſactions, it has been no very difficult Matter

for me to penetrate into the moſt ancient and remote Cauſes of them. This Hiſtory will comprehend the whole Courſe of the Civil Wars, which broke out on a ſudden after the Death of King *Henry* the Second, and varying in their Progreſs, by ſtrange and unthought of Accidents, did not end till after the Death of three Kings, in the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth. But, to form the Body of this Narration more perfectly, we muſt look back a little into the Original of the *French* Monarchy: for the Seeds of thoſe Events, which are now to be related, taking their beginning from Times long ſince paſt, it is neceſſary to lay a Foundation and remove all Difficulties, that we may the more eaſily arrive at a clear and diſtinct Knowledge of modern Tranſactions. And, though I do not pretend to Elegance of Style or Brilliancy of Expreſſion in the Execution of this great Undertaking; yet, being free from thoſe Affections which often bias the Pen of an Hiſtorian, I hope I ſhall be able to give a plain Account of ſuch things, in their proper and natural Order, as I myſelf have learnt from Fact and Experience; having been many Years converſant in the Cabinets of Princes, and always preſent in the firſt Files of Battle.

Whilſt the Roman Empire, which included the greateſt Part of the known World, ſupported the Majeſty of it's Monarchy by the Terror of Arms; thoſe few Nations that were either defended by the generous Fierceneſs of their own Courage, or, invincibly fortified by Nature, did not feel the general Yoke of Slavery, being reſtrained within the Bounds which Neceſſity preſcribed to them, and ſtudied rather how to maintain their own Liberty than forcibly invade the Rights of others. Thus in the Eaſt, the Ferocity of the *Parthians* was curbed by the Banks of the *Euphrates:* and in the Weſt, the *Germans*, for the moſt part, confined the Force of their Arms to the Parts that lie on the other Side of the *Rhine*. But afterwards, when the Dominion of the *Romans* began to be diſunited through it's own Unweildineſs, and manifeſtly declined, by the Change of ancient Cuſtoms, the Barbarian Nations, that had a long Time only kept a Guard upon their Frontiers for their own Defence, ſeeing the Reſtraint taken away, and all Occaſion of Fear removed, attacked the Roman Provinces on every Side, and ſeizing upon the Members of that immenſe Body, erected new Principalities and Kingdoms. Hence it came to paſs that the Fame of ſo many warlike Nations, before that time totally buried in Obſcurity, began to ſpread itſelf with great Glory over the World: that People, till then unknown, getting Poſſeſſion of the fineſt and moſt fertile Regions in the Univerſe, ſoon changed not only their Habits, their Language and Cuſtoms, but alſo their Manner of Government, their Condition, and the very Names of them. So that new Maſters and new Nations pouring in from all Parts, not only *Britain* took the Name of *England*, from the *Angli* who uſurped it, and *Pannonia* that of *Hungary*, from the *Huns*, who had got the upper Hand there; but

innumerable other Provinces, in every Quarter of the World, underwent the ſame Change; and even in the Confines of *Italy* itſelf, the *Longobards* gave the Form and Name to the State of *Lombardy*.

But amongſt all thoſe People who, abandoning their native Country, endeavoured to acquire new Poſſeſſions and invade the Rights of Others, there is not any one that can be compared to the *French* Nation for Extent of Dominion, well-conſtituted Government, unconquerable Valour, and above all for Antiquity and Length of Duration. For as to the Incurſions of the *Oſtrogoths*, the *Viſigoths*, the *Vandals*, and *Longobards*, ſome of them vaniſhed like a Flaſh of Lightning, which, dazzling the Sight with a ſudden and unexpected Blaze, paſſes away in a Moment and is preſently forgot: others made ſo feeble a Progreſs, that they ſoon loſt both their Power and Greatneſs. But the *Franks*, after having been engaged with and vanquiſhed the moſt formidable Nations, and made themſelves Maſters of the fineſt and beſt Parts of *Europe*, being powerful in Numbers, flouriſhing in Riches, renowned for great and magnanimous Actions, and glorying in a majeſtick Succeſſion of Princes, after a Courſe of more than twelve hundred Years, ſtill maintain the very ſame Form of Government, in it's original Purity, that was at firſt legally eſtabliſhed amongſt them.

Now whether theſe People, who are at preſent called *the French*, and formerly went by the Name of *Franks*, came in ancient Times from the moſt remote Parts of *Aſia*, as ſome modern Hiſtorians have thought; or were originally Natives of *Germany*, as the beſt Writers hold, with more Reaſon; it is certain that, at the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, they inhabited that Country which lies upon the *Rhine* towards the North, betwixt *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and that *Franconia* retains the Name of that Nation to this Day. The Dread of the *Roman* Arms kept them all together at firſt in their own Country, and being ſtraitned in a narrow Territory, they with great Difficulty procured the Neceſſaries of Life. But, in Proceſs of Time, they increaſed to ſuch a Number (as the Inhabitants of cold Climates generally multiply exceedingly) that they could no longer be contained in their little, ill-built Cottages, nor ſupported in ſo ſmall a Country. Wherefore, all Fear of the *Romans* being now at an End, they reſolved in a general Conſultation, after the Example of their Neighbours, to ſeparate and divide themſelves into two diſtinct Nations; one of which ſhould remain where they were, to take care and maintain the Poſſeſſion of their common Country, the other ſhould take it's Chance, and endeavour, by Force of Arms, to procure a more comfortable Livelihood and a larger and more fertile Territory.

This Determination meeting with no Obſtacle to interrupt the Deſign of it, the Diviſion was made by a voluntary Conſent of every one: and notwithſtanding, they, whoſe Lot it was to quit their Country, did not fear the Dangers that attended ſo hazardous an Enterprize, from the Generoſity of

of their Courage, and being ſo inur'd to the Fatigues of War, yet they thought it a Deſign that ought not to be wholly left to Chance, but directed by mature Deliberation and well weighed Counſels. Wherefore, being all aſſembled in the Fields near the River *Sale*, to concert Meaſures neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition; and conſidering, that a tumultuous and unſettled kind of Command was by no means proper for the Accompliſhment of their Intentions, they agreed, in the firſt Place, to eſtabliſh the Form of their future Government by univerſal Conſent. And as they had been for many Ages accuſtomed to live under the ſole Dominion of one Prince, knowing alſo, perhaps, that the Qualities of a Monarchy are the beſt adapted, and moſt conducive to the Purpoſes of ſuch as aſpire to great Atchievements and Enlargement of Empire, they reſolved to chuſe themſelves a King, and to confer the Authority of the whole upon him. To ſo great a Power was annexed this Privilege, that the Kingdom ſhould be hereditary in the Family that was ſo elected: wiſely foreſeeing, that if they were to chuſe new Kings, from Time to Time, it would probably create civil Diſcord amongſt them, which would infallibly prevent the Succeſs of any Enterpriſe whatſoever. Upon which Account, laying aſide all Ambition and private Intereſt (as the Beginnings of Things are generally directed with Sincerity and a View to the public Good) they unanimouſly choſe for their King, *Pharamond*, one of the Sons of *Marcomir*, a Prince, not only by Deſcent, but in regard to his Virtues, being of the ſame Race which that Nation had been uſed to obey for many Ages paſt, of ſingular Valour and great Wiſdom in the Management of Affairs; agreeing, that the ſame Power with the ſame Title ſhould devolve to his Poſterity, till the Failure of a legitimate Deſcendant from him; and in ſuch Caſe the Right of chuſing a new King ſhould revert to the People.

But as Authority without Limitation, for the moſt part degenerates into deſtructive Licentiouſneſs, at the ſame Time that they elected their King, they thought proper to eſtabliſh certain Laws, that were to remain perpetual and immutable, in which the general Conſent, not only in the Succeſſion of their Kings, but in every other Part of the future Government, ſhould briefly be comprehended. Theſe Laws propoſed by their Prieſts, who were antiently ſtyled *Salii*, and enacted in the Fields which take their Name from the River *Sale*, were called *Salic Laws*, and, after the Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom, *Original and Fundamental Conſtitutions*. After this principal Foundation was laid, and all other Things reſolved upon that were neceſſary for their well Government, and conducible to the Succeſs of the preſent Enterpriſe, having paſſed the *Rhine* under the Conduct of their firſt King *Pharamond*, they undertook the Conqueſt of the *Gallia's*, about the Year 419, leaving the Dominion of *Franconia* to old Prince *Marcomir*. The *Gallia's* were as yet poſſeſſed by the *Roman* Emperors,

perors; but much declined from their firſt Strength and Greatneſs, partly through civil Diſſenſions, and partly through the Incurſions of divers barbarous Nations, by whoſe Fury they had long undergone terrible Ravages and Devaſtation; which was the Reaſon that the Army of the *Franks* met with much leſs Difficulty in their Conqueſts than the Romans had done formerly. However, they were not ſubdued till after a long and obſtinate Reſiſtance: for the *Roman* Legions, appointed to guard that Province, joining, for their own Defence, with the *Gauls* themſelves, held King *Pharamond* at Bay till, his End drawing near, he left the Care of the whole Enterpriſe and the Government of the People to his Son *Clovis*. This Man, who was of an undaunted Courage, and in the Flower of his Age, having fought many Battles with the Inhabitants of the Country, and overcome and driven out the *Roman* Armies, took Poſſeſſion of that Part of *Gallia*, which, lying neareſt to the *Rhine*, is, by the common Conſent of Writers, called *Belgica*. To him ſucceeded *Meroue*, whether Brother or Son to *Clovis* is not certain: but the next in Blood to him, without Doubt, conformable to the Tenour of the *Salic* Law. He, advancing with great Valour and Succeſs into *Gallia Celtica*, extended the Dominion of the *Franks* as far as the City of *Paris*, and computing that he had then Territory ſufficient to maintain his People, and form a complete State of moderate extent, ſtopped ſhort in the Courſe of his Victories, and turning his Thoughts to Peace, joined both Nations under the ſame Name, and with gentle Laws and a mild kind of Government founded and eſtabliſhed the Kingdom of the *French* in thoſe Parts.

This was the original and Foundation Stone of that Monarchy, in which, as the Succeſſion of their Kings hath invariably continued in the ſame Line; ſo in all Ages, the firſt Conſtitutions of their Government have been moſt religiouſly obeyed; neither the Power of Command, nor the Authority of the Laws, having loſt any thing of their firſt Obſervation and antient Splendor, in ſo long a Courſe of Time. The Laws that were made in the Beginning by the free and univerſal Conſent of the People, exclude the female Sex from the Royal Succeſſion, and only admit the Males that are next in Blood to the Inheritance of the Crown; ſo that the Sovereignty over that Nation always remains in the ſame Blood by a continued and uninterrupted Succeſſion. From the Diſpoſition of which Law, *the Princes of the Blood* derive their Name: for being all capable of ſucceeding to the Crown in their Turn, thro' Default of the next Heir, they are, upon that Conſideration, nearly concerned in the Management of the State, and the Privileges of their Family preſerved with the greateſt Reverence by the People: no Length of Time, nor Degree of Diſtance, being of any Prejudice to the Conſervation of that Order which Nature have preſcribed them in their Succeſſion to the Kingdom. Hence it comes, that though ſeveral

Branches

Branches have changed their Family Name, thro' various Accidents that have happened in the Courſe of Time, as ſome have taken the Surname of *Valois*, others of *Bourbon*, *Orleans*, *Angouleſme*, *Vendoſme*, *Alençon*, and *Montpenſier*, yet they have not by any Means loſt the Trace of their Royal Conſanguinity, nor the Right of ſucceeding to the Crown; but the Pre-eminence of Blood, and the ſame Privileges, are conſtantly from Time to Time preſerved to them all.

And, becauſe it is evident how much they are all intereſted in the Maintenance and Preſervation of ſo great an Inheritance, which every one of them is capable of ſucceeding to in his Order, it is a Cuſtom of very antient ſtanding, that the neareſt in Blood ſhould be Guardian to the Pupils, and Regent of the Kingdom, during the Minority or Abſence of the lawful King: it being highly reaſonable, that the Government ſhould not be committed to Strangers and Aliens, who might endeavour to diſmember, or perhaps deſtroy, the Union of ſo auguſt a Body, but to ſuch as being deſcended from the ſame Stock, would certainly attend to the Preſervation of the Crown, as their own Birthright. Nor is this Prerogative a Cuſtom only, for *the States General of the Kingdom* (which Aſſembly has the Power of the whole Nation) having often confirmed it with their Conſent, and ſeen it put in Execution, it has ever ſince been eſteemed an unalterable Law, and eſtabliſhed Conſtitution.

The Royal Houſe then enjoys two Pre-eminences, one in Matter of Inheritance, the other of Adminiſtration: the firſt, when any King dies without male Iſſue; and the ſecond, when the Abſence or Minority of the Prince requires ſome other Perſon for the Government and Managing of the State. Theſe Privileges, which are always inherent in thoſe of the Royal Line, are the Reaſon that the Princes of the Blood have at all Times had the higheſt Authority amongſt the People, and the chief Share in the Government of the Kingdom. For they themſelves have ever been extremely vigilant in the Adminiſtration of a Power, which they, with great Reaſon, looked upon in ſome Meaſure as their own; and the People, apprehending that the Government might poſſibly ſome Time or other fall into their Hands, have conſtantly held them in very great Veneration; and ſo much the more, as it has in Reality often happened that, the eldeſt Branch failing, the Crown has devolved to a younger.

Thus the regal Authority having deſcended in a regular Succeſſion thro' the Race of *Meroue*, then thro' the Family of the *Carolins*, and laſtly that of the *Capets*, after many Ages, *Lewis* the Ninth of that Name was called to the Throne, who, for the Innocency of his Life and Integrity of Manners, was thought worthy of being canonized after his Death. He had two Sons, *Philip* the Third, ſurnamed the *Hardy*, and *Robert*, the younger, Count of *Clermont*. From *Philip* deſcended the eldeſt Branch, which took

the

the Name of *Valois*, and enjoyed the Crown more than three hundred Years: From *Robert* deſcended the Houſe of *Bourbon*, ſo called, as it is cuſtomary amongſt the *French*, from that State of which they bore the Title, and poſſeſſed a long Time as their own Inheritance.

Now whilſt the Houſe of *Valois* was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, that of *Bourbon* held, by Conſequence, the Rank of *firſt Prince of the Blood*, and enjoyed all thoſe Privileges which belonged to that Quality by Law and Cuſtom, as we have ſaid before. This Family, conſiderable not only by its Nearneſs to the Crown, but alſo in large Poſſeſſions, Abundance of Riches, Reputation in War, and a numerous Offspring: producing likewiſe frequently Men of a liberal Nature and popular Affability, ſoon grew above the Condition of private Subjects, and by Dint of its own Strength, joined to the Favour of the People, eſtabliſhed itſelf in a State of ſuch exceſſive Greatneſs, that it created Jealouſy and Envy in the Kings, who could not bear that Degree of Eminence and Authority in Subjects, and gave continual occaſion of Hatred and Suſpicion, which ſometimes broke out even into open Hoſtilities: For *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, entered into a War with *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, that was uſually called, *for the Good of the Commonwealth*: And *Lewis* the Twelfth, though before he came to the Crown, tried the Succeſs of Arms with *Peter* of *Bourbon*. And thus, partly from open Enmity, and partly thro' ſecret Malice, the Kings of *France* grew daily more and more jealous of the Princes of *Bourbon*.

After ſome time, *Francis* the Firſt came to the Crown; who, in the firſt Part of his Reign, led by the Ardour and Generoſity of Youth, began, with great Demonſtrations of Affection, to aggrandize the chief Princes of the Blood, eſteeming it agreeable to that Magnificence with which he treated all Men, and to the Greatneſs of his Mind, that Princes ſo nearly allied to him ſhould be raiſed to the higheſt Dignities, both for the Honour of the Royal Line, and for his own particular Reputation: and having obſerved a generous Courage, and a Genius fit for any Employment, in *Charles* of *Bourbon*, who was the Head of that Family, he promoted him to be High Conſtable of *France*, and reſolved that all the weighty Affairs, and principal Buſineſs of the Kingdom, ſhould paſs thro' his Hands, and thoſe of others that were the moſt nearly related to himſelf. But the Fervour of Youth ſubſiding as he grew to a maturer Age, and perceiving the Motives of his Predeceſſor's Conduct, by longer Experience in State Affairs, he then laboured to humble the overgrown Power of the *Bourbon* Family, with much more Earneſtneſs and Anxiety of Mind than he had done formerly to exalt it.

Nor was it long before an Opportunity offered that was exceedingly convenient for the Execution of his Deſign. For there being a Law-ſuit at that Time depending betwixt *Louiſa*, the King's Mother, and *Charles* of *Bourbon*,

Bourbon, about the very Duchy that he then enjoyed, the King imagined that if he cauſed Judgment to be given in Favour of his Mother, and deprived the Houſe of *Bourbon* of the main Source of their Riches, the Duke would ſoon fall from that Power and Dignity, which was chiefly ſupported by the Splendour of his Fortune.

But *Charles*, having diſcovered the deceitful Practices that were carried on againſt him, in the Courſe of this Proceſs, by the High Chancellor *Antonio del Prato*, under the King's Influence, was ſo tranſported with Rage at the Injury and Fear of Ruin, which he ſaw inevitable, that, joining ſecretly with the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, he began to conſpire, not only againſt the Kingdom, but the very Perſon of the King himſelf: which being ſoon detected, he was obliged to make his Eſcape ſecretly out of his Hands, and afterwards openly appeared in War againſt him: during the Courſe of which he came to be General to the Emperor at the Battle of *Pavia*, where, after a bloody Slaughter of the *French*, the King, being ſurrounded by the Enemy's Infantry, was at laſt taken Priſoner. For theſe Facts, *Charles* being declared a Rebel, all his Eſtates were confiſcated, and ſoon after loſing his Life alſo at the taking of *Rome*, the Houſe of *Bourbon* fell from that ſuſpected Greatneſs, which had raiſed ſuch Jealouſy in the King's Breaſt.

This was not ſufficient, however, to put an End to the Perſecution now begun: for though *Charles* died, in that unfortunate Manner, without Children, and though no other Part of the Family had been in any wiſe privy to his Deſigns, yet, the Deſire of revenging paſt Injuries prevailing in the King more than the Force of Reaſon, the Lords of that Houſe in general were deprived of all Favour at Court, and wholly removed from the Management of State Affairs. And though this Rigour was a little mitigated in Time, and the King's Anger in ſome Meaſure appeaſed, as he began to forget what had paſſed, and to lay aſide the ill Opinion he had conceived of them: Yet he ſtill endeavoured ſtudiouſly to cut off all means by which thoſe Princes might regain their former Splendour, and that Degree of Power to which they had been with ſo much Favour advanced.

This ſecret Intention of the King did not eſcape the Obſervation of *Charles* Duke of *Vendoſme*, the Chief of that Houſe: Wherefore endeavouring, with great Temper and Moderation of Mind, to wipe off thoſe Jealouſies and Suſpicions, that had been ſo fatal to his Family, he refuſed to aſſert his Claim to the Regency, which of Right belonged to him, during the King's Impriſonment: And retiring, after the King was ſet at Liberty, to the Quiet and Tranquillity of a domeſtick Life, took no Pains to be recalled to any Share of that Government, in which he knew

he was ſo much ſuſpected. All the reſt of the ſame Houſe, following his Example, to ſhew how much they diſapproved the evil Deſigns of *Bourbon*, by paying a ready Obedience to the King's Inclinations, though to their own Prejudice and Diminution, voluntarily withdrew from all Affairs that might occaſion any Suſpicion of them, and continuing in Retirement gave themſelves little Trouble about Offices and Employments at Court; for they deſpiſed thoſe of the inferior Sort, and perceived it was not poſſible to obtain ſuch as they knew belonged to the Nobility of their Birth.

The Houſe of *Bourbon* being thus depreſſed and excluded from all the principal Employments, the two great Families of *Montmorancy* and *Guiſe* ſprung up under *Francis* the Firſt, which in a ſhort Time wholly engroſſed the Adminiſtration of all important Affairs, and the Management of the State. Neither of them was any way allied to the royal Blood, but both of very ancient and illuſtrious Nobility. That of *Montmorancy* preſerves a venerable Record of the Eminence of their Anceſtors: For they not only pretend to derive their Pedigree in a right Line from one of thoſe Barons that accompanied King *Pharamond* in the *Salic* Expedition, but to be the firſt of the *French* Nation that received Baptiſm and the *Chriſtian* Faith. For which Reaſon, amongſt many other Marks of their Nobility, they give this Motto to their Arms, *Deus primum Chriſtianum ſervet*, *God preſerve the firſt Chriſtian*, as an undoubted Teſtimony of the Antiquity and Piety of their Predeceſſors. From this Stock deſcended *Anne* of *Montmorancy*, a Man of great Penetration, but of a mild Diſpoſition, who, beſides his natural Gravity and Prudence, being Maſter of ſingular Addreſs and Application, and exceeding Patience in the various Changes of the Court, ſo well knew how to ingratiate himſelf with the King, that having paſſed through all the other great Honours, that are uſually conferred upon Favourites, he was promoted by him to the Office of grand Maſter of the Palace, and, ſoon after the Death of *Bourbon*, to the Dignity of High Conſtable, and then had the Conduct of the War, and the Superintendance of all the Affairs in the Kingdom entirely in his own Hands.

But the Houſe of *Lorrain*, from which the Lords of *Guiſe* are deſcended, deriving their Original from great Antiquity, reckon *Godfrey* of *Boulogne* in the male Line of their Predeceſſors, who, being General of the *Chriſtian* Army, that was ſent into *Aſia* for the Recovery of the holy Sepulchre, obtained the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* there by his Piety and Valour: And by the Mother's Side ſhew a long continued Pedigree, from a Daughter of the Emperor *Charles* the Great of this Family, flouriſhing in Wealth, and powerful in Poſſeſſions, *Anthony*, Duke of *Lorrain*, having acquired an independent Sovereignty over that Duchy, *Claudian* his younger

younger Brother, a Prince of great Valour and no leſs fortunate, going a little Time after into *France*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Guiſe*, gave ſuch clear Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in the Wars, that after the Battle of *Marignan*, in which he commanded the *Germans*, being found moſt deſperately wounded amongſt the thickeſt of the ſlain, and almoſt miraculouſly recovering, he ever after held the firſt Place of Reputation amongſt the *French* Commanders. But though both theſe Families had deſerved ſo well, that it was not eaſy to judge which ought to have the Pre-eminence, yet, as *Guiſe* was ſuperior in Nobility of Birth and Largeneſs of Poſſeſſions, ſo the Conſtable had the Advantage of the King's Favour, and the chief Management of Affairs. Indeed, as the State of Courts is ever fluctuating and uncertain, they both went through great Mortifications and Viciſſitudes towards the End of this Reign. For as the Conſtable was a chief Inſtrument in perſuading the King to confide in the Promiſes of *Charles* the Fifth, and to grant him a ſafe Conduct, when he was forced to paſs unarmed and in Haſte, quite through the Kingdom of *France*, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion at *Ghent*, he fell into ſuch Diſgrace with the King and Court, when the Emperor's Actions did not afterwards at all correſpond with his Words, that, being now looked upon by every one, either as a credulous inconſiderate Man, or a Traitor, he was obliged to withdraw and retire to a private Life, to ſecure himſelf from the Perſecution of his Enemies. And the Duke of *Guiſe*, having raiſed ſome Companies of Soldiers in the Kingdom, without any Commiſſion, to aſſiſt his Brother the Duke of *Lorrain* in the War with the *Anabaptiſts*, ſo incenſed the King againſt him, that he likewiſe was forced, by abſenting himſelf, to give Way to the Storm.

The Conſtable and Duke of *Guiſe* having thus left the Court, they were ſucceeded in the Adminiſtration by the Admiral *Claude d'Annebaut*, and *Francis* Cardinal of *Tournon*; Men that had acquired the Reputation of great Wiſdom by long Experience and Application, but of ſo private a Condition in Point of Birth and Fortune, that they could never riſe to ſuch a Height of Greatneſs as might render them ſuſpected or obnoxious to the King, who would not bear that, as dangerous, in any Subject.

Some are of Opinion that *Francis*, who was a Prince of exquiſite Sagacity in quickly diſcerning the Nature and Inclinations of Mankind, being grown peeviſh and ſuſpicious by the Adverſity he had undergone, made it his Study to depreſs the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, and drive them from Court, though he had formerly always ſo highly favoured and careſſed them, concluding that he could never be abſolutely free, nor rule as he had a Mind, whilſt he had Men of ſo much Power and Reputation about his Perſon, that they were in a great Meaſure able to controul his Will. And as that which offended him moſt in the Conſtable was his

conſummate Experience and too much Knowledge, from which he perceived he could not conceal his moſt private Deſigns; ſo in the Duke of *Guiſe*, he was diſpleaſed not only with the high Nobility of his Birth, but the Turbulency of his Diſpoſition, having obſerved an Inclination and Forwardneſs in thoſe of that Family, to lay hold of any Opportunity to ſerve their Purpoſes, and, at the ſame Time, Abilities equal to the Management of the moſt important and dangerous Deſigns. It is ſaid alſo, that towards the End of his Life, he ſecretly adviſed his Son *Henry* the Second *to beware of exceſſive Greatneſs in his Subjects, but particularly in the Houſe of* Guiſe, *which, if it was ſuffered to grow too high, would infallibly diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom.* And though I will not venture to affirm the Truth of this, having no other Teſtimony than publick Fame, which often proceeds from Malice, yet it is certain the Events that afterwards happened, have added great Credit to that Report.

1547. But, however that might be, when *Francis* died, the new King, *Henry* the Second, being governed more by his own Will, than the Advice and ſo late Example of his Father, inſtantly removed all ſuch from their Places and from Court, as had before any Share in the Government; and reinſtated thoſe very Perſons, whom the deceaſed King had ſought Occaſions to diſcharge from their Truſt. The Admiral and the Cardinal of *Tournon*, who had been long acquainted with the moſt ſecret Intentions both of the late and preſent King, were immediately diſmiſſed from all Employments; in whoſe Room, *Anne de Montmorancy*, High Conſtable, and *Francis* of *Lorrain*, Son to *Claudian* Duke of *Guiſe*, were called to the principal Offices of State. Theſe two, being Moderators of the King's Youth, and Managers at Court of all weighty Affairs, had almoſt equal Power and Authority, though they were not by any Means of the ſame Diſpoſition, and had very different Views and Opinions. For the Conſtable being a Man ripe in Years, of a calm Temper, a Friend to pacifick Meaſures, and of long practical Experience in the Arts of Government, was held in exceeding great Repute for his Wiſdom, and had the firſt Place in the Management of State Affairs. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was in the Flower of his Age, of a robuſt Conſtitution and noble Preſence, full of Courage and Vivacity, and of a Genius fit for any ſpirited and generous Enterprize, had the Favour and good Graces of the Court, being admitted by the King to a Familiarity of Converſation, and as a Companion in all his Pleaſures and youthful Exerciſes. So that his Affection for the Conſtable was rather Reſpect, and his Inclination to the Duke of *Guiſe* might more properly be called Familiarity. Their Manner of living was alſo very different; for the Conſtable, being a Friend to Moderation and Frugality, with a certain Degree of Stiffneſs, that uſually attends old Age, ſlighted the Application of Strangers, and frequently made

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uſe of his Authority to obſtruct the Courſe of the King's Munificence: inflexibly ſteddy and auſtere, he paid little Regard to popular Applauſe. The Duke of *Guiſe*, on the contrary, eaſy of Acceſs and popular in his Behaviour, with great Shew of Liberality and Affability, endeavoured to conciliate to himſelf the Affections of the Soldiery and ſecure the Dependance and Attachment of Strangers, by taking ſuch as were diſtreſſed into his Protection. Hence, as it uſually happens, an Emulation began to ariſe betwixt them; for, ſeeing they were equally loved and eſteemed, they both exerted their utmoſt Endeavours to get the Advantage of each other, in the King's Favour and Adminiſtration of Affairs: in which, beſides their natural Inclination, they were upon all Occaſions animated by their neareſt Relations: The Conſtable, by his Siſter's Son *Jaſper de Coligny*, Lord of *Chaſtillon*, who, after the Death of *Annebaut* was created Admiral of *France*; a Man of Sagacity and approved Courage: And the Duke of *Guiſe*, by his Brother *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who, though he was of ſingular Learning and Eloquence, reflected no little Luſtre upon thoſe excellent Endowments by his Dignity and noble Appearance.

Nor was Fortune backward in opening a large Field for this growing Emulation. For the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, preparing to beſiege *Metz* with a powerful Army (which is a Place of Strength, that he pretended was a Part of the Empire, but, being ſituated upon the Frontiers, ſerves in a Manner as a Key to *France*) and the Greatneſs of theſe Preparations ſtriking a Terror through all the Kingdom, it ſeemed neceſſary that one of the Favourites ſhould take upon him the troubleſome Office of conducting this War. But the Conſtable, now in the Decline of Life, being above ſixty Years old, deſiring rather to continue near the King's Perſon than to expoſe the Reputation he had already acquired, to new Hazards, ſeemed ſilently to refuſe the Weight of ſo great a Charge. On the contrary, the Duke of *Guiſe*, who ſaw there was no other Way left to raiſe himſelf above *Montmorancy* in Favour and Reputation, but by military Atchievements, and being of a warlike Diſpoſition and great Courage, openly ſollicited that Command. Thus the Conſtable, not a little pleaſed to ſee the Life and Reputation of his Rival expoſed to ſuch Danger, either giving his Conſent, or not contradicting it, the Defence of *Metz* was entirely committed to the Duke of *Guiſe*; who, having fully anſwered the Expectation of all Men both by his Valour and Conduct, coming off victorious and with great Honour in ſo hazardous an Enterprize, acquired ſuch a Degree of Favour and Reputation, both with the King, and the whole *French* Nation, that afterwards, when a General was to be ſent into *Italy* to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, there was no Doubt made in conferring that Poſt upon him. And although that Attempt was in a great Meaſure unſucceſsful, and attended with very little Advantage, not from

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any Fault in the Duke, but partly through the uſual Defect in the *French* Soldiers, and partly through the Inconſtancy of the Confederates, yet he grew into greater Authority and Reputation than probably he would have done, even if he had gained a Victory.

For *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, to whom his Father *Charles* the Fifth had reſigned the Government of his Kingdom, having marched an Army out of *Flanders*, to the Confines of *France*, invaded *Picardy*, to cauſe a Diverſion in the War of *Italy*: Upon which Account, the Conſtable, who had the particular Superintendence of that Province, was obliged to abſent himſelf from the King, and expoſe himſelf once more, much againſt his Will, to the Fortune of War, in which, loſing the Battle of *St. Quintin*, and being taken Priſoner by the *Spaniards*, to the evident Danger and great Terror of all the adjacent Provinces, the privy Council thought it neceſſary to recall the Duke of *Guiſe* out of *Italy*, to oppoſe the Fury of the Enemy, to provide againſt that Danger, and to repair thoſe Loſſes, which had been occaſioned by the Defeat of the Conſtable's Army: Which Expectation was ſo fully anſwered, not only by his expeditious Arrival there, but by the memorable Sieges and taking of *Calais*, *Guines*, and *Thionville*, that he was ever after, without any Scruple, looked upon as far ſuperior to the Conſtable, as the Victor ought to be to the Vanquiſhed.

But the Conſtable being ſet at Liberty, and returning to Court, it ſoon appeared, that the King began to renew his former Inclination towards him: For, attributing his late Misfortune to Chance, and the uncertain Event of War, he received him into the ſame Degree of Favour as before, and again made uſe of his Counſels to eaſe himſelf of the Weight of all important Buſineſs, which was the more diſagreeable to him, as he was of an indolent Diſpoſition, and wholly addicted to his Pleaſures. Whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, one of whom had obtained the higheſt Reputation and Favour by his Valour in War, and the other by his wiſe and prudent Management of civil Affairs, in the greateſt Exigencies of the State, doubting he would ſoon recover his former Power, if he was not kept down by Artifice or ſome other Means, reſolved to join intereſts with *Diana*, Ducheſs of *Valentinois*, and entering into a ſtrict League of Friendſhip, to maintain their Greatneſs, under her Protection. This *Diana* was of a noble Family, and deſcended from the Counts of *Poictiers*, endowed in her Youth with rare and uncommon Beauty, of a courteous, lively, and engaging Behaviour, of a flowing and ſprightly Wit, and indeed adorned with all thoſe Qualifications that render young Ladies favoured and eſteemed. She was married to the Seneſchal of *Normandy*, and, having had two Daughters by him, in a ſhort Time after became a Widow: Which putting an End to all matrimonial

matrimonial Reſtraint, ſhe entered into all the Pleaſures of the Court, and ſoon got ſuch an abſolute Aſcendant over the King's Affections, that ſhe diſpoſed of them juſt as ſhe pleaſed; and not degenerating from the Nature of the female Sex, governed in ſo licentious a Manner, and engroſſed all the Riches of the Crown with ſuch Greedineſs, that ſhe became intolerable to the whole Kingdom, and particularly hated by every Body. For the Queen, though ſhe diſſembled her Diſdain at being rivalled by her, was inwardly her bitter Enemy; the Nobility likewiſe, many of whom had been ill treated and affronted by her womaniſh Malice and Inſolence, could not endure to ſubmit themſelves and their Fortunes to her petulant Humours; and the People were perpetually curſing her Rapaciouſneſs, imputing the Cauſe of all the heavy Taxes, which they groaned under, only to her Avarice.

But the Lords of *Guiſe*, terrified with the Thoughts of falling from that Degree of Greatneſs, which they had arrived at through ſo many Difficulties, ſhewing little Regard to this univerſal Hatred, much leſs to any other Conſideration, reſolved to ſhelter themſelves under her Favour, which in a ſhort Time appeared ſo partial to them, that, having married one of her Daughters to the Duke of *Aumale* their third Brother, ſhe joined them with all her Power. But the Conſtable was ſoon aware of the ſubtle Practices of the *Guiſes*, and not abſolutely relying upon his own Strength, or the King's Favour, began alſo to think of paying his Court to the ſame *Diana:* And as the *Guiſes* had allured her with the Greatneſs of their Alliance, he endeavoured to gain her over to his Intereſts by feeding her Avarice, a Paſſion by which he perceived ſhe was no leſs governed than by her Ambition.

Wherefore, endeavouring to treat her with the higheſt Reſpect, he likewiſe made her many rich Preſents to ingratiate himſelf with her, and was ſo far tranſported withthe Deſire of accompliſhing his Purpoſe, that, laying aſide his natural Haughtineſs, he made no Scruple of taking a Niece of hers for his Daughter-in-Law, whom he married to his ſecond Son, *Henry* Lord of *Anville*; which was the more unadviſedly done, as *Diana* was already ſtrictly united with the *Guiſes*, and really endeavoured with all her Power to maintain their Greatneſs, whilſt ſhe only favoured the Conſtable's Deſigns in Appearance and outward Shew, and not with any ſincere Intention of effectually promoting them.

But it was now in vain any longer to oppoſe the Greatneſs of the *Guiſes*; for, beſides the Merit of their paſt Actions, and the Artifices they continually made uſe of to ſtrengthen themſelves, at the ſame Time that this Contention for Superiority was at the higheſt, *Francis*, Dauphin of *France*, and the King's eldeſt Son, took to Wife *Mary*, ſole Heir to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who was Daughter to *James Stuart*, then lately deceaſed,

ceaſed, and *Mary* of *Lorrain*, Siſter to the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal; an Alliance ſo great that they now ſeemed to have the ſame Intereſts with the Crown. So that the Conſtable and his Family, having nothing left but the mere Countenance of the King, and ſome Remains of a natural Propenſity to favour them; and the other Lords and Barons of *France*, poſſeſſing only the Offices and Employments of inferior Conſequence, the three Brothers of *Guiſe* enjoyed all the principal Dignities and chief Governments of the Kingdom, with the Superintendence of all Affairs both civil and military.

Whilſt theſe Things were carried on with ſo much Heat and Vehemence by the different Parties at Court, the Houſe of *Bourbon*, though next in Blood and neareſt in Succeſſion to the Crown, being, in a Manner, contrary to the Cuſtom of the Nation, deprived of all Honours and Dignities, ſeldom appeared in publick, except their Services were demanded in Time of War, or in the Execution of their Duty, in thoſe few ſmall Governments which ſtill remained in their Family: And though the Prince of *Anguien*, one of the ſame Houſe, ſo far advanced himſelf by his Valour and Generoſity of Spirit, that the King was prevailed upon to give him the Command of his Army in *Piedmont*, where he won the Battle at *Ceriſola*, and on many other Occaſions gained ſtill greater Credit and Reputation; yet, as he did not live long, his good Fortune was of little Service to the oppreſſed and perſecuted Houſe of *Bourbon*; for as ſoon as he was dead, it was abſolutely ſtripped of all Manner of Greatneſs and Favour at Court. The chief of this Family were *Anthony* Duke of *Vendoſme*, and his Brother *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, both Sons to that *Charles* of *Vendoſme*, who, after the Rebellion of *Bourbon*, and the Impriſonment of *Francis* the Firſt, by his Modeſty and Retirement, in a great Meaſure appeaſed the Hatred, which had ſo violently raged againſt all of that Name.

The *Bourbons* then, ſeeing they were thus born down by the Power and Authority of the Lords of *Guiſe*, whom they looked upon in a Manner as Strangers, (they being but lately ſprung up out of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, which lies betwixt *France* and *Germany*) were not a little mortified to find themſelves, not only deprived of all Privileges belonging to their Blood, except the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, which could not by any Means be taken from them, and in the loweſt Rank about the King's Perſon, contrary to all Reaſon and Juſtice; whereas, according to natural Order, they always uſed to hold the firſt. And what made their preſent Condition yet more galling and hard to be borne, was the violent and obſtinate Diſpoſition of the King, which was not at all to be moved by the Complaints or Remonſtrances of thoſe, that ſeemed in any Way to contradict his natural Inclinations. So that the Court in ſome Meaſure

laying aſide its uſual Inconſtancy, ſtill kept up the ſame Form and Appearance of Things, the Lords of *Guiſe* ruling in ſo abſolute a Manner, that no Body durſt preſume to oppoſe their Power. The Greatneſs of the Conſtable had not given the *Bourbons* any Uneaſineſs; on the contrary, they were exceedingly grieved to ſee him ſo much fallen from his former Power, and reduced to ſuch a Condition, that he was hardly able to ſupport himſelf: For, being attached to him not only by Conſanguinity, but in Friendſhip and Intereſts, they might ſtill have hoped, by Means of his Influence, to riſe again, at leaſt to ſome tolerable Degree of Favour, if not to that Confidence and Authority, which their Predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed. So that being now in a Manner cut off from all Hope, which is uſually the laſt Comfort to People in Affliction, they became ſo much the more ſenſible of the Hardneſs of their preſent Fortune.

But amongſt theſe, *Anthony* of *Vendoſme*, a Prince of great Goodneſs, and of a quiet eaſy Diſpoſition, bore his Misfortunes with admirable Temper and Patience, his Attention being chiefly turned to Affairs of greater Conſequence: For having married *Jane* of *Albret*, only Daughter to *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and, after the Death of his Father-in-law, aſſumed the Title and Arms of King, he not only took upon him the Government of the Principality of *Bearn*, at the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, where he was abſolute Sovereign, but alſo uſed all Manner of Endeavours, by way of Negotiation, to recover his Kingdom, which the *Spaniard* had uſurped ever ſince the Wars betwixt *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and *Lewis* the Twelfth: Having been often encouraged by the Kings of *France*, in whoſe Quarrel it was loſt, to attempt the regaining of it by Force of Arms, though his Schemes for that Purpoſe had been continually fruſtrated by the Nearneſs of *Spain*, which immediately borders upon *Navarre*. Wherefore, now theſe two great Crowns were going to engage in a Treaty to eſtabliſh a general Peace, he hoped likewiſe to be included in the Articles of it, in ſuch a Manner as to have his own State reſtored to him, or at leaſt exchanged for ſome other Territory, that ſhould be thought an Equivalent. And he grew the more paſſionate in that Deſire, as the Queen his Conſort had brought him a Son, who, in Memory of his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was called *Henry*; a Prince that, after many Viciſſitudes of Fortune, in the Courſe of a long and calamitous War, obtaining the Crown of *France* by his victorious Arms, is now, with general Approbation, ſurnamed *Henry the Great*. He was born on the thirteenth of *December*, in the Year of our Lord 1554, at the Town of *Pau*, in the Viſcounty of *Bearn*, which is ſituated in a delightful Country at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*. As the Parents were greatly rejoiced at this Event, it ſpurred them up to purſue the Deſigns, which

they were carrying on for the Recovery of *Navarre*, with more Eagerneſs and Aſſiduity. Beſides, the King, *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, imagining that he could more eaſily prevail upon the King of *France*, to intereſt himſelf in getting his Reſtoration included in the Treaty, than obtain his proper Dignity and Command in that Kingdom, as firſt Prince of the Blood, bore the Injuries that had been offered to his Family with ſo much the greater Patience and Moderation. And though the King, either perſiſting in his Reſolution to humble the Princes of the Blood, or out of particular Reſentment to *Anthony*, becauſe he refuſed to exchange the Principality of *Bearn*, and the reſt of the free States for other Cities and Lordſhips in the Kingdom of *France*, diſmembered his Government of *Guienne*, which he enjoyed as firſt Prince of the Blood, by ſeparating all *Languedoc;* a large and populous Province, from it, with the City of *Tholouſe*, and giving the Government of them to the Conſtable, he yet overlooked this grievous Affront, and, ſeeming to be not at all diſguſted at it, perſevered with great Conſtancy in his Deſigns. But *Lewis* of *Condé*, his Brother, a Man of an aſpiring Diſpoſition and reſtleſs Spirit, who was not reſtrained by any ſuch Motives, finding the Narrowneſs of his Fortune could not ſupport the Greatneſs of his Birth, without the Addition of ſome Government or Place of conſiderable Emolument in *France*, was mortified to the laſt Degree at his preſent Circumſtances, and could not forbear giving many evident Signs of the Envy and Impatience with which he bore the overgrown Greatneſs of the *Guiſes*, who alone, in a Manner, ſwallowed up all the chief Employments in the Kingdom. Beſides his own Intereſt, the Diſgrace of the Conſtable made no ſlight Impreſſion upon him: For, being married to his Niece *Eleanor de Roye*, and entered into a ſtrict Friendſhip with him and his Son *Montmorancy*, he looked upon the Depreſſion of that Family, as an Increaſe and Accompliſhment of his own Misfortunes. Theſe Reflections, ſufficiently ſtinging of themſelves, were ſtill aggravated by the Admiral of *Chaſtillon* and his Brother Monſieur *D'Andelot*. The firſt of whom, being of an ambitious Nature, but at the ſame Time very cautious and ſubtle, laid hold of every Opportunity that offered in the midſt of theſe Troubles, to advance himſelf to Power and Authority. The other, who was of a fiery and impetuous Temper, and continually engaged in Factions, endeavoured, both by his Example and Perſuaſion, more and more to blow up that Rage, which was already kindled in the Prince's Breaſt: So that, burning with Hatred, and become in a manner deſperate, he wholly bent his Thoughts upon bringing about a Change of Government.

Such was the State of Affairs, ſuch the Emulation and Enmities amongſt the great Men of the Kingdom, ready, upon any trifling Occaſion,

ſion, to break out into open Diſſenſion: When the Death of *Henry* the Second ſuddenly happened in the Month of *July* 1559. 1559.

This Prince had experienced great Variety of Fortune in the Courſe of ſeveral Wars: And being deſirous of eaſing his Kingdom of the heavy Expence and Calamities that attended them, was at laſt inclined to concur with the neighbouring Powers in eſtabliſhing a general Peace. And, to give the ſtricteſt Sanction to it that was poſſible, he, at the ſame Time, married his eldeſt Daughter *Iſabel* to *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*: And *Margaret*, his only Siſter, to *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*. But whilſt they were celebrating theſe Marriages in the City of *Paris*, with royal Magnificence and univerſal Joy; behold! as he was encountering *Gabriel* Earl of *Montgomery*, Captain of his *Scotch* Guards, at a publick Tournament, on the laſt Day of *June*, having their Lances headed with Steel, the Vizor of his Helmet by accident flew open, and, being deſperately wounded in the right Eye, by his Adverſary's Weapon, he was immediately carried away to the *Hôtel des Tournelles*, where, his Wound proving mortal, he departed this Life on the tenth Day of *July*, exceedingly lamented by all Men.

After the Death of *Henry* the Second, his eldeſt Son *Francis*, Dauphin of *France*, ſucceeded to the Crown, being about ſixteen Years of Age; a Youth of weak Underſtanding, unhealthful, and of a tender Conſtitution; under whoſe Government all Things ran on in ſuch a precipitate Manner to an Iſſue eaſily foreſeen, that ſecret Enmities broke out into open Diſcord, and in a ſhort Time came to the Deciſion of Arms. And though there could not, properly ſpeaking, be any Regent, as the Kings of *France* are out of their Minority when fourteen Years old, and *Francis* had already exceeded that Age, yet his Youth, and much more his natural Incapacity, abſolutely required a prudent and aſſiduous Adminiſtration, till Time and Maturity of Years ſhould render him more capable of governing. The Princes of the Blood were called, by the ancient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, to that Charge, which of Courſe, in Point of Conſanguinity and Reputation, belonged to the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*. On the other hand, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being nearly related to the King by the Queen his Wife, pretended to this Dignity, as due to their Merits and great Services done to the Crown, and (which they chiefly inſiſted upon) becauſe they actually enjoyed it, during the Life-time of the deceaſed King. Beſides theſe, *Catharine* of *Medicis*, the King's Mother, likewiſe claimed a Right to it, not only from Nearneſs of Blood, but many Precedents in former Times; and, being greatly encouraged by the Diſſenſions amongſt the Princes, made no Doubt of eaſily accompliſhing what ſhe deſired. The Fear that one Faction ſtood in of another facilitated her Deſigns: So that the *Guiſes*, being ſen-

1559. ſible they had not the Qualification of Blood that was required to obtain the Government of the State, and foreſeeing how much Weight the Counſels and Authority of a Mother were like to have over the unexperienced Youth of a Son, reſolved to join with her, and be content with a Share of Power, when they could not engroſs the Whole. And in like Manner the Queen, who was a Woman of a maſculine Spirit and great Subtilty, knowing that the Princes of the Blood are always naturally Enemies to the Government and Greatneſs of Queens; and being aware that, as an *Italian* and a Stranger, ſhe ſhould have Occaſion for the Support of ſome potent Faction to eſtabliſh herſelf in Power, willingly conſented to enter into a Confederacy with the *Guiſes*, who, ſhe perceived, would be ſatisfied with a Share only of the Adminiſtration, which the Princes of *Bourbon* pretended, entirely belonged to them.

The mutual Intereſt of the *Guiſes*, and the Ducheſs *Diana*, whom the deceaſed King loved extremely even to his laſt, was a great Obſtacle to this Union; but the Situation of Affairs abſolutely requiring it, and, Delays being of ill Conſequence in Matters of ſuch Importance; the Queen, on the one Side, who in her Huſband's Life had borne a Rival with admirable Patience, was now inclined to forget all paſt Injuries with the ſame Moderation: And the *Guiſes*, on the other, wholly fixing their Thoughts upon the preſent Occaſion, were eaſily prevailed upon to give their Conſent, that ſhe ſhould not only be removed from all Power, but from the Court alſo, provided ſhe was not abſolutely deprived of her Eſtate, which after her Death was to come to their Brother, the Duke of *Aumale*. This Union therefore being cemented by their common Intereſt, and every thing relating to *Diana* ſettled to the Queen's Satisfaction, they immediately proceeded to lay the Foundation of their intended Greatneſs.

The King of *Navarre* was abſent, being out of Humour both with the King and Court; becauſe in the Treaty with *Spain* no Regard was had to his Intereſt, or the Recovery of his Kingdom. The Conſtable was employed in the Obſequies of the King, which were purpoſely committed to his Care; for, that Solemnity continuing with the ſame Pomp for three and thirty Days together, he that has the Charge of it is not permitted to depart from the Place where the dead Body lies and the Ceremonies are obſerved, which was in the *Hôtel des Tournelles*, at a great Diſtance from the *Louvre*, whither, according to Cuſtom, the young King was brought to reſide. The chief Obſtacles being thus removed, partly by Induſtry, partly by Fortune, it was no difficult Matter to perſuade the King, who likewiſe was in a great Meaſure led by the Artifice and Endearments of the Queen his Wife, to give up his whole Authority into the Hands of their neareſt Relations. So the chief Command of the Army was given

to the Duke, the Management of civil Affairs to the Cardinal, and the Superintendence of all to the Queen Mother. 1559.

When Things were thus accommodated to their own Satisfaction; in order to eſtabliſh themſelves, they immediately entered into a Conſultation, how to remove all ſuch as might in any wiſe oppoſe their Deſigns, or work upon the King, by Complaints or other ſecret Practices, to make any Change in the Adminiſtration. There was no Doubt but their firſt Attempt would be upon the Conſtable, as one whoſe Authority and Wiſdom the *Guiſes* were moſt apprehenſive of, and the Queen Mother had long, though ſecretly, hated. The *Guiſes* feared him upon Account of the ſharp Competitions that had ever ſubſiſted betwixt them, and becauſe of the Opinion of his Wiſdom, which ſtill kept him in high Credit with the whole Kingdom, even after he had loſt all Power at Court: But the Hatred of the Queen proceeded from more Cauſes than one; particularly from his having, for ſome Years after ſhe was married, often endeavoured, with great Earneſtneſs, to perſuade the King to repudiate her as barren; and afterwards, when ſhe proved to have Children, he was continually reflecting upon her, and publickly ſaid, that, *of all the King's Children, there was not one that reſembled him, except* Diana *his natural Daughter*, who was deſigned to marry *Francis* of *Montmorancy*, one of his Sons: Which Speeches caſt an indirect Aſperſion upon the Queen's Honour and Chaſtity. Nor could ſhe, beſides theſe Injuries, eaſily forget that he, naturally averſe to Strangers, had abuſed and diſcountenanced all *Florentines*, who, either as Relations or Countrymen, uſed to frequent her Court; and, as if he pretended to an Emulation with her herſelf, had conſtantly endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his Power, to affront and depreſs all her Dependants: Which Things ſhe bore with admirable Patience, and wiſely ſeemed to take no Notice of them, whilſt her Huſband lived; as indeed ſhe was a Woman of impenetrable Secrecy and moſt profound Diſſimulation. But now there was a proper Opportunity, they made her readily conſent to the Deſire of the *Guiſes*, which was, under other Pretences to deprive him of all Power in the Kingdom, and Favour at Court. And therefore, having artfully turned the Diſcourſe upon that Topic, in their private Conferences, they all joined in repreſenting to the King the too great Authority of that Man; that, if he continued at Court, he would pretend to tutor him like a Child, and keep him under the Laſh of his Diſcipline; that being ſtrictly united with the Princes of *Bourbon*, (the conſtant Enemies of thoſe that poſſeſſed the Crown, which they had long aſpired to) he was upon no Account to be truſted, leſt, by ſo doing, his Majeſty might expoſe both his own Life, and that of his younger Brothers, to the Treachery of thoſe Men, who, being ſuſpected from their reſtleſs Ambition, were always kept under and at a Diſtance by the Kings his Predeceſſors.

1559. ceſſors. Theſe Arguments making an Impreſſion upon the King's Weakneſs, as they that know little, are naturally jealous of ſuch as know more, he was eaſily perſuaded to take ſome Opportunity of handſomely diſmiſſing him from Court. Receiving him, therefore, very graciouſly, when his Father's Obſequies were ended, he told him, "that not being able any "other Way to reward the Greatneſs of his Merits, and the Fatigues he "had undergone in the Service of his Predeceſſors, he was determined "to releaſe him from the Cares and Weight of Government, as he knew "they muſt now be too heavy and burdenſome for his Age, which he "ſhould be ſorry to oppreſs with the exceſſive Toil of Buſineſs, and "would reſerve him for ſome great Occaſion; for which Reaſon he might "retire to enjoy Eaſe and Quiet whereever he pleaſed, being reſolved not "to wear him out as a Slave and Vaſſal, but always to honour him as a "Father." By which Speech the Conſtable, knowing it was no Time to diſpute the Matter, and that it would be the beſt Way to accept that as a Reward, which otherwiſe would be turned to a Puniſhment, having thanked the King, and recommended his Sons and Nephews to his Protection, retired to his Palace at *Chantilly*, ten Leagues from *Paris*, where he had formerly taken Shelter from the Perſecutions of the Court.

The Conſtable being thus diſcharged, the next Conſideration was how to remove the Prince of *Condé*, whoſe Boldneſs and Reſentment appeared every Day more ready to take hold of any Opportunity whatſoever to attempt a Change and alter the Form of the preſent Government. But as it did not appear a very eaſy Matter to get quit of him, upon the Account of his Quality as Prince of the Blood, it was thought a good Expedient to ſend him out of the Way, at leaſt for ſome Time, till their new framed Government had acquired ſome Degree of Strength. For which Purpoſe, they appointed him Ambaſſador to his Catholick Majeſty, to ratify the Peace and Alliance entered into at the End of the laſt King's Reign, which obliged him to depart from Court, and leave them the Field open to perfect their Deſigns.

In the ſame Manner, they proceeded with all other Perſons. For the Queen and the *Guiſes*, being firmly reſolved to eſtabliſh the Greatneſs of which they had now laid the Foundation, thought it would much contribute to the Accompliſhment of their Deſires, if they could reduce the Fortreſſes, Soldiery, Treaſures, and other Sinews of the State, by little and little, into their own Power, and take all the eſſential important Affairs of the Kingdom into their own Hands, or commit them to the Management of their moſt faithful Followers and Adherents. But they were not ſo wholly governed by their private Intereſts, that they had not ſtill ſome Regard to the publick Good and their own Reputation. For they did not prefer Men of little Merit and abject Condition (as is commonly done in ſuch

ſuch Caſes, upon a Preſumption that they will be more truſty upon the account of the Greatneſs of the Obligation) but were induſtrious in ſeeking out Perſons of known Worth, noble Families, and, above all, in good Eſteem amongſt the common People; by which they obtained two Ends at the ſame Time; one, that the People in general were ſatisfied with their Choice, and their Enemies could have no juſt Occaſion to condemn it: The other, that repoſing a Confidence in People of Honour and Sincerity, they were not diſappointed or deceived in their Truſt, as it often happens to thoſe that commit the Care of their Affairs to Men of mean Extraction or a vitious Life. 1559.

Agreeable to theſe Principles, they recalled *Francis Olivier*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, to the Exerciſe of his Office, a Man of well known Integrity and ſevere Conſtancy, who had been diſmiſſed from Court at the Beginning of *Henry's* Reign, at the Perſuaſion of the Conſtable, either for ſpeaking his Thoughts with too little Reſerve, or perſevering with too much Obſtinacy in his Opinions. They alſo recalled the Cardinal of *Tournon* to the Council of State, and placed him near the King's Perſon; the ſame who, in the Time of *Francis* the Firſt, Grandfather to this King, had the principal Management of Affairs. As theſe were Men of tried and well known Goodneſs, and Enemies to the many Impoſitions under which the Nation laboured, they not only pleaſed the common People, and anſwered the Expectation of the Publick; but having been diſgraced, and in a Manner driven away from Court by the Conſtable, and now brought back with much Credit, to the preſent Adminiſtration, they contributed alſo, both by their Counſels and Actions, to ſtrengthen the Foundation of its riſing Grandeur. The ſame Addreſs and the like Care was taken in reinſtating others. But they did not proceed with ſuch Moderation towards the Houſes of *Bourbon* and *Montmorancy*: On the contrary, the *Guiſes*, tranſported with a Deſire of abaſing their antient Enemy and the Splendour of the royal Family, as much as it was poſſible, eagerly embraced any Opportunity of diminiſhing their Reputation, or otherwiſe prejudicing them. *Jaſper de Coligny*, the Admiral, was poſſeſſed of two different Governments; the Iſle of *France*, (ſo that Province is called in which *Paris* is ſituated) and *Picardy*: And, becauſe the Laws of the Kingdom prohibit any Perſon to hold two, the late King had reſolved to give that of *Picardy* to the Prince of *Condé*, in order to pacify his Reſentment in ſome Meaſure, which he knew was much enflamed by Oppreſſion; and ſo much the more, becauſe his Father, having long enjoyed that Government, and after him the King of *Navarre* his Brother, he not only vehemently deſired, but ſeemed to have a juſt and reaſonable Pretenſion to it. But the Admiral having reſigned it in Favour of the Prince, and the King dying almoſt at the ſame Time, *Francis*, without any Regard to his Father's

1559. ther's Intention, though publickly known, by the Perſuaſion of the *Guiſes*, and with manifeſt Injuſtice to the Prince, conferred the ſame Government upon *Charles de Coſſé*, Marſhal of *Briſac*, an Officer not only of great Reputation and Valour, but one that, being raiſed by the Fortune of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and ſtrictly united with thoſe Princes in all Things, depended abſolutely upon them. No greater Reſpect was ſhewn to *Francis* of *Montmorancy*, the Conſtable's eldeſt Son. For though he had married *Diana*, natural Daughter to *Henry*, on a Promiſe of having the Office of Grand Maſter conferred upon him, which his Father had enjoyed many Years, yet the Duke of *Guiſe* got it for himſelf ſoon after *Francis* came to the Crown, endeavouring to add freſh Authority and Luſtre to his new Greatneſs, and to deprive a Family of it, which he was deſirous of reducing as low as poſſible. Thus the Duke, and much more the Cardinal, greedily laid hold of every Opportunity that offered, to depreſs their Adverſaries and aggrandize themſelves. But the Queen Mother, who was apprehenſive, that ſuch an exceſſive Degree of Greedineſs and Revenge, muſt of Neceſſity, one Time or other, produce ſome fatal Effect, and would willingly have proceeded with more Caution and Diſſimulation, was bold enough, even in the Beginning, to oppoſe the Counſels and Reſolutions of thoſe very People, by whoſe Power her own Authority was chiefly ſupported.

Now the Princes of *Bourbon*, being in this Manner excluded not only from any Share in the Government, but from the King's Favour, and almoſt from the Court, began at laſt ſeriouſly to weigh the State of their Affairs, and conſidering the Practices of their Enemies (who not being content with their preſent Authority contrived by all Means to ſecure themſelves againſt any future Accident) they reſolved to ſtand by no longer as idle Spectators of their own Diſgraces, but to find out ſome Method of indemnifying themſelves for their paſt Loſſes, and preventing their ſpeedy Ruin, which they ſaw was otherwiſe inevitable. For this Purpoſe *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, having left his young Son to the Care of the Queen his Wife at *Bearn*, out of the Reach of that Fire, which he ſaw kindling in the Kingdom of *France*, came to *Vendoſme*, where he was met by the Prince of *Condé*, lately returned from his Embaſſy, together with the Admiral *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, his Brothers, *Charles* Count of *Rochfocault*, *Francis* Vidame of *Chartres*, and *Anthony* Prince of *Porcian*, all Friends and near Allies: With whom came many other Gentlemen, ancient Dependants and Adherents to the Families of *Bourbon* and *Montmorancy*. Nor did the Conſtable, (who, under the Appearance of Retirement and a quiet Life, ſecretly gave Motion to all the Wheels of this Attempt) fail to ſend his old Secretary *D'Ardres* thither,

to

to aſſiſt at the Aſſembly, and inform them of his Sentiments in this Un- 1559.
dertaking.

Entering therefore into a Conſultation what was fitteſt to be done in the preſent Situation of Affairs, they unanimouſly agreed in the End, but were of different Opinions concerning the Means. For they were all ſenſible of the grievous Indignities that had been offered to the Princes of the Blood, who were not only excluded from the firſt Place in the Government, but had the few Offices they were left in Poſſeſſion of, violently wreſted out of their Hands; they likewiſe ſaw the immediate Ruin with which the Princes of the Blood themſelves, and their whole Party were threatned, the utter Suppreſſion of which, they found, was the *Guiſes* fixed Reſolution. For theſe Reaſons they unanimouſly concluded, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to provide againſt ſo imminent a Danger, as ſoon as poſſible, before their Affairs were reduced to an Extremity, and become irretrievable. But by what Means this was to be done, they did not ſo eaſily agree amongſt themſelves.

The Prince of *Condé*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, *D'Andelot*, and ſome others of the warmeſt and moſt reſolute amongſt them, were of Opinion, that, without giving their Enemies more Time to ſtrengthen themſelves and augment their Power and Reputation, they ſhould immediately have recourſe to Arms, as the moſt expeditious Remedy, and more ſecure than any other. They further ſhewed, that it was but in vain to wait any longer in Expectation, that the King would at laſt be moved, of his own free Will, to reſtore them to their Rights; for being unable of himſelf to reſolve upon any thing, he could never be rouzed from that Inſenſibility, in which his own Nature had in a manner buried him from his Birth: That, overawed by the Authority of a Mother, and the Power which the Lords of *Guiſe* had uſurped over him, he would not dare to reſume the Command which he had ſo tamely given up: That the Complaints and Admonitions of the Princes of the Blood, and Subjects well affected to the Crown, would never come to his Ears, as he was in a manner beſieged, even to the Servants about his Perſon, by Men under the Influence of their Adverſaries, and Guards to the preſent Tyranny; ſo that it was not to be hoped the King would, of his own Accord, yield them any Redreſs, to whom their Remonſtrances would never be admitted, but blackened and diſguiſed with the odious Names of Sedition, Treaſon, and Conſpiracy. What then had they to expect? That the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes* would voluntarily reſign that Greatneſs, which had coſt them ſo much Pains and Artifice to eſtabliſh, or ſhare it with their Enemies? That indeed was a Hope more vain and more unreaſonable than the other; for what Men acquire with Courage and Reſolution, they ſeldom part with in a cowardly Manner. That ends unlawful and diſhoneſt

1559. are uſually aſpired to in a ſecret Manner, and not arrived at by ſlow Degrees; but, when once obtained, they are afterwards impudently avowed and openly defended. That all Claims of Right, the Refuge and Authority of the Laws, Things that commonly prevail with private Men, give Way, without Conteſt, to the Violence of Princes, who meaſure Reaſon by the Rule of their Power and Will; that to proceed with ſo much Moderation and Reſpect added Confidence and Boldneſs to their Adverſaries: That to begin with Complaints and Supplications was only to ſound the Trumpet before the Battle, and give the Enemy Warning to prepare for his Defence: That the Succeſs of great Deſigns depended upon the Quickneſs of their Execution; whereas timid irreſolute Counſels, for the moſt part, abated the Courage of Men, betrayed a Degree of Weakneſs, and ſpoiled Opportunities that were of themſelves ſo rare and apt to ſlip away: That it was neceſſary therefore to have immediate Recourſe to Arms, in order to ſuppreſs their Enemies before they were prepared, and not to proceed in a leiſurely and too cautious a Manner, which might ruin the Foundation of their Hopes, and endanger the Succeſs of the whole Enterpriſe.

On the contrary, the King of *Navarre*, the Admiral, the Prince of *Porcian*, and the Conſtable's Secretary, in his Maſter's Name, were averſe to beginning with Force, and recommended a more gentle and moderate Way of Proceeding at the firſt. For they well knew, what Profeſſions ſoever the Princes of the Blood might make of taking up Arms to ſet the King at Liberty, who was beſieged and oppreſſed by the Power of Strangers, and not againſt his Crown and Authority, they would be vilely miſrepreſented, and of conſequence abhorred by all true *French* Men, who hold royal Majeſty in the moſt religious Veneration, and eſteem it unlawful to violate or conſtrain it in the leaſt Degree, upon any Account or under any Pretence whatſoever. They likewiſe conſidered, that, paying a ſtrict Regard to the Laws, they could not juſtly force the King to give up the Government into their Hands; for being now paſt Fourteen Years of Age, he was no longer under the Tutelage or Government of any one; and therefore as their Pretenſions were wholly founded upon Equity, it would be more adviſeable to carry them on with Prudence, and a Shew of Modeſty in their Behaviour and Remonſtrances, than to commit them to the Fury of War: And that if this Reſolution was managed with proper Addreſs and Application, they did not deſpair of gaining over the Queen Mother; and if ſhe was once drawn from the *Guiſes* Party, not only the Foundation of their Greatneſs would ſoon fail, but a ſecure and ready Way be opened to their own. Nor was it altogether to be doubted, that the *Guiſes*, who, for Want of Oppoſition, had ſo impudently ſeized upon the Whole, when they ſaw themſelves thus ſharply and powerfully

powerfully attacked, would at leaſt give up ſome Share of the Government to the Princes of *Bourbon*; that if they could obtain this, they might ſecure themſelves from preſent Indignities, and guard againſt thoſe Dangers, which now threatned them on every Side: In which Caſe they thought it much better to be quiet and content with ſome reaſonable Part, than to riſque the Whole, conſidering the Inſtability of Fortune and the uncertain Event of War: to maintain which they did not ſee what Forces they could hope for in *France* againſt their natural and lawful King; nor what Aſſiſtance was to be had from foreign Princes, who, by the late Treaty and Alliances, were ſo firmly united and confederated with him: Upon which account, it was greatly to be feared that by taking up Arms, they were more likely to involve their whole Family in utter Ruin and Deſtruction, than gain themſelves an honourable Admiſſion to the Government and Adminiſtration of the Kingdom. 1559.

This laſt Opinion prevailed in the End, through the Authority of the Perſon that ſupported it; and it was accordingly reſolved, that the King of *Navarre*, as Head of the Family and firſt Prince of the Blood, ſhould go to Court, and perſonally demanding an Audience, which the King could not refuſe to one of his Quality, lay their Claims before him, and endeavour, by a prudent and well managed Negotiation, to obtain ſome Share in the Government for himſelf, and get his Brothers, with their Dependants, reſtored to thoſe Dignities which had been injuriouſly taken from them, or to other Offices and Employments of the ſame Value. But it was eaſy to ſee, by the Beginning, how the Event would prove. For the King of *Navarre*, rather diſconcerted at the Dangers and Difficulties that ſeemed to attend ſo hazardous an Undertaking, proceeded in it with much Diffidence and Irreſolution, added to the natural Modeſty and Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition. Whereas, on the other hand, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, animated with their Proſperity, boldly prepared to encounter all Oppoſition, with the utmoſt Courage and Vigour.

The King was for a long Time perſuaded and made to believe, by the Queen his Mother and the *Guiſes*, that the Princes of the Blood had always been kept under by his Predeceſſors, on account of the Malice which they naturally bore towards the Kings, that were in Poſſeſſion of the Crown; againſt whom they were ever practiſing, either by ſecret Conſpiracies or open Rebellion; and that at preſent the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, ſeeing themſelves next in Succeſſion, his Majeſty of a weak Conſtitution and without Children, and his Brothers ſtill in their Minority, endeavoured to remove him from the Care of his Mother and neareſt Relations, to keep him in Subjection (as the Maſters of the Palace had formerly done *Clovis*, *Chilperic*, and other Princes of weak

1559. Capacity,) and intended perhaps by other wicked Means, as Treachery or Poiſon, ſpeedily to open themſelves a Way to the Throne. This plauſible and well formed Story creating Jealouſies in the young King, who was by Nature timorous and miſtruſtful, he received the King of *Navarre* with little Appearance either of Kindneſs or Honour; and when he entered into any Converſation with him, (which was never but in the Preſence of the Duke or the Cardinal, who never ſtirred a Moment from his Side) he always gave him ſharp Anſwers; and, alledging his Majority, and magnifying the Services done him by the preſent Adminiſtration, ſtill precluded him from making any Inſtances or Demands, in Behalf of the Princes of the Blood, as wholly proceeding from private Ends and Contrivance, and neither ſuitable to the Times, nor any way agreeable to Reaſon.

The Attempt upon the Queen Mother had no better Succeſs; for being ſenſible, that ſhe could not confide in the Princes of the Blood, and that, though they might ſeem well affected to her for a Time, till they had got into the Government, ſhe ſhould afterwards not only be abandoned by them, but totally excluded from the Adminiſtration, nay, perhaps be obliged to retire from Court; and thinking it downright Folly to quit the Friendſhip of the ſtrongeſt, and now eſtabliſhed Party, to join with the Princes of *Bourbon*, who could afford her no Support at all that ſhe knew of, ſhe reſolved not to give up that Security, which ſhe could truſt to in her preſent Circumſtances. Being deſirous, however, as much as was poſſible, to prevent the publick Diſtractions and Tumults of War, ſhe thought it would not be prudent to leave them altogether without Hope, but to endeavour by Artifice and Diſſimulation to divert the King of *Navarre*, (whom ſhe knew to be of a pliable Nature) from his firſt Intentions, and make uſe of ſuch Advantages as Time and Opportunity might produce, for the Good of the Kingdom. For which Purpoſe, having filled him with Hope by a Shew of Kindneſs at their firſt Meeting, ſhe very artfully inſinuated to him in the Courſe of Converſation, that the King, being of a very delicate and tender Diſpoſition, ought not to be exaſperated with unſeaſonable Demands and Complaints; that it would be better to wait for ſome favourable Occaſion, which would probably ſoon happen. For as the King, being now out of his Minority, was not obliged to conform himſelf, in Matters of Government, to the Direction or Opinion of any Body, but to his own Will and Judgment alone, ſo when any future Opportunity ſhould offer of ſhewing Honour to and advancing the Princes of *Bourbon*, he would certainly pay a proper Regard to Conſanguinity, and convince all the World in how great Eſteem and Account he held their Virtue and Loyalty: That the King ought not, by any new Meaſures, ſuddenly to pull down or alter Things ſo lately eſtabliſhed, leſt he ſhould in the very Beginning of his Government give People

ple reaſon to think, he was of a variable Temper, inconſtant, irreſolute, and inconſiderate; but that in Time, as Places became vacant, he would take care, ſo far as was reaſonable, to ſatisfy the Pretenſions of every one. She likewiſe aſſured him, that ſhe was deſirous herſelf to take the Princes of the Blood under her own Protection, and would earneſtly ſollicit her Son, to comply with their Requeſts as ſoon as poſſible; adding, that it would be very unſeemly in the King of *Navarre*, who was a wiſe Man, and had given many Proofs of his Moderation, to ſuffer himſelf in this Affair to be guided by raſh and youthful Counſels, and led into Difficulties that would be a Reflection upon his Age and Underſtanding; that he ought, by waiting with Patience for that which ſhould be acknowledged as mere Favour and Courteſy in the King, to teach others how to deſerve the Notice and Bounty of their Prince, at a proper Time. Having often endeavoured by ſuch like Inſinuations to make an Impreſſion upon him, and perceiving that he began to waver, in order to give the finiſhing Stroke, ſhe told him, that as *Iſabel*, the King's Siſter, was to be ſent into *Spain*, accompanied by ſome Perſon of very great Quality and Eſteem, ſhe had thought of recommending that Charge to him, as one highly qualified, both by his Deportment and royal Birth, to add Luſtre and Honour to the Nuptials; which, beſides the Pleaſure it would give the King her Son, might not perhaps be altogether diſadvantagious to himſelf, as he would have an Opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with his Catholick Majeſty, and of treating with him in Perſon, concerning the Reſtitution or Exchange of his Kingdom of *Navarre:* In which Negotiation ſhe proffered to employ all her own Authority, and the Power of the King her Son, to bring his Affairs to a happy and advantagious Concluſion. 1559.

The King of *Navarre* therefore, upon ſounding the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Court, and finding all ſuch as had any Employment there entirely ſatisfied with the preſent Meaſures, and giving themſelves little Concern about the Pretenſions of the Princes of the Blood; ſeeing likewiſe ſome of thoſe that had Reaſon to wiſh for his Exaltation and that of his Brother, in a great Meaſure diſcouraged by the Power of their Adverſaries, others out of Humour at his long Stay, and all equally in Deſpair of doing any thing to the Purpoſe, began to return to his former Deſigns of endeavouring to recover his Kingdom, and thought he ought not, upon any account, to neglect that Opportunity, which would furniſh him not only with means of renewing his Negotiation with the King of *Spain*, but, of retiring from the Court with Honour, where he perceived he could not continue with any Reputation. For which Purpoſe, he willingly accepted the Offer of conducting Queen *Iſabel* into *Spain*, and being filled with infinite Hopes by the Queen Mother, though the other Princes his Adherents were grievouſly offended at it, haſtened his Departure with ſo much

1559. much Eagerneſs, that his Enemies could not have wiſhed for more. In the ſame eaſy Manner was he impoſed upon in his Treaty with the *Spaniards*; for King *Philip*, to flatter and amuſe him, being before-hand let into the Secret of that Affair by the Queen Mother, and no leſs deſirous than ſhe that the King of *Navarre*, who had ſo ſtrong a Claim to Part of his Dominions, ſhould be kept low and out of Power, commanded the Duke of *Alva*, and the other Noblemen appointed to receive the Queen his Wife, not to refuſe entering into a Negotiation with him, but that ſeeming to attend ſeriouſly to the Matter, they ſhould offer themſelves to make a Report of it to the King and his Council, without whoſe Opinion, it was not the Cuſtom to determine any thing that concerned the Intereſt of the State.

The King of *Navarre*, being arrived at the Confines of *Spain*, and having delivered Queen *Iſabel* to the *Spaniſh* Deputies, preſently entered into a Treaty concerning his own Affairs, which began in a very promiſing Manner, as he thought, and being managed with wonderful Art and Dexterity by the *Spaniards*, ſo buoyed him up with Hopes, though ſomething diſtant, that he now thought of Nothing but his own Affairs; ſo that having, at their Requeſt, ſent an Embaſſador to that Court, he determined to return to his former Retirement in *Bearn*, with a firm Reſolution not to concern himſelf any farther in the Affairs of *France*, ſince Negotiation had proved fruitleſs, and he thought there was but little Juſtice and too much Hazard in War.

But contrary was the Opinion, and different the Reſolutions of *Lewis* of *Condé* his Brother, a Prince that was poor, but bold and couragious, who, having conceived Hopes of arriving at great Things, hurried on by the Hatred he bore to his Enemies, diſtreſſed with the Narrowneſs of his Fortune, and continually ſpurred on by his Wife, and Mother-in-law, one of them Siſter, and the other Niece to the Conſtable, both ſpirited and ambitious Women, could no longer ſupport the Irkſomeneſs of his preſent Condition, but promoted new and dangerous Meaſures with all his Power: Having already figured to himſelf, that if he was the chief Inſtrument and Occaſion of ſetting a War on foot, he ſhould not only obtain great Power amongſt his own Party, but Riches alſo and ſeveral other Emoluments, beſides many Adherents to his Faction, and abſolute Dominion over divers Cities and Provinces in the Kingdom. For which Reaſons, having once more aſſembled the Princes and Nobility that were his Allies and Partizans, at his Houſe at *La Ferté* in *Champagne*, he with great Earneſtneſs ſet forth, that having till then tried mild and gentle Remedies without any Effect, it was now become neceſſary to apply a ſtronger Medicine to cure the Diſtemper, which it was plain, from the Violence of its Beginning, tended to the Deſtruction, not only of the royal Houſe,

but

but of all that did not adhere to, and depend like Slaves upon the Tyranny of the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes:* That it was no longer Time to hide their Wounds, till then with ſo much Patience concealed, for they appeared manifeſtly to the Eyes of all the World: That the Injuries, which had been heaped upon the Royal Family with ſo much Scorn, were now publickly known; as their Baniſhment from Court, the wreſting the Government of *Picardy* from them, the Uſurpation of the Office of Grand Maſter, the Superintendence of the King's Revenues, the diſtributing all Employments and Offices amongſt Strangers and People unknown, the artificial Impriſonment of the King, to whom Nobody could have Acceſs that ſpoke freely or honeſtly, or would give him wholeſome Advice: And finally, the Oppreſſion of all good Men, and the Advancement of ſuch only as made it their ſole Buſineſs to plunder the Crown, and imbezzle its Riches. The conſtant Perſecution of the Blood Royal was known, he ſaid, to every one, and the Tyranny eſtabliſhed amongſt them by Strangers, whoſe Violence could not now be reſiſted, but by Violence alone: That it was not the firſt Time, the Princes of the Blood had taken Arms to defend the Juriſdictions and Privileges of their Family. So, *Peter* Duke of *Bretagne*, *Robert* Count of *Dreux*, and many other Lords, engaged themſelves in a War, when, in the Minority of *Lewis* the Saint, Queen *Blanch*, his Mother, had ſeized upon the Government of the State. So *Philip* Count of *Valois*, after the Death of *Charles* the Fair, made uſe of his Power to exclude thoſe that unjuſtly pretended to the Regency and Guardianſhip; ſo *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* waged War in the Time of *Charles* the Eighth, to make himſelf choſen Regent and Governor of the Kingdom, againſt the Power and Authority of *Anne* Ducheſs of *Bourbon*, who being the King's eldeſt Siſter had aſſumed that Charge. That theſe and many other Examples were ſo well known, that they could not poſſibly err in following the Footſteps of their Anceſtors, whoſe Caſe being clearly the ſame with theirs at preſent, directed them the Way to their own Preſervation: That they ought not to wait any longer in Expectation of the King's Favour, in his preſent Circumſtances, who was lulled into a Lethargy, and naturally incapable of perceiving the miſerable Degree of Slavery, to which he was reduced. But as a wiſe and careful Phyſician adminiſters Potions and Medicines to a ſick Man, againſt his Inclination, to cure his Diſtemper and recover him from Danger, that he himſelf is not aware of; ſo the Princes of the Blood, to whom this Care naturally belonged, by ancient Cuſtom and the Conſent of the whole Nation, ought to uſe their Endeavours to deliver the King out of that Subjection and thoſe Chains which he was not ſenſible of, through his Infirmity, though they were ſo prejudicial to himſelf and deſtructive to the whole Kingdom. But that it was neceſſary to come to a ſpeedy Reſolution, and proceed with Vigour

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1559. and Conſtancy before the preſent Danger precipitated them into Extremities: For by timely Prevention, by Courage and Expedition, they might eaſily overcome thoſe Difficulties which always appear greater in Council and Debate, than they really are when they come to be attempted. On the contrary, by Dejection of Mind and Slowneſs in their Proceedings, they ſhould ſubject themſelves to inevitable Ruin and ignominious Servitude. He therefore exhorted every one of them to lay aſide all Doubts and Uncertainties, and bravely truſt his preſent Safety and future Reputation to the Strength of his own Arm.

Theſe, and other ſuch like Motives, being urged with much Energy and a Soldier-like Boldneſs by the Prince, made an Impreſſion upon the greater Part of his Audience, who were already ſufficiently diſpoſed to take up Arms by their own Intereſts and Affections.

But the Admiral, weighing the Greatneſs of the Attempt with more Coolneſs and Deliberation, oppoſed the Prince's Opinion, and adviſed another Method, which he thought ſafer and more likely to ſucceed. For to hazard the Safety of the whole Royal Family, and ſo many of their Allies and Dependants, in ſo open a Manner, with little Force, few Adherents, no ſtrong Places, without Men or ready Money, upon the uncertain Deciſion of War, appeared to him too deſperate a Reſolution; and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have Recourſe to Policy, where there was ſuch a manifeſt Defect of Strength, as they had it in their Power to bring their Deſign to the deſired End, by the Means of other Perſons, proceeding in a ſecret Manner, without appearing in it themſelves. He repreſented to them, that there were Multitudes of People all over the Kingdom, that had embraced the religious Opinions newly introduced by *Calvin:* That, by the Severity with which they were treated, and the Rigour of the Penalties inflicted upon them, they were reduced to Deſpair, and to a Readineſs, nay, a Neceſſity, of expoſing themſelves to any Perils whatſoever, provided they could be delivered from the Miſery of their preſent Condition; that they were in general convinced, that theſe Severities proceeded from the Perſuaſion and Advice of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and much more from the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who not only oppoſed their Doctrine in private Meetings and publick Diſcourſes, but perſecuted them without Intermiſſion, and zealouſly promoted their Deſtruction both in the Parliaments and Privy Council: That they had been forced to ſtifle their Rage and Reſentment ſo long, becauſe they had no Head to conduct them, nor any Perſon whoſe Counſels and Activity might put Life into them; but upon any little Proſpect of Aſſiſtance they would run the Hazard of the moſt difficult and dangerous Undertaking, in hopes of eſcaping the Ruin, which they ſaw hanging over them. So that it would be no bad Expedient to avail themſelves of theſe Means to give Courage and Form to a Multi-

a Multitude ſo diſpoſed, and to ſpur them on ſecretly, and in a proper Manner, when an Opportunity offered, to the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Lorrain*; by which, the Princes of the Blood, and other Lords of their Party would ſecure themſelves from Danger, increaſe their Strength, by ſuch a Number of Followers, gain the Alliance of the proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who openly favoured and protected their Opinions, put a better Face upon the Cauſe, lay the Burden of ſo bold an Attempt upon other People, and make it believed, for the future, by all the World, that the civil War was firſt kindled and blown up, not on the Prince's Account and their Pretenſions to the Government, but by Diſſenſions and Controverſies in Matters of Religion. 1559.

It was not difficult for the Admiral by his Eloquence and Authority to bring the reſt over to his Opinion, as it ſeemed wonderfully adapted to the preſent State of their Affairs; and, there being many in the Aſſembly who ſecretly inclined to the Doctrines of *Calvin*, it was unanimouſly reſolved to follow that Advice, which furniſhed them with no leſs ſanguine and preſent hopes, prevented ſo precipitate a War, and for a Time kept off thoſe evident Dangers, to which Men unwillingly expoſe themſelves, when there are any Means, either wholly to avoid, or at leaſt delay them. But it was a Counſel and Reſolution ſo fatal and pernicious, that as it opened a Door to all thoſe Miſeries and Calamities, which, with terrible Example, for a long Time afflicted and diſtracted that Kingdom, ſo it brought to a miſerable End both the Perſon himſelf, that adviſed it, and all thoſe, who, led by their own Affections or preſent Intereſts, conſented to it.

That the Reader may be the better acquainted with the Beginning and Progreſs of *Calvin's* Doctrine, under the Banner of which ſo many different Factions were engaged during the civil Wars of *France*, it may be proper to give ſome Account of it, both for the clearer apprehending the Things that are here related, and alſo to prevent our being often obliged to look back to thoſe Beginnings, which it is neceſſary to be informed of, that we may come at a true Underſtanding of Facts.

After *Martin Luther* had introduced a Schiſm, and Variety of new religious Opinions into *Germany*, *John Calvin* a Native of *Noyon* in *Picardy*, and a Man of great but unquiet Genius, wonderfully eloquent and of extenſive Erudition, departing from the Faith generally held and obſerved for ſo many ages by our Anceſtors, propoſed in the Books, which he publiſhed, and the Sermons that he preached in various Parts of *France*, a hundred and twenty eight Articles, as he called them, differing from the *Roman* Catholick Faith. The *French*, who are naturally inquiſitive and fond of Novelties, began at firſt, rather for Amuſement than any Thing elſe, to read his Writings and frequent his Sermons. But as it happens, in the

1559. Courſe of this World, that Things beginning in jeſt often end in earneſt, theſe Opinions got ſo much Ground, that they were eagerly embraced, and obſtinately maintained, by great Numbers of People of all Qualities; ſo that *Calvin*, who was at firſt looked upon as a Man of little Conſequence, but of a ſeditious turbulent Spirit, in a ſhort Time came to be held in great Reverence by many, and eſteemed not only a new and miraculous Interpreter of Scripture, but an infallible Teacher of the true Faith.

This Doctrine originally ſprung up in the City of *Geneva*, ſituated upon the Lake anciently called *Lacus Lemanus*, upon the Confines of *Savoy*: Which having thrown off the Dominion both of the Duke and Biſhop, to whom it was formerly ſubject, under the Name of *Terra Franca*, and, on Pretence of enjoying Liberty of Conſcience, reduced itſelf into the Form of a Commonwealth. From thence Books coming out daily in print, and Men of Parts and Eloquence inſinuating themſelves into the neighbouring Provinces, and ſecretly ſowing the Seeds of this new Doctrine; all the Cities and Provinces of *France* were filled with it in a while, but ſo covertly, that there appeared openly only ſome few Marks and Conjectures of it.

This Diſſenſion began about the Time of *Francis* the Firſt, who, though he ſometimes made ſevere Reſolutions againſt it, nevertheleſs being continually involved in foreign Wars, either tolerated it, or was not, at that Time, aware how the Principles of that Faith (then rather deſpiſed and hated, than in any wiſe feared or taken notice of) began by little and little to ſpread in the World.

But *Henry* the Second, who was a religious Obſerver of the Catholick Faith, and knew likewiſe that Diſtractions in the State would infallibly follow, as a neceſſary Conſequence, from Diviſions in Religion amongſt his Subjects, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to pluck up thoſe Seeds by the Root, whilſt they were yet weak; and therefore gave Orders with inexorable Severity, that all ſuch as were convicted of this Imputation ſhould be put to Death without Mercy; and though many of the Counſellors in every Parliament, who either favoured the ſame Opinions or abhorred the continual Effuſion of Blood, tried all Means to ſkreen as many as they could from the Rigour of this Edict; yet ſuch was the King's Vigilance and Conſtancy, chiefly at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, that he would in the End, though with much Bloodſhed, have expelled the peccant Humour out of the Bowels of the Kingdom, if the Accidents, which followed, had not interrupted the Courſe of this Reſolution.

But the Death of *Henry* happening in an unexpected Manner, which the *Calviniſts* preached up as miraculous, and magnified to their Advantage; in the Beginning of *Francis* the Second's Reign, this Severity being through Neceſſity

Neceſſity ſomewhat abated, the Diſeaſe grew ſtronger by the Intermiſſion of Phyſick, and as the Remedies were gentler and leſs operative, ſo it inwardly increaſed and ſpread itſelf the more. For though the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who were at the Head of Affairs, continued in the ſame Reſolutions of Severity and Puniſhment, yet there was not the ſame Obedience ſhewn by the Parliaments and other Magiſtrates to the regal Authority: For, being over awed by the Numbers and Quality of thoſe that had embraced that Doctrine which they called the *reformed*, and already weary of ſuch Cruelties towards their Countrymen and Relations, they dropped the Proſecution by Degrees, and grew leſs diligent in their Searches after them. Beſides there were many amongſt the Counſellors ſo diſpoſed towards the Adminiſtration, and deſirous of a Change, that they were not diſpleaſed to ſee Things running into ſuch Confuſion, that every one might live in Liberty of Conſcience. For *Theodore Beza*, *Calvin's* Diſciple, a Man of great Eloquence and eminent Learning converted a vaſt Number both of Men and Women; and many of the chief Nobility and moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſons in the Kingdom, being gone over to that Religion, their Aſſemblies and Ceremonies were no longer confined to Stables and Cellars, as in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, but celebrated in the Halls and Apartments of the Gentry and Nobility. 1559.

Theſe People were commonly called *Hugonots:* Becauſe the Conventicles that they had in the City of *Tours*, (where that Sect firſt gathered Strength and increaſed) were in certain Cellars under Ground, near *Hugo's* Gate, from whence they were by the vulgar Sort named *Hugonots*; as in *Flanders* they were called *Geux*, becauſe they wore the Habit of *Mendicants*. Others relate ſeveral ridiculous and fabulous Inventions concerning the Origin of this Name. However that may be, they had yet no Head, nor the Authority of any Prince to protect them: For though the Admiral and many other Lords inclined to their Opinions, they durſt not then declare themſelves, for Fear of Puniſhment, and therefore held their Aſſemblies with the greateſt Privacy.

Now the Princes of *Bourbon*, finding the Kingdom in this State, ſo wonderfully adapted to their preſent Purpoſes, eagerly embraced the Admiral's Propoſal, and unanimouſly agreed to make uſe of this Pretext, and the Concurrence of theſe Circumſtances to accompliſh their Deſigns; and to this End deputed *Andelot*, and the Vidame of *Chartres* to negotiate their Affairs.

Andelot was Brother to the Admiral, and a Man of great Courage and much Experience in War; but being of a very haſty and turbulent Spirit, continually plotting, and buſying himſelf in Factions and ſeditious Cabals, he had frequently incurred the Diſpleaſure of the late Kings, and, having ſeveral Times deſerved it, would certainly have forfeited both his Repu-

1559. tation and Life, if it had not been for the Protection of the Conſtable and the Intereſt of his Brother the Cardinal. For theſe and ſuch like Practices being removed from Court, he had for a long Time continued to take Part with the *Hugonots*, and aſſiſt at their ſecret Aſſemblies and Sermons. Of the like Temper, and ſtill more precipitate and more open, but not of equal Valour, was the Vidame of *Chartres*, who being exceeding rich, and leading a diſſolute licentious Life, was become a Refuge and Sanctuary to all vitious Perſons, and at laſt, more out of Caprice and Love of Novelty, than any Senſe he had of Religion, declared himſelf an adherent of *Calvin*. Theſe Men, experienced in raiſing Commotions, and being acquainted with the Places, where the *Hugonots* uſed to aſſemble, without much Difficulty, or diſcovering themſelves, found out others proper to convey ſecret Intelligence of the Progreſs of their Deſign to ſuch as were intereſted in it, and to methodize and plan out ſuch Things as were to be put in Execution; who, beſides their indefatigable Activity, had continual Correſpondence with thoſe, that, being terrified at the Proſpect of impending Danger and Puniſhment, were ready for their own Safety, to diſturb and ſubvert the whole World; by which Means, they eaſily, and in a ſhort Time, brought the Matter to it's intended Iſſue.

Thus buſy in all Parts, in Order to execute their Deſign, it was agreed, that having aſſembled a great Multitude of thoſe that profeſſed the reformed Religion, they ſhould firſt of all ſend them to Court, where they ſhould preſent themſelves unarmed, and demand Liberty of Conſcience, free Exerciſe of their Religion, and Churches to be allowed them for that Purpoſe: And as they were very well aſſured theſe Demands would be ſharply and reſolutely denied, the armed Men, which were to be ſent privately, at the ſame Time, out of the ſeveral Provinces, appearing on a ſudden, under Captains appointed for that Purpoſe, (as if it was a Multitude enraged at a Denial, and furiouſly running to Arms) and finding the King unprovided, and the Court diſarmed, ſhould kill the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, with all thoſe that followed or depended upon any of their Name, and ſo force the King to declare the Prince of *Condé*, ſupreme Governor and Regent of the whole Kingdom, who ſhould then remit the penal Laws, and grant them a free Enjoyment of their Religion.

Some believe and have reported that the chief Inſtruments of this Conſpiracy had ſecret Orders, if it ſhould ſucceed in the Execution as they hoped, to cut not only the Queen Mother, but the King himſelf, and all his Brothers to Pieces, and, by this means, open a Way to the Throne for the Princes of *Bourbon:* But as none of the Accomplices ever confeſſed this Intention, but always, even upon the Rack, and at other Times, conſtantly denied it, I cannot give myſelf Leave to affirm it, upon the

uncertain Report of Fame only, which is often raiſed and exaggerated ac- 1559.
cording to the different Inclinations of Mankind.

The Manner of proceeding being thus ſettled by the Conſpirators, they immediately divided the Charges and chief Provinces amongſt the *Hugonots*, that they might execute their Deſigns with more Order and leſs Noiſe. *Godfrey de la Barre*, Sieur *de la Renaudie*, a Man that, having paſſed through Variety of Fortune and ſpent much Time in other Countries, had acquired great Reputation amongſt the *Calviniſts* by his Boldneſs and Parts and was much followed by them, took upon him the chief Care and Direction of the whole Enterpriſe, neither wanting Courage to undertake, nor Underſtanding to conduct, ſo hazardous a Deſign. Beſides, being reduced to low and deſperate Circumſtances, he was reſolved by theſe means, either to better his Condition, or loſe his Life in the Attempt. He was born of a noble Family in *Perigort*, (the Inhabitants of which were formerly called *Petrocorii*) but obliged to fly his Country for ſome fraudulent Dealings in a certain Proceſs at Law; and having wandered up and down the World many Years, at laſt came to *Geneva*, and there getting into ſome Credit by the Sprightlineſs of his Genius, found Means alſo to return to his own Country, where, having diſſipated his Fortune in factious Cabals and Projects, he was forced to purſue the ſame Practices, that had formerly ruined both his Character and Eſtate. Such was the Quality and Birth of the chief of this Conſpiracy; with whom many others alſo joined themſelves, ſome induced thereto by conſcientious Motives, others by a Deſire of Change, and many by the natural Humour of the *French* Nation, who cannot endure to live idly. To thoſe of the higheſt Diſtinction amongſt them, he gave Commiſſions to raiſe Men and bring them to the appointed Rendezvous; ſo that, having allotted to each Man the particular Province that he was beſt qualified to act in, to prevent Confuſion he eſtabliſhed a very orderly Method, in conſequence of which, all the Members, though then going to operate ſeparately, were nevertheleſs to join at a proper Time under the Direction of their Superior. To the Baron of *Caſtelnau*, he committed the Care of *Gaſcony*; to Captain *Mazeres*, the Charge of *Bearn*; to *Meſny*, the Country about *Limoges*; to *Mirabeau*, *Xantoigne*; *Picardy* to *Coccaville*; *Provence* to *Movans*; *Brie* and *Champagne* to *Malines*; *Normandy* to the *Sieur de St. Mary*; and *Bretagne* to *Montejan*; Men, who were all not only of noble Families and known Courage, but reputed leading Men in the ſeveral Cities and Countries where they lived.

All theſe, departing from the Aſſembly at *Nantes* in *Bretagne*, where they had met under the Colour of Law Buſineſs, celebrating Marriages and ſuch like Pretences, and returning with great Expedition, every one to his own Province, had in a few Days, with wonderful Secrecy, got a great Number of People of different Conditions entirely at their Devotion,

who,

1559. who, without enquiring any farther into the Matter, were aſſured by their Preachers, that the Affair in Agitation was for the Good and Peace of the Publick. In the mean Time the Prince of *Condé*, who ſecretly added Fuel to the Fire, proceeded by little Journies towards the Court, that he might be ready and at hand to take ſuch Reſolutions as ſhould ſeem moſt expedient and agreeable to the preſent Occaſion. But the Admiral, with his wonted Sagacity, as if he had a Mind to ſtand neuter, that he might in any Caſe be the better able to aſſiſt his Party, having retired to his Houſe at *Chaſtillon*, ſeemed to conſult only his own Eaſe in a private Life, without giving himſelf any Concern at all about State Affairs; which he did not ſo much that he might ſecretly promote the common Deſign with his Counſel and Aſſiſtance, as through Doubt (eſteeming it rath and dangerous) that it might meet with ſome Diſappointment, or come to an unhappy Iſſue.

Now the Conſpirators, not troubled with ſuch Thoughts, but full of Hopes, departed with great Privacy from their Houſes at the Time appointed, and ſecretly carrying Arms under their Garments, travelled ſeparately, and by different Roads from all Parts, according to their Order, towards *Blois*, a City not any way fortified, where the Court at that Time reſided for the Benefit of the Air, near which they were all to meet on the 15th Day of *March* in the Year 1560, a Day more than once deſtined to the Execution of great Deſigns.

1560. But the Diligence and Secrecy of the Conſpirators was not ſuch (though very great) but it was exceeded by the Induſtry and Circumſpection of the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes*, who, through great Rewards and the Authority they had in the State, having an infinite Number of Dependants in every Part of the Kingdom, were minutely informed of the whole Train of the Conſpiracy: and indeed it was in a manner impoſſible that the riſing of ſo great a Multitude ſhould be concealed. For we ſee the moſt ſecret Plots, though truſted to Perſons of approved Confidence and the ſtricteſt Honour, have often been diſcovered before they came to Execution. Some will have it, that *La Renaudie* communicated all the Particulars to *Pierre Avanelles*, an Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*, whom he thought a Man to be truſted, as he was one of the ſame Religion: but that he, either looking upon it as too great an Attempt, or expecting a vaſt Reward, revealed them, in a confuſed Manner, to the Duke of *Guiſe's* Secretary, by whoſe Advice he went to Court and there diſcovered the whole to the Queen Mother.

But whether this Secret came from *Avanelles*, or Spies kept in the Houſes of the principal Conſpirators, or by Intelligence out of *Germany*, as ſome have ſaid; the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes* having certain Advice of it, immediately entered into a Conſultation about the propereſt Means

Means either of diverting or breaking the Force of the Conſpiracy. The Cardinal, not accuſtomed to the Dangers of War, and inclining to the ſecureſt Reſolution, adviſed that the Nobility of the neareſt Provinces ſhould be called together, that all the Infantry in the neighbouring Garriſons ſhould be formed into a Body, that Couriers ſhould be diſpatched to all the Princes and Governors in the Kingdom with peremptory Orders to take the Field, and purſue all ſuch as they found in Arms; imagining that when the Conſpirators found that they were diſcovered, and heard of ſuch vigorous Preparations (which are generally magnified by Report) they would naturally diſperſe of themſelves, rather than puſh Matters to Extremities. 1560.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, being inured to the greateſt Dangers, made little Account of the Efforts of a tumultuous Rabble, without either Diſcipline or Command; and ſaid, that by following the Cardinal's Opinion the Evil might poſſibly be delayed, but not extinguiſhed: That, if it was ſuffered to gain Ground in that dangerous Manner, it might probably eſtabliſh itſelf in the very Vitals of the Kingdom, and break out again, ſome Time or other, with freſh Fury and Malignity, and perhaps with greater Trouble and Damage to the State: That he was however of Opinion, that by diſſembling, and ſeeming to know nothing at all of the Matter, they ſhould give the Conſpirators Courage and Opportunity to diſcover themſelves; that ſo, when they were defeated and brought to Juſtice, the State might be freed from the Repletion of ſo dangerous and peſtilent a Humour, which being now grown to a Head, and ſhewing itſelf with ſuch deadly Symptoms, it was no longer Time to apply Lenitives, but to expel it with ſtrong and efficacious Medicines: That if the Conſpirators were taken off, one by one, and in part only, it would be in the Power of the Diſaffected to calumniate the Proceedings of the Government; and the People in general, not uſed to ſuch Events, would hardly be prevailed upon to approve them: So that many would think it a Contrivance of thoſe in Power to depreſs their Enemies and eſtabliſh their own Greatneſs; but that if they cruſhed them all together at the very Inſtant they were carrying their Deſigns into Execution, all Occaſion of Slander would be taken away, and the Uprightneſs and Integrity of the preſent Adminiſtration appear to all the World.

The Queen Mother likewiſe concurred in this Opinion, ſo that, without making any extraordinary Preparations which might give Occaſion to the Conſpirators to ſuſpect they had Intelligence of their Deſign, they carried the King and all the Court, as for Recreation only, to *Amboiſe*, a ſtrong Town ten Leagues from *Blois*, ſituated upon the River *Loire* and ſurrounded with Woods. This they did partly to baffle the Conſpirators in their firſt Attempt (who thought to find the Court in a nearer and more

open

1560. open Place) partly that, by means of the Caſtle, the Perſons of the King and Queen might be more ſecure, and being a Place of but little Compaſs it was eaſy to be defended, and by a few People. The Day now drawing near that was appointed for the Conſpirators to appear, the *Guiſes*, having conſulted how to make the beſt of ſo fine an Opportunity, not only to eſtabliſh, but to increaſe and perfect their newly acquired Greatneſs, and convert this Attack of their Adverſaries to their own Advantage (as Remedies are ſometimes extracted from Poiſons) went directly to the King, without acquainting the Queen, and with Shew of great Fear, magnified and exaggerated the Attempt of the Conſpirators, repreſenting to him in how imminent a Manner the Government, and by Conſequence his own Perſon, and all his Allies, were endangered by their Practices; telling him that the Blow was juſt ready to be ſtruck, the Enemy being already at the Gates of *Amboiſe*, and that their Number and Force being much greater than was at firſt apprehended, it was neceſſary to determine immediately what was to be done.

The King, naturally of a timorous Diſpoſition, and at preſent terribly frighted with the Greatneſs of the impending Evil, ſent not only for his Mother, but all the Council, into his Preſence, and began to conſult what Means were moſt proper to oppoſe the Force and ſuppreſs the Violence of ſo dangerous an Inſurrection. The Council was tumultuous and confuſed; ſo that many Doubts and infinite Dangers appearing on every Side, which were much increaſed by the Vehemence and Art of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the King, not being able of himſelf to form any Reſolution in Matters of ſuch Difficulty, much leſs to ſuſtain the Weight of the Government in a Time of ſo much Diſtraction, propoſes of himſelf, without being put upon it by any body elſe, to declare the Duke of *Guiſe* his Lieutenant-General, with an abſolute and ſovereign Power, and leave the State to be governed, during thoſe Commotions, entirely by his Courage and maturer Wiſdom, as he found himſelf unable to undergo ſo great a Burden. The Queen Mother, though inwardly ſtruck with ſo bold an Attempt, readily came into the King's Opinion, becauſe ſhe could not oppoſe that Reſolution without coming to open Variance with the *Guiſes:* Which, at that Juncture, when it was moſt neceſſary to remain united, would have occaſioned the Ruin of the King and the Subverſion of the State, for at the ſame Time that it introduced Diſorder and Confuſion into the Government, it would facilitate the Execution of the Conſpirators Deſigns. Beſides, it appeared highly neceſſary that ſome one Perſon of great Power, Experience, and Reputation ſhould be oppoſed to ſuch imminent Dangers, and that it was not by any Means fit to rely upon a weak, irreſolute Man, who, by his Doubts and Delays, might give their Enemies an Opportunity which they ſo much longed for,

for, and damp that Spirit and Courage in their Friends, which the Urgency of the preſent Affairs greatly required. The Examples of former Times, which afford excellent Inſtructions for the future, likewiſe put her in mind, that not only in Monarchies, where Kings exerciſe an abſolute and unlimited Power, but even in Republicks, the ſupreme Authority had frequently been conferred upon one Man, when the Occurrence of great Dangers ſeemed to require extraordinary and powerful Oppoſition. But beſides theſe Conſiderations, which related to the Welfare of her Son and Good of the Publick, ſhe was perſuaded to it by her own private Intereſt: For, foreſeeing the Havock and Deſtruction that muſt of Neceſſity follow the Envy of the Princes of the Blood, and the Hatred and Ill-Will that was ſure to attend it, ſhe thought it would anſwer her Purpoſe beſt to let the Duke of *Guiſe* have ſo abſolute a Command; as all the Blame and Odium would then wholly fall upon him, and ſhe herſelf not being at all concerned, ſhould preſerve the Love of the People, and the Liberty of turning her Deſigns which Way ſhe thought fit or ſeemed moſt advantageous to herſelf. 1560.

But *Olivier* the Chancellor, a Man that had at all Times given wiſe and wholſome Council, and was averſe to ſuch unlimited Power, ſeemed to be doubtful and in Suſpence whether he ſhould fully conſent to the King's Propoſal; and ſuch was his Conſtancy and Authority, that it would have been much longer debated and with dubious Succeſs, if the Queen Mother had not made it appear to him, that the preſent Danger was ſo preſſing and extraordinary that it could not be prevented by common Expedients and moderate Counſels: That it was neceſſary to conſider the inſtant Emergency, and rather than ruin the preſent, to lay aſide for a little while the Care of future Affairs, which they might otherwiſe remedy at a proper Time and Opportunity: That it would be very eaſy, when this preſſing Occaſion was once over, to retrench the immoderate Power which they were now obliged to put into the Duke of *Guiſe's* Hands, by new Edicts and Decrees, and to confine him within the Limits of Duty and Reaſon, if he ſhould be inclined to exceed them: And finally, that it would be better for them all that in the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, which it was eaſy to foreſee muſt be ſhed, no other Power or Authority ſhould be uſed but the Duke's only, without either the King himſelf or his Relations or Miniſters having their Hands imbrued in thoſe Slaughters and Executions. Theſe Conſiderations prevailing upon the Chancellor, he ſigned the Commiſſion drawn by *L'Aubeſpine*, Secretary of State, in which the Title and Authority of Lieutenant-General to the King in all the Provinces and Places in his Dominions, with ſupreme Power in all Cauſes, both Civil and Military, was granted to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

1560. The Duke therefore having now obtained this important Charge which he had ever aſpired to, began carefully to attend to the Suppreſſion of the Conſpiracy: For which Purpoſe he cauſed the Gate of the Caſtle, which opens towards the Gardens, to be immediately walled up; and having poſted a Guard of *Swiſs* and *French* Archers, who uſually attend the King's Perſon, at the other, he ſent out the Count of *Santerre* with ſome Horſe to patrole upon the Roads, and give him continual Intelligence of what he ſhould diſcover.

In the mean Time *La Renaudie* arrived with his Accomplices at the Place appointed, and finding that the King had retired from *Blois* to *Ambois*, he nevertheleſs boldly marched on in the ſame Order towards the Court. The unarmed Multitude came firſt, who, falling proſtrate before the King, were to demand Liberty of Conſcience; but they were not only refuſed Admittance to his Perſon, but being roughly driven away from the Gate by the Soldiers that were upon Guard, they retired, and wandering about the Fields, without either Order or Deſign, expected the coming of their other Companions.

Not long after, Captain *Lignieres*, one of the Conſpirators, either terrified at the Greatneſs of the Danger, juſt at the Point of Execution, or elſe through Remorſe of Conſcience, leaving his Companions, took another Road to *Ambois*, and gave the King and Queen Mother a particular and certain Account of the Number and Quality of the Conſpirators, the Names of the Commanders, the Roads by which they were to come, and in ſhort of their whole Deſign. Upon which, a Guard being ſecretly ſet, by the King's Order, over the Prince of *Condé*, that he might not in any wiſe be aiding to the Conſpirators, as he had promiſed them; the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent out *James d'Aubon*, Marſhal of *St. Andrew*, and *James Savoy*, Duke of *Nemours*, with all the Horſe they could raiſe, either of the King's Guard, or the Attendants of the Court; who, being conveniently placed in Ambuſhes in the Woods thereabouts, were ordered to wait for the Arrival of the Conſpirators. *Mazeres* and *Raunay*, who led the Troops of *Bearn*, were the firſt that fell into the Ambuſh laid by the Count of *Santerre*, and, being daunted at ſo ſudden an Aſſault, and not able either to fly or make any Defence, were taken Priſoners with very little Diſpute. The Baron of *Caſtelnau*, who headed a great Number out of *Gaſcony*, being arrived at *Noray*, and there halting to refreſh his Horſe, that they might be able to continue their March, was ſurprized by the Duke of *Nemours*, who, ſurrounding him in that Place, where he had made no manner of Proviſion for any Defence, he thought it the beſt Way to ſubmit to the Duke's Mercy, who carried him and all his Followers Priſoners to *Ambois*. *La Renaudie*, paſſing through the Woods, had eſcaped all the Ambuſcades, and, drawing near to the Gates

Gates of *Ambois*, was there encountered by *Pardillan* with a Squadron of reſolute Cuiraſſiers; yet ſeeing his Men well armed, and well mounted, and in good Order, he made a fierce Attack; but ſoon found, at it uſually happens, that his raw, undiſciplined Men began to give Way to the Weight of Veterans; and being reſolved to end his Life in an honourable Manner, he ſpurred on his Horſe to *Pardillan*, and, running his Tuck through his Vizor, laid him dead upon the Ground: Whereupon, being grievouſly wounded in the Groin with a Harquebuſs Ball by *Pardillan's* Page, who was near his Maſter, he died fighting valiantly, and the reſt of his Followers were almoſt all killed upon the Field, without much Reſiſtance. 1560.

The next Day the reſt of the Conſpirators Troops, having heard of the Death of *La Renaudie* and the Defeat of their Accomplices, and conſidering that all the Country round being now raiſed upon them, there was no Probability of ſaving themſelves by Flight, reſolved, under the Conduct of *La Motte* and *Coccaville*, who were the only Captains left, to aſſault the Walls and Gates of *Ambois*. For, not knowing that the Prince of *Condé* was under a ſtrict Guard, they expected he would raiſe ſome Commotion within the Town. The Aſſault was at firſt very reſolute and vigorous; but finding the Caſtle in all Parts well defended, and being at laſt wearied out and in Deſpair of effecting their Purpoſe, they retreated into the Suburbs, reſolving to make an obſtinate Defence there, in Hopes that by the Help of the Night, which was now drawing on, they ſhould find ſome Means of Eſcape. But the Cavalry coming in, that had been ſcouring the adjacent Country, and immediately ſetting Fire to the Houſes where they were, they almoſt all periſhed in the Flames, without being able in this laſt Extremity to perform any memorable Action. The Chiefs of thoſe that were taken alive, in other Places, were reſerved to ſee if they could extort the Particulars of the Conſpiracy from them; the reſt were condemned to die, and being hanged upon Trees in the Fields, and over the Caſtle Walls, butchered and mangled by the Soldiers and Executioners, were a moſt lamentable Spectacle, and gave Riſe to that Deſolation and Bloodſhed, which, continuing for many Years after, produced ſuch miſerable and tragical Events.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK II.

ARGUMENT.

The Privy Council are perplexed how to remedy the Diſorders diſcovered by the Conſpiracy: They deliberate about puniſhing the diſaffected Princes: The Aſſembly at Fontainbleau; the Reſolution to hold an Aſſembly of the States General, who are ſummoned by the King to meet at Orleans: The Princes of Bourbon refuſe to go thither; the King makes them change their Reſolution; the Conſtable advantageth himſelf by Delays: The Princes of the Blood arrive at Orleans; the Prince of Condé is committed to Priſon, and condemned to die. Francis the Second dies ſuddenly: Charles the Ninth ſucceeds to the Crown, and, being in his Minority, there ariſe great Diſſenſions about the Regency: The Queen Mother is at laſt made Regent, and the King of Navarre Preſident of the Provinces: The Prince of Condé is abſolved, and Liberty of Conſcience tacitly granted to the Hugonots. The King is crowned

crowned at Rheims: The Conſtable unites with the Guiſes: They join together to take away Liberty of Conſcience from the Hugonots. The Edict of July follows. The Miniſters of the Hugonots demand a Conference and obtain it: It is held at Poiſſy, but to no Purpoſe. The Hugonots departing from the Conference, preach with much Freedom; great Commotions and Diſſenſions ariſe thereupon; to remedy which, the States are aſſembled at Paris; where, Liberty of Conſcience is openly granted by the Edict of January. The Heads of the Catholick Faction leave the Court, and draw the King of Navarre alſo in Confederacy with them. The Queen Mother, being frighted at it, pretends to make a League with the Hugonots, and thereby adds Strength and Courage to that Party.

THE Forces of the Conſpirators being thus diſperſed, and the greateſt Part of the Commanders, who had brought them up from the remoteſt Parts of the Kingdom, either taken or killed, the Fury and Violence of the Inſurrection was in Appearance abated and ſuppreſſed. None however having ſuffered but the ſeditious Rabble only, who were forced, by the Neceſſity of their Circumſtances, to run Headlong upon any Danger: And the Princes of *Bourbon*, with the other Lords of that Party, who had not diſcovered themſelves to be the Authors of the late Conſpiracy, continuing ſtill unſatisfied and ready to attempt new Meaſures; the common Peace was ſtill internally more than ever diſturbed, and the Safety of the Publick expoſed to freſh Troubles. This being very well known both to the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes*; as ſoon as the Tumult and Commotions at Court began to ſubſide, which from the Novelty of the Accident were very great, in Order to make the ſpeedieſt and beſt Proviſion that was poſſible, againſt ſo evident a Danger; they immediately called all ſuch as, being faithful Miniſters to the preſent Government, they thought might be truſted with the Secret of their preſent Deliberations, to a Council in the King's own Chamber. There the Cauſes of the late Diſturbances being canvaſſed in a long Debate, and with much Conſideration, it clearly appeared that they proceeded entirely from the Practices and Inſtigation of the Princes of the Blood; and that, to maintain the King's Authority and the preſent Form of Government, it was neceſſary in the firſt Place to take away the Heads, and remove the Authors of that Inſurrection. They knew that, proceeding according to Strictneſs of Law, they might juſtly puniſh them, as Diſturbers of the publick Peace, as Favourers and Introducers of Hereſy, and finally, as Perſons who had conſpired againſt the Liberty of the King, and the ancient Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and made no Doubt of the People returning to their former Quiet and Obedience, when their Abettors were chaſtiſed and ſuppreſſed. But the great Reverence at all Times borne to the

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1560. the royal Blood, and the Power of thoſe Princes that were ſaid to be concerned in the Conſpiracy, would have cauſed every one there to ſuſpend his Judgment, as it appeared to them a Matter of ſuch vaſt Conſequence, and every Way ſo exceeding dangerous; if the King himſelf, who was provoked to a much higher Degree and Reſentment than was commonly thought to be in his Nature, at ſo ſudden a Commotion (which he ſaw was raiſed by the Princes, in the very Beginning of his Reign, without any Fault of his, or ill Uſage to his Subjects) had not animated the reſt by ſharp and ſtinging Expreſſions to reſolve upon ſome ſuch ſevere Courſe, as might ſhew his Senſe of the Indignity. To which the Queen Mother (no leſs ſollicitous for the Welfare of her Sons than her own Greatneſs) and the *Guiſes*, to maintain themſelves in Poſſeſſion of their preſent Power, readily conſenting, they all finally concurred in a Reſolution to puniſh and deſtroy all thoſe that had either by their Counſel or Aſſiſtance adminiſtered Fuel to that Flame.

But becauſe a Deliberation of ſuch Weight, full of infinite Hazards and likely to be attended with terrible Conſequences, ought by all Means to be executed with the utmoſt Prudence and Circumſpection, they reſolved to proceed with Diſſimulation, pretending not to know any Thing farther relating to the Conſpiracy, than what had been publickly brought to light; to impute all the Blame to the Diverſity of Religions, and ill Government of the Magiſtrates; to ſeem rather terrified and intimidated at the Fury and ſudden Attempt of the Conſpirators, than to think themſelves ſecure and out of Danger by their Suppreſſion; to appear outwardly very deſirous of regulating the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Kingdom, and to find out proper Ways and Means of reforming the Government; which, putting an End to all farther Pretenſions, might ſatisfy thoſe turbulent Spirits and reduce them to their former Tranquillity. By theſe Methods they thought to lull ſuch Perſons into Security as, from a Conſciouſneſs of their Guilt, lived in extreme Anxiety and Apprehenſion; and to accompliſh their Deſigns by Artifice, which they were ſenſible could hardly be effected by Force. And becauſe they imagined the Conſtable and the King of *Navarre* had, both by their Countenance and Aſſiſtance, contributed to foment theſe Diſturbances, and it was certainly known that the Vidame of *Chartres* and *Andelot* had been very active in them, who were all abſent and could not be got into their Power but with much Diſſimulation and Time, they reſolved even to ſet the Prince of *Condé* at Liberty, not only to create an Opinion that they were thoroughly convinced of his Loyalty, and had not penetrated to the Bottom of the Affair, but becauſe it would be rather prejudicial and dangerous than of any Advantage to them, if they ſhould puniſh or take off him alone, and ſuffer ſo many and ſuch powerful Revengers of

his Death to eſcape: The Experience of paſt Times teaching us, that it is in vain to cut down the Body of a Tree, how high and lofty ſoever, if there be any quick Roots left to make freſh Shoots. 1560.

The Plan of their ſecret Reſolutions being thus laid, and covered over with the Veil of ſuch deep Diſſimulation, they determined to call a general Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, upon which the Authority of the whole Kingdom is devolved; and that for two Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe the Reſolution of the King againſt the Princes of the Blood was ſo ſevere, he being but young and newly entered upon the Government, they thought it neceſſary that Act ſhould be confirmed by the univerſal Conſent and Concurrence of the Nation. Secondly, by declaring that the Intention of it was to enter into a common Conſultation concerning proper Remedies for the preſent Diſorders, and to ſettle a Form and Rules to be obſerved in Matters of Religion and the Adminiſtration of the future Government, the King might have an apparent and reaſonable Occaſion for calling together all the Princes of the Blood and Officers of the Crown, without giving Suſpicion to any body; neither would there be any plauſible Excuſe for their not coming, when it was given out that a Reformation was intended, which they openly profeſſed to deſire. But as an Aſſembly of the States is a Thing ever highly diſliked by the Kings of *France* (becauſe, whilſt they are ſitting and repreſent the Body of the whole Kingdom, they have abſolute Power, and the King's Authority ſeems in a manner ſuſpended) it was therefore reſolved firſt to call a Council of all the principal Miniſters of State, under a Pretence of remedying the preſent Diſtractions; in which it ſhould be propoſed and adviſed as neceſſary, by Perſons employed for that Purpoſe; that ſo the Princes and Lords that had been engaged in the Conſpiracy might not entertain any Jealouſy that the King had reſolved of himſelf to call an Aſſembly of the States, without the Deſire or Requeſt of his Subjects.

Things being thus determined upon, Letters Patent were immediately iſſued, directed to all the Parliaments and Edicts publiſhed through the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom; in the Preambles of which, the King, lamenting and complaining, that without any evident Occaſion a great Number of Perſons had rebelled and taken Arms againſt him, laid the whole Blame upon the Temerity of the Hugonots, who, having thrown off all fear of God and Love to their Country, endeavoured to diſturb the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom; but as it was the Duty of a good Prince to proceed with Tenderneſs and fatherly Indulgence, he likewiſe declared that he was ready to pardon all ſuch as, acknowledging their Error, ſhould retire peaceably to their own Houſes, with a Reſolution to live according to the Rites of the Catholic Church and in Obedience to the Civil Magiſtrate. Wherefore he charged all his Courts

of

1560. of Parliament not to proceed upon any paſt Informations in Proſecutions for the Sake of Religion, but to provide with all Severity for the future, that they ſhould offend no more in the like Manner, nor hold any unlawful Aſſemblies: And as he deſired above all Things to give his People Satisfaction and to reform all Abuſes in the Government, he therefore ſignified his Pleaſure to aſſemble all the Princes and eminent Perſons in the Kingdom at *Fontainbleau*, a Place conveniently ſituated for that Purpoſe in the Heart of *France*, and not far from *Paris*, to provide by their Counſel for the urgent Neceſſities of the State: For which Purpoſe he gave free Leave and Power to all Perſons whatſoever to come to the Aſſembly, or to ſend their Deputies and Grievances in Writing, which he would not only graciouſly hear himſelf, but grant the Supplicants Redreſs in every Thing that was reaſonable or juſt.

With theſe and other ſuch like Decrees induſtriouſly publiſhed in all Places, and with great Diſſimulation in the Court, they in ſome meaſure laid aſleep the Suſpicions and Jealouſies of the Grandees; nor was there any one who did not believe that the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes*, being terrified with the ſudden Attempt of the Conſpirators, and more than ever apprehenſive of new Inſurrections, had determined to give all manner of reaſonable Satisfaction to the diſcontented Princes, and regulate the Adminiſtration in ſuch a Manner, that every one, according to his Merit, ſhould partake in the Offices and Honours of the Government.

In this Interval the Guard was taken off from the Prince of *Condé*, and he was left at Liberty either to ſtay at Court or depart, as he pleaſed; neither the King nor Queen omitting any outward Demonſtrations of Kindneſs that might tend to pacify him. But being full of Doubts and Suſpicions, and ſtill uneaſy in his Mind (as he thought, if he ſtayed, he ſhould be in Danger; and if he left the Court, it would look as if he was guilty) he reſolved in ſome meaſure to make a Trial of the King's Inclinations, and, if it was poſſible, to penetrate into the real Intentions of his Miniſters. For which Purpoſe, coming one Day into the Privy Council, where the Princes of the Blood are always admitted, he endeavoured, in a very warm and ſpirited Manner, to clear himſelf of the Guilt of any Machinations againſt the King's Perſon or that of the Queen, as had been falſely ſuggeſted by his Enemies: And becauſe Aſperſions thrown in ſecret could not otherwiſe be wiped off, he was ready, he ſaid, to maintain his Innocence Sword in Hand againſt any Perſon whatſoever that dared to calumniate him as concerned in the late Conſpiracy. Which Words, though they were pointed directly at the Lords of *Guiſe*, yet the Duke, remembering the Reſolutions already taken, anſwered with great Art and Diſſimulation, that, well knowing the Goodneſs and Integrity of the Prince, he offered himſelf in Perſon to accompany him, and

and hazard his Life as his Second, if there were any that would accept the Challenge. 1560.

After this Farce was over, which was ſo well acted, and with ſuch a Shew of Sincerity on both Sides, that the moſt diſcerning and ſuſpicious began to think them real; the Prince being by no Means inwardly ſatisfied, but thinking he had done enough for his Juſtification, immediately left the Court, and with all Expedition went into *Bearn* to the King of *Navarre*.

They practiſed the like Artifices with the Conſtable, the Admiral, and the reſt, amuſing them in the ſame Manner with kind Letters, and Commiſſions, and Charges of great Importance. Nor was there leſs Care taken in all the Provinces to provide againſt any new Inſurrection; for Soldiers were quartered in thoſe Parts of the Kingdom that were moſt ſuſpected, and the Governors and Magiſtrates of the ſeveral Provinces and Cities were exceeding vigilant to prevent any ſecret Aſſemblies, where they perceived all the Miſchief was hatched and contrived; and, under Pretence of watching the Motions of the Hugonots, they kept a ſtrict Eye upon other People of all Sorts and Qualities. But round the King's Perſon they ſtationed the Troops of Horſe-Guards belonging to the Duke of *Orleans* and his Brother the Duke of *Angouleſme*, the Companies of Foot commanded by the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Aumale*, his Brother, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Nemours*, Prince *Lodovic Gourago*, Don *Franciſco d'Eſte*, the Marſhal of *Briſac*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Viſcount of *Tavanne*, the Count of *Cruſſol*, and Monſieur *de la Broſſe*, all well officered and by Men of Truſt and Fidelity: To which were added the Prince of *Condé's* Troops and the Conſtable's; for being amongſt ſo many others, their Motions might be carefully enough obſerved. All theſe, which amounted to a thouſand Lances, were conſtantly quartered about the Court to be near the King. And to his uſual Guard were added two hundred Harquebuſiers on Horſeback under the Command of Monſieur *de Richlieu*, a Man of exceeding great Reſolution and entirely dependent on the Government. The Princes and Miniſters of the Crown, many Prelates and Gentlemen were already ſummoned to attend the Aſſembly at *Fontainbleau*, where thoſe that were at the Helm proceeded with ſo much Diſſimulation and a ſeeming Fear and Apprehenſion of future Events, rather than any Intention of Severity or Revenge, that every body, even the Conſpirators themſelves, began to flatter themſelves they ſhould now eaſily obtain ſuch a Share and Regulation in the Government as they had long wiſhed for.

In the mean Time, the High Chancellor, *Olivier*, dying, that Dignity was conferred upon *Michael de l'Hoſpital*, who, beſides his thorough Acquaintance with the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtory, being a Man of

1560. long Experience in State Affairs, great Sagacity and Circumſpection, was thought a very proper Miniſter by the King for ſuch Purpoſes as were then in Agitation. The Queen likewiſe had uſed her utmoſt Endeavours to advance this Creature of her own to the Chancellorſhip; though the Lords of *Guiſe* ſtrenuouſly ſupported *Lewis de Morvilliers*, one that was in no wiſe inferior either in Wiſdom or Reputation, but ſeemed not to aſpire to it, leſt he ſhould incur the Diſpleaſure of the Queen Mother, now beginning to grow jealous of their Greatneſs, and deſirous of having ſome Perſon in that important Office, who, being abſolutely dependent upon her Will, ſhould likewiſe have ſufficient Abilities to manage Affairs of ſuch Conſequence.

But the Choice of the High Chancellor being at laſt confirmed (which had put an End to all Buſineſs for ſome Days) as the Execution of their Deſigns would not admit of any longer Delay; the King with the aforementioned Forces, and the Court all armed, went to *Fontainbleau* to aſſiſt at the appointed Aſſembly, the Event of which was impatiently expected by all Sides. The Conſtable arrived there two Days afterwards, accompanied by his two Sons, *Francis* Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, and *Henry* Lord of *Anville*; likewiſe by the Admiral *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, his Nephews; the Vidame of *Chartres*, the Prince of *Porcian*, and ſo numerous and gallant a Company of his Friends and Adherents, that he had nothing to fear either from the King's Strength or the Power of the *Guiſes* in ſo open a Place as *Fontainbleau*. The Prince of *Condé* and the King of *Navarre*, though kindly invited, had already refuſed to come thither. The firſt being ſo thoroughly exaſperated, that he applied himſelf more than ever to bring about a Change of Government; the other, having left the Care of what concerned their common Intereſts to the Conſtable and the Admiral, to whom he ſent his Agent, *James de la Sague*, with neceſſary Inſtructions, was determined to continue at a Diſtance and in Retirement.

The Day appointed for opening the Aſſembly being now come, after they were met all together in the Queen Mother's Apartment, the King acquainted them with his Intention in a few Words, which was, to prevent the Troubles that were riſing, and to regulate ſuch Things as were thought neceſſary to be reformed; wherefore he earneſtly deſired every one preſent to deliver his Opinion in what concerned the publick Good with Candour and Sincerity. The Queen Mother ſeconded the King in a Speech much to the ſame Purpoſe, but more at large, exhorting them all to ſpeak their own Sentiments freely, without Fear or Favour; for that the Aſſembly was called on purpoſe to regulate and reform ſuch Things, as it was neceſſary, for their preſent and future Tranquillity. The Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital* made a long ſet Speech to that Effect likewiſe,

wiſe, but deſcending more to Particulars, ſaid it was the King's Opinion, and that of the Lords of his Council, that the Diſturbances in the Kingdom proceeded chiefly from Difference of Opinions in Religion, and next from the exceſſive Grievances laid upon the People by the King's Predeceſſors; and therefore called upon every one to declare his Opinion publickly, eſpecially upon thoſe two Points, that due Care might be taken for the quieting Men's Conſciences, and paying the Debts of the Crown, without laying any farther Weight upon the Subject already overcharged, but rather to propoſe ſome proper Method to diſburden and eaſe them of their Oppreſſions; that his Majeſty, however, prohibited none, if they knew of any other Diſorders or Irregularities in the Government, from plainly and freely diſcovering and repreſenting to the Aſſembly what they thought might conduce to the reſettling the preſent Diſtractions in the State. 1560.

After theſe Invitations, for the better Information of thoſe that ſhould be willing to ſpeak their Opinions, the Duke of *Guiſe* gave an Account of the military Province and other Affairs committed to his Charge; and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* entered into a particular Detail of the State of the Treaſury and publick Revenues commonly called *Finances*. After theſe Preambles the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, that every body might have Time to conſider and prepare what he thought neceſſary to propoſe.

The next Day, before any one offered to deliver his Opinion, the Admiral, more in Love with his own Schemes than ever, and conceiving that if he could increaſe the Apprehenſions of the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes*, he might the more eaſily obtain ſuch a thorough Reformation as was aimed at, reſolved to ſet forth the Number and Power of the *Hugonots*, notwithſtanding the Suppreſſion of the late Conſpiracy, and by that Means conciliate to himſelf the Favour and abſolute Dependence of that Party: Wherefore, riſing from his Seat and preſenting himſelf before the King, he delivered him a Writing, and ſaid aloud, ſo as to be plainly heard by every one, *That it was a Petition from thoſe of the reformed Religion, who, in Confidence of his Majeſty's good Faith and Royal Edicts, wherein he permitted all People freely to complain of their Grievances, had deſired him to preſent it; and that though there were yet no Hands to it, whenever his Majeſty ſhould ſo order, it would be immediately ſubſcribed by a hundred and fifty thouſand Perſons.* The King, who under his Mother's Inſtruction, had learnt the Art of diſſembling, received the Paper very graciouſly, and with Expreſſions of great Kindneſs, commended the Confidence which the Admiral had repoſed in him, in preſenting the Deſires of his Subjects. This Paper being read by the Aubeſpine, it appeared to be a Petition from the *Hugonots*, in which, with many tedious Particulars, they in general demanded *Liberty of Conſcience, and Churches to be aſſigned them in every City, where they might freely exerciſe*

1560. *their Religion.* After the reading of which, the Admiral being returned to his Place and the Murmur ceaſed, which proceeded from the different Senſe that the Audience had of this Proceeding, it was recommended that every one ſhould deliver his Opinion in Order. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being naturally of a hot Temper, and called upon by the Obligation of his Profeſſion, could not forbear anſwering the Contents of the Petition, which he termed *ſeditious*, *impudent*, *raſh*, *heretical*, and *petulant*; concluding, that if, to ſtrike a Terror into the King's Youth, it had been threatened that it ſhould be ſigned by a hundred and fifty thouſand ſeditious People, he would take upon him to ſay, *there were above a Million of honeſt Men ready to ſuppreſs the Boldneſs of ſuch Rebels, and cauſe due Obedience to be ſhewn to Royal Majeſty.* Whereupon, the Admiral offering to reply, a warm Conteſt would very likely have enſued, to the Hindrance of all Buſineſs, if the King, interpoſing, had not enjoined them both Silence, and commanded the reſt to deliver their Opinions in regular Order.

As to what related to Controverſies in Religion, they that favoured the Doctrine of *Calvin* (as there were many even amongſt the Prelates that inclined that Way) propoſed that the Pope ſhould be deſired to grant a free, general Council, in which all Differences in Matters of Faith might be debated and determined by common Conſent; and, if the Pope ſhould refuſe it, though highly neceſſary in the preſent Juncture for the Satisfaction of all Men, the King ought, according to the Example of many of his wiſe Predeceſſors, to call a national Council in his own Kingdom, where, under his Protection, thoſe Differences might be ended. But the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and others, that firmly adhered to the Catholick Religion, and were the major Part of the Aſſembly, ſaid there was no Occaſion for any Council but that which was begun many Years ago by the Pope's Order, and now newly reaſſembled at the City of *Trent*, whither, according to the Canons and the ancient Practice of the holy Church, every body was at Liberty to have Recourſe, and to bring all Differences in Matters of Religion to be decided by their natural and proper Judges; and that to call a national Council, whilſt a general one was open, would be to ſeparate a moſt Chriſtian Kingdom from the Union and Fellowſhip of the holy Church, through the Caprice of a few deſperate Perſons: That it was not neceſſary to enter afreſh into thoſe Diſputes, as the general Council of *Trent*, having thoroughly diſcuſſed and examined the Doctrine of ſuch Teachers as diſſented from the *Roman* Church, had already in general rejected and condemned it; that they ſhould endeavour to purge the Kingdom by the beſt Means they could, and not increaſe Diſorders and multiply Confuſions by Hopes or Propoſals of new Councils: But if either the Morals of the Eccleſiaſticks, or any

Abuſes

Abuſes introduced into the Government of the Church of *France*, required Reformation, or more ſevere Conſtitutions, an Aſſembly of Prelates and Divines ought to be called, in which thoſe Diſorders might be remedied without entering into any Controverſies about their Faith. This Opinion was approved by a Majority, and at laſt embraced by all. 1560.

As for what concerned the State, after many Propoſals and Debates, which proceeded from Diverſity of Intereſts, *John de Montluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, having propoſed an Aſſembly of the States, by a ſecret Order from the Queen, both Parties willingly conſented to it. The Conſtable, the Admiral, and their Faction, becauſe they expected a Reformation of the Government from it; the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes*, becauſe they ſaw Things going on very faſt of themſelves to the End they deſired.

When this Debate was ended, the King, by his Chancellor, thanked the Lords of the Aſſembly; and Letters Patent were immediately diſpatched by the Secretaries to all the Provinces in the Kingdom, commanding them to ſend their Deputies to *Orleans* in the Month of *October* next, there to hold a general Aſſembly of the States. Orders were ſent at the ſame Time to the principal Prelates, that they ſhould meet at *Poiſſy* in the Month of *February* following, to reform thoſe Abuſes that were introduced into the Government and Miniſtry of the Church, and take Care that ſome of their Body ſhould likewiſe go to the general Council of *Trent*. When the Aſſembly was ended, every one had Liberty to return home, and was deſired to meet again at *Orleans* to aſſiſt at the Aſſembly of the States.

But *La Sagne*, the King of *Navarre's* Agent, being charged with Letters of Advice from the Conſtable; the Admiral and the reſt of their Adherents, directed to his Maſter, returning towards *Bearn*, after he had left *Fontainbleau*, was ſeized at *Eſtampes* by an expreſs Order from the Queen, and ſent from thence in a private Manner to Court, with all his Papers. The Letters only contained general Compliments, ſuch as uſually paſs amongſt Friends, and, being examined, he conſtantly denied that he had any other Commiſſion than what was plain to be ſeen from thoſe Letters; but, being brought to the Place of Torture, to draw the Truth from him by Force, and not being able to endure the Rack, he confeſſed that the Prince of *Condé* had adviſed, and the King of *Navarre* in Part conſented to leave *Bearn*, and, under Pretence of coming to Court, ſuddenly take Poſſeſſion of all the principal Towns in the Road; and then having made himſelf Maſter of *Paris*, by the Aſſiſtance of the Conſtable, whoſe Son, the Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, was Governor of it, cauſe a Revolt in *Picardy*, by means of the Lords of *Senarpont* and *Boucharvanne*, and bring over *Bretagne* to his Party by the Aid of the Duke of *Eſtampes*, who, being Governor of that Province, had great Dependances there; and ſo

come

1560. come to Court armed and accompanied by the Forces of the *Hugonots*, and oblige the States not only to depoſe the Queen Mother and the *Guiſes* from the Government, but declare the King was not out of his Minority till the Twenty Second Year of his Age, and appoint the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Conſtable, his Guardians and Governors of the Kingdom. To this Confeſſion, he added that if they put the Cover of the Vidame of *Chartres's* Letters, which were taken from him into Water, the Characters would preſently appear, and they would find there all written that he had ſaid. Thus, by the Confeſſion of their Agent and the Teſtimony of the Letters, the new Deſigns of the Conſpirators were diſcovered.

But as the Power and Dependants of the diſcontented Princes (now determined to attempt a Change of Government) daily increaſed, the Court took their Meaſures to prevent it, with ſo much the more Care and Diligence; for ſtill continuing their wonted Diſſimulation, they contrived by various Excuſes and Pretences, to draw near to the King's Perſon, or remove from the Government of the ſuſpected Provinces, all ſuch as being united with the Princes of the Blood were inſtructed to raiſe any Diſturbance or Commotion. For this Purpoſe, the Duke of *Eſtampes*, being ſent for under a Pretence of being appointed Governor of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was kept there with artful Delays. And *Senarpont*, being declared Lieutenant to the Marſhal of *Briſac*, coming to receive new Inſtructions relating to his Government, was by the ſame Contrivances prevented from fomenting any Inſurrection in *Picardy*; and in the like Manner all the reſt were amuſed and detained under different Pretences. But the Remedies were not equal to the Violence of the Diſeaſe, which was now become inveterate.

The *Hugonots*, having been encouraged by the firſt Adviſers of the Inſurrection at *Ambois*, and the open Declaration of the Admiral, began to be very tumultuous in every Part of the Kingdom, and laying aſide all Reſpect and Obedience, not only publickly reſiſted the Magiſtrates, but in many Places had abſolutely taken Arms, endeavouring to raiſe the Provinces and get Poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong Places, whither they might retire with Safety. Which Things were carried on in ſuch a Manner, that News and Complaints of their Inſolence were daily ſent to the Court from all Parts. But one Circumſtance, more preſſing and important than all the reſt, induced them to haſten their former Reſolutions. For the Prince of *Condé*, perſiſting in his old Deſigns, and urged forwards by a Conſciouſneſs of his Guilt, not being able to quiet his Thoughts or reſtrain his Ambition, determined to make himſelf Maſter of a ſtrong hold in ſome Part of the Kingdom, which might afterwards ſerve him for a Retreat, or Place of Arms, if he ſhould be forced to make Preparations for War.

Amongſt

Amongſt many others in which he kept ſecret Intelligence, none ſeemed ſo convenient for that Purpoſe as *Lions*, a rich and populous City ſituated upon the Banks of two navigable Rivers, not far from *Geneva*, the principal Seat of the *Hugonots*, and ſo near the Confines of *Germany*, that he might eaſily receive ſpeedy Succours from the proteſtant Princes there, and the united Cantons of *Switzerland*; from which he might alſo, upon any Exigency, ſoon retire into ſome free and ſecure Place out of the Kingdom. 1560.

For which purpoſe, by the Aſſiſtance of the two Brothers, *De Maligny* his old Acquaintance, he found means to tamper with ſeveral of the principal Men in the City, which, upon the Account of Trade is always inhabited by many Strangers of all Nations, and, from the Nearneſs of *Geneva*, was then filled with People averſe to the Catholick Religion, and inclined to the Doctrine of *Calvin*. Theſe, when they thought they had got a Party ſtrong enough in the City to raiſe an Inſurrection, endeavoured to bring in Soldiers privately and unarmed, and others of their Dependants; who being afterwards furniſhed with Arms, might ſuddenly ſieze upon the Bridges, and common Hall, and at laſt reduce the whole Town into their Power.

The Marſhal of St. *Andrew* was then Governor of *Lions*, and being lately ſent for to Court, upon the preſent Occaſions, had left his Nephew the Abbot of *Achon* there with the ſame Authority: Who, having thoroughly diſcovered the Practices of the *Hugonots*, and the Time they deſigned to riſe, by means of ſome Catholick Merchants, that were fearful of loſing their Property, and Enemies to ſuch Counſels as might diſturb the Peace of the City, appointed *Pro*, the chief Deputy of the Citizens, with three hundred Firelocks, to place a Guard upon the Bridges over the *Rhone* and the *Soane*, the Night before the Fifth of *September*, and to inveſt that Part of the City, which lies betwixt the two Rivers, where he knew the Conſpirators were to aſſemble. But the *Malignys*, being aware of the Catholicks Deſign, and not caring to be ſurrounded and attacked on a ſudden, were beforehand with the Governor's Men by the Favour of the Night, and puſhing forwards with the utmoſt Speed and Reſolution, got poſſeſſion of the Bridge over the *Soane*, where they lay waiting with great Silence, in Hope that the Catholicks, terrified with the Suddenneſs of the Encounter, would eaſily be put into Diſorder; by which a Paſſage would be open for them to make themſelves Maſters of the large Square, and of the ſtrongeſt and chief Parts of the Town.

But it happened quite otherwiſe; for the Catholicks ſuſtaining the firſt Shock without Diſorder or Confuſion, and freſh Supplies of Men being continually ſent by the Governor, the Conſpirators could hold out no longer: And the reſt of the Accomplices, ſeeing the Beginning ſo difficult, durſt

not

1560. not move or ſo much as make their Appearance. So that when the *Malignys*, who were wearied out with fighting all Night, perceived the Gate behind them was open at Break of Day, which the Governor had ordered not to be ſhut, leſt the Danger might be increaſed by a deſperate Reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to Flight, and many of their Faction with them: Others ſtealing away privately, or hiding themſelves in Houſes, the Town was delivered from the Peril and Apprehenſion it had been under from ſo great a Commotion.

The Governor then in all Haſte calling in ſuch Troops as were quartered near, and having made diligent Search for the Conſpirators, condemned ſome of them to be publickly hanged, in order to ſtrike a Terror into the *Hugonots*, by the Severity of their Puniſhment; others he ſaved alive, and ſent them immediately under a ſtrong Guard to Court, who afterwards confirmed the Depoſitions of other Priſoners, that were taken to found a Proceſs upon againſt the diſaffected Princes.

When the News of this Attempt arrived at Court, the King being reſolved to uſe no longer Delays, nor give farther Time for freſh Experiments, departed from *Fontainbleau* with the thouſand Lances that uſed to attend him, and two old Regiments of Foot that were lately returned out of Garriſon in *Piedmont* and *Scotland*; and taking the Rout of *Orleans*, ſummoned the Deputies of all the Provinces to appear there.

The *French* Nation is divided into three Orders, by them called *States*. The firſt conſiſts of Eccleſiaſticks; the ſecond of the Nobility; and the third of the Common People. Theſe, being ſubdivided into thirty Diſtricts or Juriſdictions, which they call *Bailliages* or *Seneſchauſſees*, when a general Aſſembly of the Kingdom is to be held, all reſort to their chief City, and ſeparating themſelves into three diſtinct *Chambers*, every one chuſes a Deputy, who in the Name of that Body is to aſſiſt at the general Aſſembly, wherein all the Affairs that concern any of theſe three Orders, or the Government of the State are propoſed and diſcuſſed.

In this Manner, three Deputies are ſent by every *Bailliage*, one for the Eccleſiaſticks, one for the Nobility, and one for the People, which, by a more honourable Term, is called *the third State*. When they are met together in the Preſence of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and great Officers of the Crown, they form the Body of the States General, and repreſent the Authority, Name, and Power of the whole Nation. If the King is capable of governing, and is there in Perſon, they have a Power to conſent to his Demands, to propoſe Things neceſſary for the good of their Order, to lay freſh Taxes upon the People, and to make or receive new Laws and Conſtitutions; but when the King is in his Minority, or otherwiſe incapacitated to govern, they have Authority, if there is any Diſpute about it, to chuſe a Regent, to diſpoſe of the principal Offices, and to appoint a Council;

Council; and, if the Royal Line ſhould fail, to chuſe a new King, according to the *Salic* Law. But beſides theſe great Privileges, the Kings have always been accuſtomed to aſſemble the States upon any weighty and urgent Occaſion, and to determine in all Caſes of Difficulty with their Advice and Conſent: Thinking, not only, that the Reſolutions of the Prince became more valid by publick Conſent, but that it was alſo neceſſary in a lawful and truly Royal Government, that all important Affairs ſhould be communicated to the Body of the People. Now it plainly appearing at that Time, that every thing was in great Diſorder, by the Diſſenſions amongſt the Nobility and Differences in Religion, and ſtood in need of a ſpeedy Remedy; the Deputies elected by the Provinces, and inſtantly called upon by reiterated Orders from the Court, immediately repaired to *Orleans* at the Beginning of *October*; where the King himſelf alſo being arrived, with a great Attendance of the principal Lords and Officers of the Crown, they now waited for nothing but the coming of the diſcontented Princes. The Conſtable and his Sons continued at *Chantilly*, their uſual Abode; the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince his Brother, were retired into *Bearn*; and being ſummoned by the King's Letters to come to the Aſſembly of the States, they did not peremptorily refuſe to come, but put off the Time of their Appearance with many Excuſes and Delays. 1560.

This Manner of proceeding greatly perplexed the King and all his Miniſters, as they doubted, and not without Reaſon, that the Princes, either ſuſpecting ſomething of themſelves, or having had Intelligence from ſome Friend, would fruſtrate all their great Deſigns and Preparations, which were wholly founded upon their coming. And indeed the Prince of *Condé*, being accuſed by his own Conſcience, and thoroughly convinced, that ſufficient Proofs of his Intention would appear from the Priſoners at *Amboiſe*, the Confeſſion of *La Sague*, and the Conſpirators taken at *Lions*, was grown ſo exceedingly ſuſpicious, that no Perſuaſions could move him to truſt himſelf any more in the King's Power, or that of his Miniſters, the principal of whom he knew were his mortal Enemies. But the King of *Navarre*, either having a clearer Conſcience, or being of a more credulous Nature than his Brother, thought, that by going to the States they ſhould eaſily obtain a Reformation in the Government, which was the thing they had ſo much laboured for: And that, if they refuſed to go thither they ſhould condemn themſelves and leave the Field open to the Perſecution and Revenge of the *Guiſes*. Nor could he poſſibly be prevailed upon to believe, that, in the Face of a general Aſſembly of the whole Kingdom, the King being as yet a Pupil in a great meaſure, an *Italian* Woman and two Strangers would dare to lay violent Hands upon the Princes of the Blood, againſt whom the boldeſt and moſt vindictive Kings had ever pro-

1560. ceeded with the utmoſt Caution, as Perſons not to be violated, and in a Manner ſacred. For which Reaſons, he ſeemed determined to go to the Aſſembly, and take the Prince with him, whatever might be the Event: Being unwilling to give them an Opportunity of condemning him, whilſt he was abſent, and without any Kind of Defence, as he was certain they would not fail to do, if he ſtayed away. Whereas, if he was there himſelf to manage the Deputies, he hoped if his Actions could not ſtand the Teſt of ſtrict Juſtice, his Pretenſions would yet appear ſo reaſonable as to plead his Excuſe, and obtain Pardon at leaſt, if no better Terms could be had, in Conſideration of his Quality and Pre-eminence of Blood. All their Counſellors and Friends concurred in this Opinion, except the Prince's Wife and his Mother-in-law, who both vehemently oppoſed it, eſteeming every other Loſs inconſiderable, in compariſon of the Hazard they run of loſing their Lives there.

Whilſt they were in this Debate, the Count of *Cruſſol* ſuddenly arrived, and after him the Marſhal of *St. Andrew*, whom the King had diſpatched ſeparately to perſuade the Princes to come. They repreſented to them that this grave and venerable Aſſembly was called together with much Expence to the King and Inconvenience to the whole Kingdom, only in Conſideration of the Princes of the Blood, and to ſatisfy their Inſtances and Complaints. That it was their Duty to give their Opinions in regulating the Government, and Deciſion of Points controverted in Religion; Matters of ſuch Importance as could not be determined without their Aſſiſtance: That the King had great Reaſon to think himſelf mocked, and the States to look upon themſelves as ſlighted by the Princes of *Bourbon:* Since, having ſo often deſired a Reformation in the Government, and to have the *Hugonots* Cauſe examined, now, though the Time was come, and the States met for that Purpoſe, they did not ſeem inclined to come near them; contemning the Majeſty of that Aſſembly, which was the repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom: That they ought not hereafter to blame any Body but themſelves, if they were juſtly excluded from any Part or Charge in the Government, ſince they would not vouchſafe to come and receive that Share which the King had determined, with the Approbation of the States, to aſſign them; that ſhewing themſelves thus manifeſtly averſe to the King's Service, and the Good of the Crown, they muſt not wonder, if ſpeedy and vigorous Reſolutions were taken to ſuppreſs and extirpate thoſe Roots of Diſcord and apparent Deſigns of Innovation: That though the King was deſirous of gratifying all ſuch as ſhewed him due Reſpect and Deference, yet he was reſolved to oblige thoſe to a forced and neceſſary Obedience, who had any Intentions of ſeparating themſelves from his Councils, and ſtirring up Commotions in the Cities and Provinces of the Kingdom: Of which Crimes he ſhould

think the Princes of *Bourbon* guilty, if they did not take Care to ſhew their Innocence, but confirmed the common Reports by a contumacious Abſence; which being never believed either by the King or his Council, yet his Majeſty deſired, that for the Honour of the Royal Blood, they would give ſome publick Demonſtration of Duty and Loyalty, and a real Union for the publick Good, that might convince the whole Nation, which had turned its Eyes, with wonderful Expectation, upon the Event of the preſent Meeting. 1560.

This Meſſage from the King was delivered to the Princes of *Bourbon*; and would have had but little Effect upon the Prince of *Condé*, who reſolved not to venture his Perſon in a Place, where his Enemies had the Superiority, if an abſolute Neceſſity had not forced him to break that Reſolution. For the Count of *Cruſſol*, being returned to Court, and having ſignified the Backwardneſs of the Princes to come to the Aſſembly; the *Guiſes* preſſing and inſiſting that Force might be uſed to oblige them, and the Queen not ſeeming averſe to it (being deſirous to ſee the Seeds of thoſe Diſcords eradicated, and her Sons quietly re-eſtabliſhed in their States) the King took a Reſolution to make a Shew of compelling them by Arms. For this Purpoſe, the Marſhal *De Termes* being diſpatched into *Gaſcony*, an Army began to be formed there under his Command, and all the Troops and Infantry, that were diſtributed through the neighbouring Provinces, were marched that Way. The Princes of *Bourbon* were not only without Arms, and unprepared, but confined alſo in *Bearn*, a narrow Country, at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, and ſhut up and ſurrounded, partly by *France*, partly by *Spain*, on all Sides. So that they were ſure to be cruſhed and deſtroyed, being attacked on one Side by the *French* Army out of *Gaſcony*, and on the other, by the King of *Spain's* Forces, who would be glad of an Opportunity of tearing from him what little remained of the Kingdom of *Navarre*. In *France* the Prince's Deſigns had every where miſcarried; and in *Bearn*, he had neither Men nor Money. Wherefore the King of *Navarre*, ſhewing the Neceſſity to which all Counſels muſt give Way, and unwilling upon any Account to hazard the reſt of his State, together with the Safety of his Wife and Children, who were in the ſame Place, at laſt prevailed upon his Brother to go; they being all of Opinion, that the *Guiſes* would not venture to attempt any thing againſt them, whilſt the States were ſitting: Whereas if they obſtinately continued at *Bearn*, they ſhould certainly be compelled to ſubmit by Force, and of Conſequence be for ever branded with the odious Name of Rebels.

Charles, Cardinal of *Bourbon*, contributed much to bring them to this Reſolution. For being a Man of a mild and ſweet Temper, as appeared in the whole Courſe of his Life, averſe to Novelties, and extremely affectionate to his Brothers, when he underſtood the King's Intention and the Prepa-

1560. rations that were making, he, at the Inſtance of the Queen Mother, who was deſirous that their Deſigns might take effect if poſſible, without the Tumult of Arms or the Hazard of War, preſently took Poſt and went into *Bearn* to perſuade them to come; magnifying, on one Side, the Greatneſs of the Forces that were raiſing, which they were not by any means able to reſiſt; and aſſuring them, on the other, that there appeared no Diſpoſition in the King or Queen Mother, to any thing elſe but Amity, and a Deſire of Peace and Agreement. So that leaving the Queen with the young Children at *Pau*, they all three departed with a ſmall Retinue, to prevent any Cauſe of Suſpicion, and went together towards the Court.

The Conſtable was likewiſe ſent for, but not with ſo much Earneſtneſs, becauſe he was in a Place, where they might eaſily get him into their Power, whenever they pleaſed. But he proceeded with greater Cunning and more ſecurely: Becauſe, not having favoured the Faction of the Malecontents, otherwiſe than with his Counſel, which likewiſe ever tended to ſeek Redreſs from the States rather than ſtir up any Inſurrection or Rebellion, he reſolved not to encreaſe the Suſpicion againſt him by refuſing to go to Court, but to defer his Coming thither by other Artifices and Contrivances, till he ſaw what became of the Princes of *Bourbon*. For which Purpoſe, being arrived at *Paris*, and there feigning to be ſeized with a Catarrh and the Gout, he returned (till he could get better) to his own Houſe. And ſetting out again many Days after, under a Pretence that too much Motion was painful to him, which might very well be ſuppoſed upon Account of his Age, he proceeded by little Journeys, and went out of the Way, for Convenience of Lodging, artfully delaying the Time, till he could hear that the others were arrived.

It is certain, that when his Sons perſuaded him to go, by telling him that neither the Queen Mother, nor the *Guiſes* would be bold enough to uſe any Violence to a Man ſo much eſteemed as he was, and that had ſuch great Dependances in the Kingdom, he, grown wiſe by long Experience, made Anſwer, " That thoſe about the King could govern the State as they " pleaſed, without any Obſtacle or Interruption whatſoever, and yet for all " that induſtriouſly went about to ſtir up Oppoſition and Reſiſtance to their " Meaſures by aſſembling the States: A Method of proceeding that could " not be accounted for, except they had ſome ſecret Deſign, which a little " Patience would probably bring to Light." This being thought a ſatisfactory Reply by his Sons, he ſtill endeavoured, by one Excuſe or other, to take the Advantage of Time and Delays.

In the mean Time, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé* were met upon the Confines by the Marſhal *De Termes*, who, under a Shew of Reſpect, eſcorted them with a great Body of Cavalry, to ſecure thoſe

thoſe Towns which *La Sague* had mentioned in his Confeſſion; and at the ſame Time ſent other Companies of Foot and Horſe to guard and block up the Roads, through which they had already paſſed, leſt the Princes ſhould change their Reſolution, and endeavour ſecretly to get back again into *Bearn*. But Intelligence being arrived at *Orleans*, that the Princes being on their Journey, were come into the King's Dominions, and ſafely guarded by the Troops of *De Termes*; *Jerome Groſlot*, High Bailiff of *Orleans*, who was accuſed of having held a Correſpondence with the *Hugonots*, in Order to make that City revolt to the diſcontented Princes, was immediately taken into cloſe Cuſtody, and the Vidame of *Chartres*, who had unadviſedly ſtaid, contriving freſh Diſturbances in the City of *Paris*, by a particular Order from the King, committed to Priſon there. 1560.

Andelot was not ſo eaſily enſnared: For, being as cautious and circumſpect in providing againſt Dangers, as he was bold and precipitate in adviſing them, he had privately retired to the remoteſt Parts of *Bretagne*, near to the Sea Side, being determined, in Caſe of Neceſſity, to paſs over into *England*. But the Admiral, who had behaved with great Caution and Reſerve in every Circumſtance of this Affair, and without being diſcovered, went freely to the Aſſembly, at the very Beginning of it, with an Intent to employ all his Intereſt there for the Advantage of his Party, and meeting with a very gracious Reception from the King, and being treated with great Reſpect by the Queen (according to her Cuſtom) he had an Opportunity of narrowly obſerving all the Tranſactions of the Court, and having thoroughly penetrated into their ſecret Deſigns, afterwards gave Intelligence of them, in the moſt private Manner, both to the Conſtable and the King of *Navarre*.

There was now no longer any Need therefore of Diſſimulation; for the Princes of *Bourbon*, being neither joined upon the Road, nor attended by any Body, but a few of their intimate and familiar Friends, arrived at *Orleans*, the 29th Day of *October*: Where (contrary to the Cuſtom of the Court even in Time of War) they found not only the Gates of the City guarded by a great Number of Soldiers, but the ſtrong Holds ſecured, the Paſſes manned, and Watches ſtationed at the End of every Street, with a terrible Oſtentation of all Manner of warlike Inſtruments, and many Companies of train'd Bands. Through theſe they were conducted to the Palace, which was much more ſtrictly guarded than if it had been the Tent or Pavilion of a General in the midſt of an Army: But when they came to the Gate with an Intention of going into the Court on Horſeback (which is a Privilege that belongs to the Princes of the Blood) they found it ſhut, and only the Wicket open: So that they were obliged to diſmount in the middle of the Highway; and being neither ſaluted nor taken Notice of, but

1560. but by very few, were introduced into the King's Preſence; who, being ſeated betwixt the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and ſurrounded by the Captains of his Guard, received them in a Manner, that was very different from that Affability and Complaiſance, which the Kings of *France* generally ſhew to all Men, but eſpecially to the Princes of their Blood. From thence the King himſelf, not attended by the *Guiſes*, retired with them into the Queen Mother's Appartment, who, not forgetting her old Maxims of keeping herſelf always independent, and ſeemingly not at all intereſted in any Party, received them with the uſual Ceremonies of Reſpect, and ſuch an Appearance of Concern, that Tears were ſeen to fall from her Eyes.

But the King, ſtill keeping up the ſame ſevere Countenance, and turning to the Prince of *Condé*, began to complain in very ſharp Terms, that, in Contempt of all human and divine Laws, and without any Sort of Injury or ill Uſage received from him, he had many Times ſtirred up his Subjects to rebel, kindled a War in ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom, attempted to ſurpriſe his principal Cities, and been concerned in Plots even againſt his own Life and that of his Brother's. To which the Prince, not at all diſmayed, boldly anſwering, that theſe Accuſations were entirely owing to the Malice and Calumny of his Enemies, and that he could very ſoon make his Innocence appear to all the World. The King replied, that, to find out the Truth, it was neceſſary to proceed according to the uſual Methods of Juſtice; and retiring immediately out of the Apartment, commanded the Captains of his Guards to take him into Cuſtody.

Upon this the Queen Mother, who was obliged to comply with the Neceſſity of the Times, but not forgetting the ſudden Changes that happen in all worldly Affairs, endeavoured to comfort the King of *Navarre* with kind Words; whilſt the Prince, without ſaying any thing but to blame himſelf for having been ſo deluded by the Cardinal his Brother, was led to a neighbouring Houſe, which, being prepared for that Purpoſe, had the Windows walled up, the Gates doubled, and was reduced into a kind of a Fortreſs, flanked with Artillery and ſtrictly guarded on every Side.

The King of *Navarre*, aſtoniſhed at his Brother's Impriſonment, after many Complaints and long Debate with the Queen Mother (who, laying the Fault upon the Duke of *Guiſe*, Lieutenant-General, endeavoured to ſhift off all Suſpicion and Ill-will from herſelf) was conducted to a Houſe adjoining to the King's Palace, where his uſual Attendants were changed, and, to prevent him from entering into freſh Practices, he had a Guard ſet over him, and was in all other Reſpects treated as a Priſoner.

At the very ſame Time that the Prince was confined, *Amaury Bouchara*

chard, the King of *Navarre's* Secretary, was arreſted, and all his Letters and Papers taken from him. 1560.

That Night likewiſe *Tanaquil de Carrouge* went from Court towards the Confines of *Picardy*, and ſeizing *Magdalen de Roye* the Prince's Mother-in-law, in her Houſe at *Anicy*, where, upon the Account of her Sex, ſhe lived without Fear or Apprehenſion, ſent her Priſoner to the Caſtle of *St. Germain*, and took all her Letters and Papers with him to Court.

But the Conſtable, hearing this News (notwithſtanding the Gates of the City were kept ſhut and Travellers were forbid to paſs) and being ſtill upon the Road, ſome few Leagues from *Paris*, ſtopped where he was, with a Reſolution not to proceed any further till he ſaw what would be the Event.

In the mean time the Aſſembly of the States began, where the firſt thing that was done, was to make a Profeſſion of their Faith; which, being drawn up by the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* conformable to the Belief of the *Roman* Catholick Church, and publickly read by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, Preſident of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, was, by a ſolemn Oath, approved and confirmed by every one of the Deputies; that no one who was not a true Catholick might inadvertently be admitted to give his Vote in that Aſſembly.

This ſolemn Act being paſſed, the High Chancellor, in Preſence of the King, propoſed thoſe Things that were neceſſary to be conſulted upon for the Reformation of the Government: After which, the Demands of the Provinces being likewiſe ſignified, the three Orders retired into their ſeveral Chambers, to deliberate upon them ſeparately and then make their Report to the whole Aſſembly. But that was the leaſt of every one's Thoughts; for they were all in great Suſpence and waiting for the Iſſue of the Prince's Impriſonment, which was confirmed by a ſolemn Decree of the Privy Council, ſigned by the King himſelf, the High Chancellor, and all the other Lords, except the *Guiſes*, who abſented themſelves when the Cauſe of the Princes of *Bourbon* was brought upon the Carpet, on account of the Enmity ſubſiſting betwixt them; and it was referred to a Committee of Delegates, who, after a judicial Proceſs, were to pronounce Sentence. The Delegates were *Chriſtopher de Thou*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Bartholomew de Faye* and *James Viole*, Counſellors in the ſame Parliament. And, according to the Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, *Giles Bourdin*, Procurator of the King's Exchequer, performed the Office of Attorney-General. *John Tilliet*, Prothonotary in the Court of Parliament, formed the Proceſs; all the Examinations and other Steps being taken in the Preſence of the High Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*.

1560. Proceeding in this Manner upon the Depoſitions of the Priſoners, who were brought for that Purpoſe from *Amboiſ*, *Lions*, and ſeveral other Places, they were going to examine the Prince upon the Points already diſcovered and proved. But the Chancellor and the Delegates coming to interrogate the Prince at the Houſe where he was confined, he poſitively refuſed to anſwer or ſubmit himſelf to the Examination of any of them; alledging that, as Prince of the Blood, he was not ſubject to any Court of Judicature but the Parliament of *Paris* in *the Chamber of Peers*; that is, in a full Convention of all the Orders, the King himſelf being there in Perſon, with the Twelve Peers of *France* and all the great Officers of the Crown, according to the Cuſtom of former Times; and therefore he thought himſelf obliged to aſſert his Right, and appeal to the King againſt ſuch an extraordinary and irregular Manner of proceeding. This Appeal being reported to the Privy Council, though it appeared but reaſonable and according to the uſual Forms and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, yet, as the preſent Caſe required a ſpeedy Deciſion, and no Law making it neceſſary that the Cauſes of the Princes ſhould be always tried with ſo much Formality in the Chamber of Peers, it was declared not valid. But the Prince, having often repeated his Appeal and ſtill proteſting againſt their Authority, the Privy Council, at the Demand of the Attorney-General, at laſt declared that he was to be held as convict becauſe he had refuſed the Delegates. Being thus forced to ſubmit to an Examination, they proceeded judicially and with great Expedition through all the Particulars, till they came to pronounce Sentence.

Though the Princes of *Bourbon* were now reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, that they were likely to expiate the Guilt of the late Conſpiracies with their Blood; yet there was not any body in the whole *French* Nation ſo much their Enemy as not to be exceedingly affected with Compaſſion towards them, conſidering the high Birth and noble Deportment of both the Brothers. The *Guiſes* only, Men of a reſolute Diſpoſition, either really believing it was expedient for the common Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, or elſe, as their Enemies gave out, being eager to ſuppreſs their Competitors and confirm their own Greatneſs, conſtantly purſued their firſt Deſigns, without any Regard either to the Quality or Merit of the Perſons, and vehemently inſiſted upon *the Neceſſity of cutting off, at two Blows only, the Heads of Hereſy and Rebellion at the ſame time.*

But the Queen Mother, though ſhe ſecretly gave her Conſent, and was willing enough they ſhould proceed to Execution; being deſirous however that all the Hatred and Blame ſhould fall upon the *Guiſes*, as ſhe had ever artfully contrived it, and ſtill endeavouring to keep herſelf neuter, for fear of future Accidents which might happen in the uncertain Courſe of worldly Affairs, affecting an Appearance of Grief in her Words

and

and Actions, often ſent for the Admiral and the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, and pretended to be very ſollicitous to find out ſome Means or other to ſave the Princes of *Bourbon*. With the ſame Artifices ſhe amuſed *Jacqueline de Logent*, Ducheſs of *Montpenſier*, a Lady of great Sincerity, and a Stranger to all Diſſimulation, judging of other People by herſelf; who, being not only inclined to the Doctrine of the *Hugonots*, but very intimate and familiar with the King of *Navarre*, was inſtrumental in bringing about a ſort of Correſpondence betwixt them, by carrying Meſſages from one to the other. Which kind of Proceedings, though directly contrary to the Queen Mother's real Intention, the Effects of which could not poſſibly be concealed, were yet ſo artfully carried on by her, that Perſons of the greateſt Penetration were confounded and perplexed with them, conſidering how deep the Deſigns of ſome People are laid, and how variable the Affections and Intereſts that govern the Courſe of human Actions. 1560.

The Commiſſaries had now pronounced Sentence againſt the Prince of *Condé*, that being convicted of Treaſon and Rebellion he ſhould be beheaded before the Royal Palace at the Beginning of the Aſſembly of the States-General. The Execution however was deferred a little while, though for no other Reaſon but to ſee if they could draw the Conſtable into the Snare (who, being earneſtly called upon, did not yet make his Appearance) and to involve the King of *Navarre* in the ſame Execution, againſt whom there was then nothing proved that was ſufficient to condemn him, when ſuddenly, one Morning, the King being under the Barber's Hands, was taken with ſuch a grievous fainting Fit that he was laid upon a Couch by his Servants, as dead; and though he returned to his Senſes after ſome Time, he had ſuch mortal Symptoms that there appeared very ſmall Hopes of Life. In the midſt of the general Confuſion and Conſternation which was occaſioned by this Event, the *Guiſes* ſollicited the Queen Mother to have Judgment executed upon the Prince of *Condé*, and the ſame Reſolution taken againſt the King of *Navarre*, whilſt the King was yet alive, by which they ſhould anticipate any Meaſures that might be taken to bring about an Alteration in the Government after the King's Death. They likewiſe endeavoured to perſuade her, that it was the only Way to ſecure the Crown to her other Sons, yet in their Minority, and to diſſipate thoſe Clouds of future Diſſention which were ſilently gathering together in divers Parts of the Kingdom; for though the Conſtable was abſent, and could not now be got into their Hands, becauſe of this neceſſary and ſudden Reſolution; yet the Authority and Privileges of the Royal Blood, the Prudence of the King of *Navarre*, and the Fierceneſs of the Prince being once taken away, there was but little to be feared from him, who would neither

1560. be followed by the Nobility, nor have the Adherence of the *Hugonots*, as the Princes of *Bourbon* had: That there wanted nothing to perfect their Deſigns (now brought to Maturity with ſo much Art and Patience) but the very laſt Point of Execution, and that they could not then by any means be defeated, even if the King ſhould chance to die. For the Kingdom deſcending of courſe to his Brothers, both they and herſelf would ſtill have the ſame Power and Intereſts. But the Queen having had the Addreſs to keep herſelf neuter, in Appearance at leaſt, was not under ſo much Neceſſity of coming to any haſty Determination: Conſidering likewiſe that the Face of Things would be wholly changed under her Sons, yet Minors; and that the exceſſive Greatneſs of the *Guiſes*, if it remained without any Counterpoiſe or Oppoſition, was no leſs to be feared than the continual Practices of the Princes of the Blood, ſhe gave out that her Son was not in ſo much Danger as had been at firſt apprehended, and that there were now great Hopes of his Recovery; endeavouring, by that means, to gain Time, and defer the Execution of what was intended, that ſhe might afterwards take her Meaſures as Occaſion required. According to this Reſolution, in which ſhe was confirmed by the Advice of the High Chancellor, as ſoon as they ſaw the King was paſt Hopes, ſhe got the Prince Dauphin, Son to *Jacqueline*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* to introduce the King of *Navarre* ſecretly one Night into her Apartment, where ſhe endeavoured to perſuade him, with her uſual Art, and many powerful Arguments, that ſhe had ever been averſe to the late Proceedings, and was deſirous to join with him in oppoſing the unlimited Power of the *Guiſes*; which, though it was not abſolutely believed by him, in ſome meaſure however anſwered the End ſhe had in it: For by this and other Negociations, a Correſpondence being ſtill kept up betwixt them, it was not ſo difficult a Matter to come to an Agreement when it ſhould be neceſſary, as it would have been, if ſhe had openly declared herſelf principally concerned in the late Tranſactions, and an avowed Enemy to the Princes of the Blood.

In the mean Time the King's Diſorder ſtill increaſed, which, from the Beginning was perceived to be an Impoſthume in his Head, over the Right Ear (becauſe he had always been troubled with Pains and Defluxions in that Part from his Infancy) which afterwards coming to break, a great Quantity of Matter and Corruption falling into his Throat, ſo ſtopped up the Paſſage that it prevented him from either ſpeaking or taking any ſort of Food; ſo that on the Morning of the fifth Day of *December* he paſſed out of this Life, leaving all Things in extreme Diſorder and Confuſion.

Moſt People believed at that Time that he died by Poiſon, which the Barber, that frequently uſed to dreſs him, had privately conveyed into his Ear; and it was ſaid, that the Phyſicians had diſcovered evident Signs

of it; which Report would have gained Credit, from the Suddenneſs of the Accident, and it's happening at ſuch a critical Juncture, if the Diſeaſe of which he died, had not been known to have grown up with him from his Cradle. He left behind him the Character of a good Prince, free from Vice, inclined to Juſtice and Religion; but was of a weak and heavy Underſtanding, and of a Nature rather apt to be awed by others than able to govern of himſelf. However, it would have been happier for *France*, if either he had never come to the Crown, or elſe lived till the Deſigns then in Agitation had been fully completed. For as the Force and Violence of Thunder overthrows and demoliſhes thoſe Buildings in a Moment, which have been erected with infinite Care and a long Courſe of Labour, ſo his unexpected Death in an inſtant confounded thoſe Counſels which were then brought to Maturity with ſo much Art and Diſſimulation; leaving Things (that were now tending, though by violent and rigorous Means, to a certain and ſecure End) in the Height of all Diſcord and Confuſion, and more than ever fluctuating and diſturbed. 1560.

Charles the Ninth, Brother to *Francis*, and ſecond Son to the Queen, ſucceeded to the Crown, being yet but a Child about Eleven Years old. In ſo tender an Age, there was no Doubt made of the Neceſſity of putting him under the Care of a Guardian: In which Caſe, the ancient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom and the Laws, often confirmed by the States, called the King of *Navarre* to that Charge, as firſt Prince of the Blood. But how could the King's Youth, and the Government of the Kingdom be ſafely truſted in his Hands, when he was in a Manner kept Priſoner, upon ſtrong Suſpicions of having plotted againſt the State, and his Brother already condemned to die for the ſame Crimes? The *Guiſes* had governed with ſupreme Authority during the Reign of the late King, and with great Courage applied all Manner of vigorous Remedies to reſtore the Peace and Proſperity of the State: So that committing the Reins to them, the ſame Counſels might be continued and the old Form of Government ſtill kept up. But, on the other hand, how could the Guardianſhip of a King in Minority be conferred upon thoſe that were not in any Degree allied to the Royal Blood, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and at a Time too when the greateſt Part of the Nobility, being already rouzed up and having their Eyes opened, would ſtrenuouſly oppoſe it? The States had often veſted the Regency and Government of infant Kings in the Perſon of the Queen Mother; and in ſuch a Diverſity of Opinions and Factions, the Life of the King and the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom ought not in Juſtice to be truſted in any other Hands. But how could a Woman that was a Stranger, without Dependances or Followers, pretend to diſpute the ſupreme Authority with two ſuch powerful and already armed Factions?

1560. Wherefore when the King, who grew worſe and worſe every Day, began to labour under evident Symptoms of Death; the *Guiſes*, being apprehenſive of what they ſaw was very likely to happen, entered into a ſtrict Confederacy with the Cardinal of *Tournon*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Marſhals of *Briſac* and *St. Andrew*, the Sieur *De Sipierre* Governor of *Orleans*, and many other great Lords, induſtriouſly providing themſelves with Forces in order to ſecure their Perſons and maintain their Power. On the other hand, the King of *Navarre*, beginning now to entertain ſome Hopes from the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, joined with the Admiral, the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, the Prince of *Porcian*, Monſieur *De Jarnac*, and the reſt of his Dependants, and not only ſecretly armed all his Family, but ſent ſeveral Meſſengers for the Conſtable, who, having heard of the King's Death, laid aſide all Excuſes and Delays, and prepared to come with what Expedition he could to *Orleans*, where he was hourly expected: So that both Factions having put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, and the whole Court and Soldiery being divided betwixt them, and not only all others, but even the Deputies of the States themſelves, taking Part with one or the other, according to their ſeveral Intereſts and Inclinations, there was no Room left for any third Party: But every Place was full of Tumult and Conſternation at the approaching Danger, as they were every Moment expected to attack each other, and all their Proceedings tended to manifeſt Ruin and Confuſion.

However the unbridled Deſire of Power did not ſo entirely prevail over them, yet accuſtomed to revere the Majeſty of the Laws, as to cauſe them upon the Account of private Diſcords, publickly to refuſe due Obedience to their lawful Prince, though in Minority: For both Parties, by tacit and unanimous Conſent, (ſtriving which ſhould be the firſt) ſaluted and did Homage to King *Charles*, the Ninth of that Name, the very ſame Day that his Brother died; all agreeing to acknowledge him for their lawful and natural Prince.

This was the Baſis and Foundation to go upon, in order to reduce Things to ſome Sort of Form, that were left in ſuch ſtrange Diſorder. For the Queen, who knew ſhe could not truſt the Life of her Children, and the Government of the Kingdom, to either Faction, one of which was outragiouſly offended and exaſperated, the other full of Boldneſs and Pretenſions, and both of them powerful in Adherents, and ready to undertake any great Attempt, was deſirous of retaining not only the Cuſtody and Care of her Children, but alſo the Government and Adminiſtration of the Kingdom in her own Hands, which ſhe found ſo difficult in the laſt Days of the late King's Life, and the Diſturbances that happened at his Death, that ſhe almoſt then deſpaired of their Safety. But this firſt Point of Obedience to the King's Perſon being laid as a Foundation by both Parties,

Parties, which was manifeſtly the Effect of mutual Jealouſy, and the Ap- 1560.
prehenſion which one ſtood in of the other, each being afraid leſt his Adverſary ſhould pretend to rule and violently lay hold on the Reins of Government, the Queen Mother, upon mature Conſideration, began to think ſhe might turn the preſent Confuſion and Diſcords to her own Advantage, and by taking the Opportunity of acting as Mediatrix betwixt the two Factions, raiſe herſelf to a Superiority over both; and that too by Dint of their own Strength. For as they could not come to any Agreement, nor eaſily obtain what they aſpired to of themſelves, they muſt neceſſarily have Recourſe to her, as a Mean betwixt the two Extremes; being content that the Power and Authority ſhould be veſted in her, which, by Reaſon of the Oppoſition of their Enemies, they could not enjoy themſelves. In which Caſe, the *Guiſes* would readily join with her, that the King of *Navarre* might not get the Government entirely into his Hands; and the King of *Navarre* would perhaps take up with leſs than of Right belonged to him, rather than hazard the Whole by contending with the *Guiſes*; ſo that, if the Matter was dextrouſly managed, ſhe herſelf might get into Poſſeſſion of the ſupreme Authority.

This Scheme was the more likely to take Effect, as the Queen, though united with the *Guiſes*, had in Appearance kept herſelf Neuter, for which Reaſon, being a Friend to one Party, ſhe was not thought an Enemy by the other.

But two great Difficulties ſeemed to prevent the Execution of this Deſign. One, that the King of *Navarre*, was ſo exaſperated with paſt Injuries, that it would be a hard Matter to appeaſe him. The other, that if ſhe began to enter into any Negotiation with him, ſhe might occaſion Jealouſies and Suſpicions in the *Guiſes*, and ſo run the Riſk of loſing their Support, before ſhe had ſettled Things in a proper Manner. Which Obſtacles appeared almoſt invincible; but the Occaſion was ſo urgent that ſhe was under a Neceſſity of trying all Manner of Expedients, though never ſo doubtful. Her firſt Reſolution was to ſecure the *Guiſes*; for it would have been but bad Policy to abandon an old Friendſhip, and already confirmed, before there was any Aſſurance, that it was poſſible to contract a new one. But to manage ſo delicate an Affair, and every Way ſo liable to create Suſpicions, it was neceſſary to employ ſome Perſon of the moſt conſummate Addreſs. For which Purpoſe, having thought of many, ſhe at laſt concluded that there was nobody ſo proper for ſuch a Negotiation, as the Marſhal of *St. Andrew:* For being a great Confidant of the *Guiſes*, privy to their moſt ſecret Deſigns, and likewiſe a Man of known Prudence and uncommon Penetration, he would be ſenſible, that ſhe could not have any Intention or Expectation of deceiving him, and that whatever he propoſed would meet with Credit, and have great Weight amongſt

1560. amongſt his own Party. So that having ſent for him, ſhe began to lament the preſent Situation of Affairs, and enquired what Reſolution the Princes of *Lorrain* intended to purſue, profeſſing that ſhe would not differ from them, but was ready to take any Meaſures, that, upon Conſultation betwixt them, ſhould ſeem moſt expedient. To which he returning an ambiguous Sort of an Anſwer, that he might rather penetrate into the Queen's Deſigns than diſcover thoſe of his own Friends. After a long Converſation, the natural Reſult of the preſent Circumſtances ſeemed to be, that the Differences betwixt the two Factions could not poſſibly be accommodated without great Diſturbances and Commotions, and the Danger of a doubtful War, if both Parties did not recede a little from their Expectations, and leave her to mediate between them, who, both as Judge and Moderatrix, and as an indifferent Party, might limit the Pretenſions of the Princes, in ſuch a Manner, that one Side ſhould not ſeem to yield to the other, but mutually to forget all paſt Injuries out of Moderation and the Reſpect that they bore to the Mother of their King: And thus Things might be equally balanced and compromiſed betwixt them. This Counſel proceeding in a Manner wholly from the Marſhal, the Queen ſeeming rather to take than give Advice, they entered into a Conſultation about the beſt Way of proceeding upon this Plan; in which ſhe hinted, that the King of *Navarre*, being a well-meaning Man, and of an eaſy complying Temper ſhe was not without Hopes of prevailing upon him to come to an Agreement, if the Princes of *Lorrain* could likewiſe be perſuaded to accede to it. Upon which the Marſhal, who was a diſpaſſionate Man, and not under the Influence of any private Intereſt, conſidering the ſlippery and dangerous Situation, the *Guiſes* were then in, took upon him to manage that Point with them.

This being propoſed to the Duke and the Cardinal, and afterwards debated in a Meeting of their Confederates, occaſioned great Difference of Opinion, not only amongſt the reſt, but even betwixt the two Brothers themſelves: For the Duke, being more reaſonable and moderate, was not averſe to an Accommodation, provided he might ſtill continue in full Poſſeſſion of all the Governments and Revenues that he enjoyed by the Favour of former Kings: But the Cardinal, being of a more ambitious and vehement Diſpoſition, inſiſted upon carrying on Things with a high Hand, as they had begun, and ſtriving by all poſſible Means to ſupport themſelves in the ſame Power, that they had obtained and exerciſed during the Life of King *Francis*. However, the Cardinal of *Tournon*, concurring in Opinion with the Duke, as deſirous of preventing the Calamities of a War, together with the two Marſhals of *Briſac* and *St. Andrew*, and eſpecially the Sieur *De Sipierre*, whoſe Opinion was of great Weight amongſt them, from the Reputation of his Wiſdom, and judging that they had ſufficient

ſufficient Reaſon to be content at preſent, if they could maintain the Credit, the Eſtates, and Honours which they then poſſeſſed, and reſerve themſelves for a more convenient Opportunity, the Queen was impowered by means of the ſame Marſhal, to try all Ways, that ſhe ſhould think proper, to bring about an Agreement with the King of *Navarre*. 1560.

This Difficulty being got over, the greateſt Impediment was ſtill to be removed; which was to pacify the Faction of the diſcontented Princes, a thing that was judged by many impoſſible to be effected and abſolutely deſpaired of. But the Queen being thoroughly acquainted with the Temper and Diſpoſition of thoſe ſhe had to treat with, (a Circumſtance highly neceſſary for the Accompliſhment of any great Deſign) made no Doubt in ſucceeding in her Deſigns. The King of *Navarre's* moſt intimate Counſellors were *Francis de Cars*, a Native of *Gaſcony*, and *Philip de Lenoncourt*, Biſhop of *Auxerre*; the one of ſmall Judgment and little Experience in the World, the other a Man of great Depth and Sagacity, and extremely attentive to ſuch Intereſts as were the moſt likely to advance him. Theſe two, being ſecretly gained over by the Practices of the Queen Mother, and ſuch Means as were moſt proper to prevail over their ſeveral Inclinations (for ſhe endeavoured to corrupt and prevail upon *De Cars* by Bribes and plauſible Reaſons, and promiſed eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Preferments to *Auxerre*, which he could not expect ſo eaſily to obtain through the King of *Navarre's* Intereſt only) became Miniſters of the Queen's Deſigns, and, under the Shew of Sincerity, and giving the moſt prudent and diſintereſted Advice, took Care to forward thoſe Negotiations that tended to an Agreement, and the Promotion of her Greatneſs.

The firſt Overtures of this Accommodation were made by the Ducheſs of *Montpenſier*, who was much eſteemed by the Queen, upon the Account of the great Goodneſs and Candour of her Nature, and a Friend to the King of *Navarre*, from the Inclination ſhe had to the Doctrine of the *Hugonots*: And in the Progreſs of the Negotiation *Tanaquil de Carrouges* and *Lewis de Lanſac*, Men of approved Wiſdom, came in by Degrees, in whom the Queen repoſed great Confidence. Theſe three laboured together inceſſantly to ſhake the King of *Navarre's* Reſolution, who being now moved, on one hand, by his natural Diſpoſition, to Peace and Quietneſs, and ſpurred up, on the other, by the Remembrance of paſt Enmities and Indignities, was ſo divided in his Thoughts, that he ſtood in Suſpence, and doubtful what Courſe to take. Three Conditions were propoſed to him, by Order of the Queen. Firſt, that all Priſoners, and eſpecially the Prince of *Condé*, ſhould be ſet at Liberty; Madam *De Roye*, and the Vidame of *Chartres*, cauſing the Parliament of *Paris* to declare the Sentence null, that had been pronounced againſt him by the Court of Delegates. Secondly, that the King of *Navarre* ſhould have the Govern-

ment

1560. ment of all the Provinces in the Kingdom, provided the Queen ſhould enjoy the Name and Authority of Regent. Thirdly, that his Catholick Majeſty ſhould be ſollicited to reſtore, or give ſome Equivalent, in Exchange for *Navarre*, the Iſland of *Sardinia* being particularly named for that Purpoſe. Theſe Terms being offered by the Queen's Agents, were highly approved of by the King of *Navarre's* Counſellors, who repreſented to him, that the Loſs of the Regency, which was only an empty Name, and a Title without Subſtance, would be abundantly recompenced by the Authority and Power over the Provinces, wherein conſiſted the real Command and eſſential Government of the Kingdom: The honourable Releaſe of the Prince, the Depreſſion of his Enemies, and the Hopes of recovering his own hereditary State to the great Honour and Advancement of his Poſterity, being likewiſe conſidered, there ought not any farther Doubt at all to be made. They added, that Affairs were at preſent in ſo unſettled a Condition, that if they inſiſted upon the Strictneſs of the Laws in their Favour, againſt ſuch potent Enemies, and under the Prejudice of their paſt Machinations, it was rather to be feared, they would be utterly ruined, than advanced to thoſe Honours which they ſo much deſired: That the Members of the Aſſembly, then ſitting at *Orleans*, depended wholly upon the Queen's Will, and that of the *Guiſes*; by whoſe Endeavours they were with great Partiality returned by their reſpective Provinces; for which Reaſon they were for the moſt Part united and joined together in their Intereſt; ſo that it was much to be apprehended, if their Cauſe was referred to the Arbitriment and Determination of the States, that they, being incenſed by their former Attempts, and of Courſe ſuſpicious of them for the future, would exclude the Princes of the Blood from the Government, and give it up to the *Guiſes*, as Perſons in whom they could put more Confidence: The Conſequence of which would be, the inevitable Deſtruction off the whole Family of *Bourbon:* That it was neceſſary to ward off the impending Blow by moderate Counſels; to ſhew they deſired nothing but what was juſt and reaſonable, to recede in ſome Meaſure from the Rigour of the Laws, and ſo wipe off all Manner of Suſpicion and Remembrance of their former Contumacy: And though the Exchange propoſed with his Catholick Majeſty might be ſomething precarious, yet it would be great Imprudence, by pretending to the Government of other States, in any Degree, to weaken the Probability of recovering his own, and the Inheritance belonging to his Children.

Theſe Reaſons began to make an Impreſſion upon the King of *Navarre*, who was not averſe of himſelf to ſuch Kind of Meaſures. But he was ſpurred on to the contrary, by the Inſtigation of the Prince his Brother, though rather out of a violent Thirſt of Revenge, than any Motives founded upon Reaſon: However the Authority of the Duke of

Montpenſier

Montpenſier, and the Prince *De la Roche ſur Yonne*, who were both of the *Bourbon* Family, though many Degrees removed from the Crown, (and for that Reaſon had not concerned themſelves any Way in the late Diſturbances) being joined to the Party that adviſed an Accommodation, the King of *Navarre* was inclined to come into Terms with the Queen Mother, and added two other Conditions to thoſe that were propoſed by the Perſons appointed to manage the Compromiſe; the firſt was that the *Guiſes* ſhould be deprived of all Manner of Power and Places of Truſt at Court: The ſecond, that Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be granted to the *Hugonots*. 1560.

When the Doctrine of *Calvin* was firſt preached, the Seeds of it were planted in the Family of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margaret* his Wife, Father and Mother to Queen *Jane*. And as the Minds of thoſe Princes were ill affected to the Apoſtolick See, which had deprived them of their Kingdom, under the Pretence of eccleſiaſtical Cenſures thundered out by Pope *Julius* the Second againſt the Kingdom of *France*, and its Adherents, with which *Navarre* was then in Confederacy; ſo it was natural for them to embrace that Doctrine, which, denying the Authority of the *Roman* Pontifs, of Conſequence held thoſe Cenſures invalid, by Virtue of which they had loſt their Kingdom. Upon this Account the Miniſters (ſo they call the Preachers of *Calvin's* Religion) frequenting the Houſes of thoſe Princes, and there teaching their Opinions, they made ſo deep an Impreſſion on Queen *Jane*, that, departing from the Rites of the Catholick Church, ſhe wholly came over to the Belief of the *Hugonots*, and being married to *Anthony* of *Bourbon* (who became by that means King of *Navarre*) ſhe not only continued in the ſame Communion herſelf, but had in a great Meaſure likewiſe prevailed upon her Huſband to embrace her Opinions, by the Zeal and Eloquence of *Theodore Beza*, *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, and other Miniſters who had full Liberty of going into *Bearn* to preach there. The Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, and other principal Leaders of the *Bourbon* Faction, having at the ſame Time likewiſe eſpouſed thoſe Opinions, partly out of conſcientious Principles, and partly from Motives of Intereſt, the King of *Navarre* perſiſted with ſo much the more Conſtancy to favour and protect the *Hugonots*. Upon this Account he demanded of the Queen, that Liberty of Conſcience might be granted to the *Hugonots* in the Accommodation; and ſhe, who thought every other Conſideration of much leſs Moment, than the evident Danger in which ſhe ſaw both herſelf and her Sons involved, of loſing not only their Authority, but the very Kingdom itſelf, was not willing to give an abſolute Denial to thoſe two Conditions, though very hard ones, leſt it might break off the Negotiation, but repreſented, that to deprive the *Guiſes* of their Employments at Court, was directly contrary to the Treaty then in Agitation, and to

1560. the Deſign of reſtoring Peace and Repoſe to the Kingdom, at that Time in ſuch Confuſion, as they (being armed and ſo very powerful) would never ſubmit to ſuch a grievous and publick Affront, but, joining with the Catholick Faction and the greater Part of the States, to maintain their Dignity, would immediately have Recourſe to Arms, and gave her Word that ſhe would make it her continual Endeavour by gentle Means, and when proper Opportunities offered, to diminiſh their Power and Authority, which would ſoon become inconſiderable, as they were by Degrees deprived of their Governments: And adding, that the Demand of Liberty of Conſcience for the *Hugonots* was a thing of too much Importance to be granted upon ſo ſhort a Deliberation, and which the States themſelves would undoubtedly oppoſe, ſhe ſecretly promiſed, that acting in Concert with the King of *Navarre*, and taking the Advantage of ſuch Occaſions as muſt daily happen, ſhe would ſo contrive it, by a ſilent and indirect Manner of Proceeding, they ſhould in a great Meaſure obtain their Deſires.

The Queen promiſed theſe Things out of Neceſſity, and not with the leaſt Intention of performing any of them, when the Government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, and the King of *Navarre* ſatisfied, thinking ſhe might be able to delay the Execution of them by her uſual Artifices, and at laſt entirely drop them; for ſhe was aware that it would not be at all for her own Intereſt, or in any wiſe conducive to the Welfare of her Sons, wholly to ſuppreſs the *Guiſes*, who would be of admirable Uſe in balancing the Power of the Princes of the Blood; and knew that Liberty of Conſcience could not be granted without great Scandal to the Apoſtolick See and all other Chriſtian Princes, nor without endleſs Diſorder and Diſſenſions in the Kingdom; upon which Account ſhe deferred many Things till more convenient Opportunities, and to gain the Benefit of Time, endeavouring by all poſſible Means to remedy the preſent Diſtractions.

The Accommodation being now in a manner confirmed upon theſe Conditions, the King of *Navarre* declared, that he would not conclude any thing without the Conſent and Authority of the Conſtable, who would ſoon be there; ſo that the Queen found it neceſſary to return to her old Arts to remove this laſt Impediment, which many thought was no leſs difficult to be got over than the former. Wherefore, as ſhe was thoroughly acquainted with the Temper and Inclinations of the Conſtable, ſhe imagined by reſtoring him to his former Authority, and ſeeming to acknowledge that her own Power and the Safety of her Sons entirely depended upon him, that he, being ambitious of being eſteemed the Director and Arbiter of every Thing, would eaſily be gained upon to favour her Regency and obſerve a Neutrality betwixt the two Factions. So that having obtained the Conſent both of the King of *Navarre*, and the *Guiſes*, who were now mutually inclined to Thoughts of Peace, ſhe made a Shew of

of putting the chief Authority and Direction of all Affairs into his Hands, giving Order that the Officers of the Guards, and the Governor of the City ſhould deliver up the Command of the Soldiers to him at his Entrance into the Gates, acknowledging him (as it was but juſt) for Captain General of the Armies of *France*. By which honourable Teſtimony of Favour, the antient Sparks of Loyalty and Devotion reviving in him, with which he had ſo many Years ſerved the Father and Grandfather of the preſent King, he turned himſelf round to the Officers, with a majeſtical Countenance, and told them, " That ſince the King had been pleaſed to " entruſt him again with the Command of his Armies, they ſhould not " have Occaſion much longer to keep ſo ſtrict a Guard in Time of Peace; " for he would ſoon take care that, though his Majeſty was but a Minor, " he ſhould be obeyed by his Subjects throughout the whole Kingdom " without the Force of Arms." 1560.

When he was introduced into the Palace, where he was received by the Queen with great Shew of Honour, he did Homage to the young King with Tears in his Eyes, and exhorted him not to be terrified by the late Diſturbances, for that he and all good *Frenchmen* would cheerfully lay down their Lives for the Preſervation of his Crown. Upon which the Queen, taking Courage, immediately entered into a private Converſation with him upon the preſent Situation of Affairs, that there might be no Time given for Caballing or Application in others; and told him, that ſhe had placed all Hope of her own Welfare and her Son's in him only; that the Kingdom was divided betwixt two contending Factions, who were ſo intent upon perſecuting each other, that they had forgot their Obedience to their Prince, and the Good of the Publick; that there was no Perſon of ſufficient Authority but him to ſtand neuter and ſuppreſs their Pretenſions; that there was no other Hope of preſerving her Children in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which was aimed at and aſpired to by ſo many, if he, mindful of his Loyalty, (which he had given ſo clear a Proof of throughout his whole Life) did not undertake the Protection of the young King, of the Kingdom that was afflicted with ſuch Diſtractions, and of the whole Royal Family, which was then in a very dangerous Situation and Circumſtances, and relied only on the Hope of Fidelity and Aſſiſtance from thoſe that had been obliged and advanced by their Predeceſſors. By theſe, and other ſuch like womaniſh Flatteries, as ſhe thought proper to be made uſe of upon that Occaſion, ſhe ſo wrought upon him, that he not only conſented to the Accommodation, then in Treaty with the King of *Navarre*, but ſeeing the *Guiſes* already lowered, and the Management of Affairs, with the firſt Dignity of the Kingdom, again in his own Poſſeſſion, he forgot all private Intereſts of particular Factions, and determined to unite with the Queen, for the Conſervation

1560. of the Crown, as the only Means of ſecuring that Dignity which, in the Courſe of a long Life, he had taken ſo much Pains to attain to.

The Accommodation then being eſtabliſhed and confirmed by the Authority of the Conſtable, they, without farther Delay, aſſembled the Privy Council, at which all the Princes and Officers of the Crown that were then at Court aſſiſted; where (the Chancellor, according to Cuſtom, propoſing it in the King's Preſence) it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the Queen Mother ſhould be declared Regent of the whole Kingdom; the King of *Navarre*, Preſident and Governor of the Provinces; the Conſtable, Superintendant of all the Forces; the Duke of *Guiſe* as Grand Maſter, Keeper of the Palace; and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, High Treaſurer; that the Admiral, the Marſhals, and Governors of Provinces, ſhould enjoy and execute their reſpective Offices; that no one elſe ſhould be put into Places that were particularly aſſigned to each of theſe by the ancient and eſtabliſhed Cuſtoms of the Realm; that all Petitions and Letters from the Provinces ſhould be addreſſed to the King of *Navarre*, who ſhould make Report of them to the Queen, and return ſuch Anſwers as ſhe and the Council thought proper; that all Embaſſies and Letters of Negociation with foreign Princes ſhould be brought immediately to the Queen, who ſhould communicate them to the King of *Navarre*; that in the Privy Council, where the Princes of the Blood were to aſſiſt, the Queen ſhould preſide and propoſe ſuch Things as were to be deliberated upon; and, when ſhe was not there, the King of *Navarre* ſhould take that Office upon him; or the High Chancellor in the Abſence of them both; and that all Diſpatches ſhould be made out in the common Name of *the Governors of the Kingdom*: Conditions, by which in Appearance the Princes of the Blood had a great Share in the Government, whilſt in Reality all the Power and Authority was veſted in the Queen. She farther ſecretly promiſed to open a Way, by Degrees, for Liberty of Conſcience to the *Hugonots*, and by the ſame Addreſs in a ſhort Time to remove the *Guiſes* from all Share in the Adminiſtration, which were the two Conditions finally propoſed by the diſcontented Princes, and ſeemingly complied with by her out of downright Neceſſity.

All immediate Danger being thus prevented, and the beſt Order taken that could be for the Government of the Kingdom, the Prince of *Condé* was releaſed according to the Agreement, and departing from the Court to ſhew that he was at full Liberty, returned thither in a few Days, when he was honourably acquitted, by an Edict of the Parliament of *Paris*, of the Crimes laid to his Charge, the Sentence being declared null and irregular, as having been pronounced againſt him by Delegates, who were not qualified to judge a Peer of *France*. The Vidame of *Chartres* did not live to enjoy the Fruits of this Accommodation; for when he was committed

mitted Priſoner to the *Baſtile* (a Fortreſs in the Skirts of *Paris*) he fell into ſuch Diſcontent of Mind, that it brought on a Sickneſs, which carried him off before the Agreement was concluded.

This was the State of Affairs at the End of the Year 1560. But in the Beginning of the next, the Regent and the King of *Navarre*, not being willing that Things thus ſettled ſhould be diſturbed by any new Practices, diſmiſſed the Aſſembly of the States, after they had gone through the Formalities of the firſt Seſſion, ordering this Reaſon to be given for it by their Emiſſaries, that the Deputies being ſent by their reſpective Communities to confer with the late King, their Commiſſion expired at his Death, and therefore they had no Power in the Reign of his preſent Majeſty to treat or conclude any thing concerning the State; however, they gave a Commiſſion to meet again as ſoon as poſſible, at a Place appointed, to conſider of proper Means of diſcharging the Debts of the Crown without oppreſſing the People with new Taxes, but not to enter upon any other Buſineſs. 1561.

The States being diſſolved in this Manner, they began to take proper Meaſures to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Government; but the Diſcords and Animoſities of the Courtiers had not yet ſubſided: For the *Guiſes*, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to govern in an arbitrary Manner, having now but a ſmall Share in the Adminiſtration, and that too conſiſting rather in Appearance than any real Power, could not ſubmit to their preſent Condition; and being out of Humour with the Queen for not in any wiſe performing what ſhe had promiſed, they ſought all Opportunities of raiſing themſelves again to their former Greatneſs. On the other hand, the Prince of *Condé*, being ſtill exaſperated, had not given up his old Deſigns, and burnt with an implacable Deſire of Revenge. And the Lords of *Chaſtillon*, who firmly perſevered in protecting the *Hugonots*, never ceaſed attempting to raiſe Tumults, in Hopes of augmenting their Power by ſuch Means. Both Factions were very ſollicitous to gain the Conſtable over to their Intereſt: But, having declared that he would depend upon the King and Queen only, he kept himſelf neuter, and the more willingly, becauſe the King of *Navarre*, being contented with his preſent Situation, ſtill continued upon good Terms with the Regent, and was deſirous of ſeeing Peace eſtabliſhed. So that the Conſtable had no apparent Reaſon to alter his firſt Reſolution.

But the Admiral and his Brothers, together with the Prince of *Condé*, were in Hopes that Nearneſs of Blood would at laſt prevail upon him to come over to their Side; and the *Guiſes*, knowing him to be paſſionately devoted to the Catholick Religion, and an Enemy to that of *Calvin*, which he had ſeverely perſecuted in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, did not deſpair of attaching him to their Party, by a Pretence of defending the Faith, and extirpating the *Hugonots*.

What

1561. What contributed to keep Things in this fluctuating Condition, was the Perſeverance of the King of *Navarre* in his Affection to the *Hugonots*: For he was continually importuning the Queen to perform the Promiſes which ſhe had made him in their Favour. And ſhe, being pretty well ſatisfied with the preſent State of Things (which, being equally balanced, and not inclining more to one Side than the other, ſecured her own Greatneſs and her Son's Kingdom) carefully avoided being reduced to a Neceſſity of diſobliging him, leſt he ſhould alter his Reſolutions. But conſidering, on the other hand, that it would neither be juſt nor ſafe to grant ſo much Liberty to the *Hugonots*, ſhe endeavoured to delay the Execution of her Promiſe by plauſible Excuſes and other Artifices; hoping, that in Time the King of *Navarre* would grow leſs urgent in his Requeſts. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for being ſpurred up by the repeated Inſtigations of the Prince and the Admiral, and the inceſſant Importunities of the Queen his Wife, he grew every Day more warm in inſiſting upon the Performance of the Promiſe that was made him at the Beginning.

In this Undertaking he was ſecretly favoured by the High Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, who, either being convinced that it was really neceſſary for the Peace of the Kingdom, or out of Partiality to the Doctrine of the *Hugonots*, endeavoured to mitigate the Severity of other Magiſtrates as much as he could, and adviſed the Queen to ſtop the Effuſion of Blood, to quiet Men's Conſciences, to take away all Cauſes of Scandal, and to give no Occaſion of bringing Things into Confuſion again, when they were with ſo much Pains in ſome meaſure ſettled and compoſed. Many of the Privy Council alſo were prevailed upon by the Inſtances of the King of *Navarre*, who proteſted, that it grieved him to ſee ſo many of the King's Subjects wandering about the Kingdom, being obliged to leave their own Houſes for fear of Puniſhments; and that it filled him with Horror, to think of People ſo often imbruing their Hands in the Blood of their Countrymen. The *Hugonots* themſelves, amongſt whom there were many Men of Spirit and Genius, left no Means untried that might in any wiſe contribute to their Relief, but endeavoured to move thoſe in Power to commiſerate their unhappy Condition, ſometimes by Petitions preſented when they had any Opportunity, ſometimes by little Treatiſes privately diſperſed, and at others, by dint of Reaſoning and the Application of their Friends.

The Queen, therefore, being obliged to yield to the Perſuaſions and Authority of ſo many, and thinking perhaps it would be the beſt Way voluntarily to intermit that Severity which could not poſſibly be continued any longer (as Threats are always dangerous when there is not Power to execute them) conſented, by a Decree of Council, which paſſed the

28th

28th of *January*, that the Magiſtrates ſhould be ordered to releaſe all Priſoners committed only for Matters of Religion, and to ſtop all Proceedings that had been commenced upon that Account againſt any Perſon whatſoever, with Injunctions not to ſuffer any Diſputations upon controverted Points of Faith, nor particular Perſons to revile one another with the Names of Heretick and Papiſt, but endeavour to make them live together in Peace, to forbear aſſembling unlawful Congregations, or raiſing Scandals and Sedition. 1561.

Thus the Religion of *Calvin*, under the Pretence of putting an End to Perſecution and preventing the Effuſion of more Blood (which carried an Appearance of much Piety and Chriſtianity) was at leaſt connived at, or overlooked, though not tolerated. But a greater Conteſt ſeemed likely to ariſe, about depriving the *Guiſes* of their Power. For the King of *Navarre*, putting the Queen in mind of the Promiſe ſhe had ſecretly made him, demanded, as the King's Lieutenant-General, that the Keys of the Palace ſhould be delivered to him, which, nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Guiſe* was in Poſſeſſion of. The Queen, however, though ſhe ſaw ſhe was ſtrongly ſupported and much honoured by the King of *Navarre* and the Conſtable, and knew, on the contrary, that the *Guiſes* were alienated from her, employed all her Power to prevent their Depreſſion. For, on one Side, the *Hugonots* Party maintaining itſelf under the Protection of the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral; and that of the Catholicks on the other Side, under the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, ſhe thought ſhe ſhould be ſecure and enjoy Tranquillity betwixt theſe two Factions, as betwixt two ſtrong Bulwarks; ſo that ſhe was not willing to weaken the Catholick Party ſo much as to oblige them afterwards to receive Laws from the *Hugonots*: Upon which Account ſhe endeavoured, ſometimes by Delays, and ſometimes by complying with them in other Demands, to prevail upon the King of *Navarre* to give up that Point.

But he perſiſting in his Demand, and growing every Day more urgent, as he perceived her more backward and dilatory; that the Accommodation, which had been brought about with ſo much Difficulty, might not be diſſolved in a Moment, it was thought convenient to command the Captains of the Guard, that for the future they ſhould not carry the Keys of the Palace to the Grand Maſter, as had been uſual, but to the Lieutenant-General, as the Perſon to whom that Dignity properly belonged. At which the Duke of *Guiſe* was exceedingly enraged, and much more the Cardinal his Brother; not ſo much on account of the Importance of the Thing, or the Injury ſuſtained (though it had been at firſt otherwiſe determined in the Privy Council) as becauſe they manifeſtly ſaw it was the King of *Navarre's* Intention, by which the Queen was governed, entirely to ſuppreſs and tread down their Greatneſs.

1561. neſs. But knowing that they were generally looked upon as Men of Paſſion and Ambition, and ſeeing themſelves not able to cope with the Princes of the Blood in a private Conteſt, who had then all the King's Power and Authority in their Hands, they pretended to take no Notice of the Affront that had been offered them, and ſeemed only affected and concerned at the tacit Indulgence that was granted to the *Hugonots*, concealing their private Intereſts and Reſentments in this manner under the ſpecious Pretence of Religion.

Thus by Degrees the Diſcords of great Men were confounded with the Diſſentions in Religion, and the Factions were no longer called *the diſcontented Princes* and *the Guiſards*, but took the more reputable and prevailing Names of *the Catholick* and *the Hugonot Party*; a Meaſure that, by bringing Religion into the Queſtion, adminiſtered ſo much the more dangerous Fuel to all the ſubſequent Animoſities and Diſtractions. The Queen Regent and the Conſtable adhered to the King, holding the Balance, in a manner; and the latter, though he hated *Calviniſm*, and lived according to the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church, was contented, both out of Regard to his Nephews, and to preſerve the publick Peace, that they ſhould proceed gently in Matters of Religion, till ſuch Time as the King, being come out of his Minority, was able to govern of himſelf.

But in the mean Time, to confirm the Power and Authority of the King, though under Age, it was thought proper by thoſe that governed, that he ſhould be acknowledged with the ſame Ceremonies, that are uſually obſerved at the Inauguration of the Kings of *France:* Upon which Account, they determined to take him to *Rheims*, where the holy Oil is kept with great Veneration, which was made uſe of at the Coronation of *Clovis*, the firſt Chriſtian King of *France*, and there cauſe him to be anointed or conſecrated, as it is commonly called: From whence they propoſed to conduct him to *Paris*, as the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Place where the Kings had generally been accuſtomed to reſide. During this Solemnity there happened a new Conteſt for Precedency betwixt the Princes of the Blood and the Duke of *Guiſe:* For they being firſt in Nobility claimed the Right of taking Place before all other Perſons whatſoever: And the Duke of *Guiſe* pretended to that Dignity as firſt Peer of *France*. And though the Privy Council determined in Favour of the Duke of *Guiſe*, (becauſe at the Coronation of the King, the Preſence and Aſſiſtance of the Peers, who are twelve, ſix Eccleſiaſtick and ſix Secular, is required, and the Attendance of the Princes of the Blood is not neceſſary, as they have no Office in that Ceremony) nevertheleſs, they being apt to take Fire at every little Spark, this was ſufficient to incenſe and exaſperate them to a very high Degree. Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, the Admiral and the Prince of *Condé* had uſed all poſſible Endeavours to induce the

Conſtable to eſpouſe their Party. But though *Francis* Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, his eldeſt Son, who was ſtrictly united with them, tried every Method to perſuade his Father, yet nothing could ſhake his Reſolution of not making himſelf the Head of a Faction in his old Age, or the Author of Diſſenſions in Religion. So that the Admiral, always good at Expedients, was determined to try ſome other Method of making him concur with them. 1561.

The Aſſembly of Deputies that had been appointed to conſult of proper Means of paying the Debts of the Crown, which from the Expence of the late Wars, amounted to a very conſiderable Sum, was now met at *Pontoiſe*, a Town ſeven Leagues from *Paris*; and though the Marſhal of *Montmorancy* preſided in this Aſſembly, the Admiral had ſome of his neareſt Friends there, ſo that he had an Opportunity of getting any thing propoſed that he pleaſed. Upon which Account the Brothers of *Coligny*, and the Prince of *Condé* reſolved, by means of their Confidents, to propoſe in the Aſſembly, that all thoſe who had received any Donations from the Kings, *Francis* the Firſt, or *Henry* the Second, ſhould be obliged to reſtore them into the publick Treaſury; having calculated that, in this Manner, without laying on any new Taxes they might diſcharge the greateſt Part of the Debts, which occaſioned ſo much Trouble not only to the publick, but to particular Perſons, both within the Kingdom and without. They made this Propoſal, becauſe the *Guiſes*, the Ducheſs *Diana*, the Marſhal of *St. Andrew*, and the Conſtable, had been the chief Sharers in the late King's Bounty. The three firſt of whom they would gladly have ſeen ruined by the Effect of it; but for the Conſtable, it was only deſigned to put him in Fear and neceſſitate him to unite with the Faction of the *Hugonots*, to avoid the Danger of loſing what he had got by the Sweat and Labour of ſo many Years: And ſuch was the Inveteracy of the Factions, that even his Nephews made themſelves Inſtruments of bringing theſe Cares and Difficulties upon him.

But as Counſels, that are too ſubtle and refined, very often produce contrary and unthought of Events, ſo this Attempt had an Effect much different from what the Contrivers of it deſigned. For the Conſtable and the *Guiſes* having an equal Intereſt in this Reſtitution of Grants, *Diana*, who was joined in Affinity with both, having already regained their Confidence, began, as embarked on the ſame Bottom, to treat of it with the Conſtable: And being a Woman of great Sagacity, well inſtructed in the Part ſhe was to act, at the ſame Time ill affected towards the Queen, and not a little terrified at the Reſtitution that was talked of, ſhe artfully turned the Converſation upon other Topicks, in the Courſe of which ſhe dropped ſome Hints of a Reconciliation with the Catholick Faction, and the Princes of *Lorrain*, and, from a Conſultation how to hinder the propoſed Reſti-

1561. tution, came to inveigh againſt the Admiral and the Prince of *Condé*, who were ſuſpected to be the Authors of it. They then proceeded to deplore the preſent State of the Kingdom, in which every thing was governed by ſuch pernicious Counſels under the Tyranny of a foreign Woman, and a pupil King; that to gratify Ambition and private Reſentments, the publick Peace and Tranquillity were deſtroyed, by ſhameleſsly introducing Hereſies into the Kingdom, which having been condemned by the Catholick Church were puniſhed with Fire and Sword by the juſt Severity of former Kings. Nor did ſhe conclude with this Condolence, but went on with the ſame Energy to repreſent that the whole Nation was exceedingly ſhocked and concerned, that one of the Houſe of *Montmorancy* (which was the firſt that had embraced the Chriſtian Religion) who had obtained the higheſt Office in the Kingdom by the Reputation of his uniform Piety and Juſtice ſhould now, as if he was faſcinated by the Arts of a Woman, ſuffer himſelf to be led by her Appetite, and a Perſon of ſo little Underſtanding as the King of *Navarre*, to conſent to ſuch Things as were done to the manifeſt Prejudice of God's Church: That he, who had Strength and Power in his Hands, was under the higheſt Obligation to oppoſe and prevent thoſe wicked Counſels which then prevailed, and once more to lend that Help which had many Times formerly ſupported the Crown, when it was in Danger; and Religion, when it was wholly abandoned. That he ſhould call to Mind his own Maxim, which he had till then conſtantly obſerved through the whole Courſe of a Life ſpent with ſo much Glory, in which he had ever condemned and oppoſed the Power of Strangers, as generally tending to the Ruin, and never to the Advantage of any State, and not at this Time ſuffer two Women, one an *Italian*, the other a *Navarreſe*, ſo wantonly to demoliſh the very Foundations of the *French* Monarchy, chiefly eſtabliſhed upon the Baſis of Piety and Religion: That he ought to remember that this was the ſame *Catharine*, whoſe Manners and Diſpoſition he had ever blamed and deteſted; that theſe were the very ſame *Hugonots* whom he had ſo furiouſly perſecuted in the Reign of *Henry* the Second; that neither the Perſons were changed, nor the Quality of Things altered: That every Body muſt believe that he ſuffered himſelf to be led in his old Age, either by Ambition, or the Caprice of others, when they ſaw him ſo ſuddenly change thoſe Principles, which he had acted upon from the Beginning of his Life.

To theſe weighty Arguments, often earneſtly reiterated, ſhe added many other Reaſons, and finding that, after ſeveral Hints and much Sollicitation, the Conſtable began to waver, partly out of the Indignation which he had conceived againſt his Nephews, for the Part they had acted in Relation to the Propoſals for a Reſtitution, and partly out of his Averſion to *Calviniſm*, *Magdalen de Savoy*, his Wife, took upon her to com-

plete the Affair; for being nettled at his affectionate Behaviour to his Nephews *De Coligny*, and being desirous of insinuating her own Brother *Honoré de Savoy*, Marquis of *Villars*, into the same Degree of his Favour, she let slip no Opportunity of doing a Prejudice to one, and advancing the Interest of the other. 1561.

These Practices did not end here, for *Diana* having also introduced the Marshal of *St. Andrew*, who would be no less affected by the Restitution, they so worked upon him, that with a View of uniting himself with those that had the same Interest, and out of Hatred to his Nephews, and in some Measure prevailed upon by the specious Pretext of preserving the Catholick Religion, to which he had been always well affected, he began to incline to a Friendship with the *Guises*. When they perceived this, they omitted no Kind of Artifice or Adulation, or other Means to draw him absolutely over to their Party; conceiving fresh Hopes of recovering, by this means, some Part at least, if not the whole of their former Power in the Government. And it so happened that *Diana*, Wife to the Marshal of *Montmorancy* (who was the only Obstacle to this Treaty) being sick at *Chantilly*, his Affection to her obliged him to leave his Father; so that this, which was the principal Difficulty, being got over, the Agreement was finally concluded, and a League made betwixt the Constable and the *Guises* for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, and mutual Defence of their respective Possessions.

But when this Combination was known to the Queen, she, imagining that she had now lost her greatest Support, and that the Princes of *Lorrain*, being grown stronger by the Addition of so much Interest and Reputation, and dissatisfied with her Proceedings, would endeavour to deprive her of the Government, thought it still more necessary to enter into a stricter Union with the King of *Navarre*, in order to counterpoise the other Party as much as was possible; knowing that it behoved her to be extremely vigilant to keep Things so nearly balanced, that neither the King's Safety nor the Stability of the Government should be endangered. Wherefore, at the King of *Navarre's* Desire, and the Queen not being unwilling his Party should increase, under a Pretence of keeping the Kingdom in Peace during the King's Minority, to appease the People who had been of late highly exasperated, and to gain the Opinion of Clemency at their first Entrance upon the Government; all the Parliaments and Magistrates of every Province were enjoined, by new Edicts and Decrees, to give no farther Molestation to any upon the Account of Religion, and to restore the Goods, Houses, and Possessions of all such as had been deprived of them upon Suspicion of *Calvinism*. Now, though these Edicts were opposed by the Parliament of *Paris*, and many Magistrates refused to obey them, yet the *Hugonots* having so reasonable

1561. a Plea as the declared Will of the King and the Regent, and the Conſent of the Privy Council, took upon themſelves Liberty of Conſcience, increaſing continually in Strength and Numbers, which would in all Likelihood have brought the Queen's Purpoſes to Effect, if the Commonalty of the *Hugonots* had had the Senſe to have contained themſelves within the Bounds of Modeſty and Reaſon. But they, on the contrary, as it uſually happens amongſt thoſe that are blindly led by popular Fury, without the Reſtraint of a formal Government, finding themſelves now ſupported and favoured, and out of reach of Puniſhment, laid aſide all due Reſpect to the Magiſtrates, and by open Aſſemblies, inſolent Speeches, and other Provocations, brought upon themſelves the Hatred and Indignation of the Catholicks; which being ſucceeded by outrageous Quarrels and bloody Encounters, every thing was full of Tumult, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom diſturbed and alarmed with ſeditious Rumours. So that, quite contrary to the common Opinion and the Intention of thoſe that governed, the Remedies that were applied to heal the Diviſions in the State and preſerve the publick Tranquillity, during the Minority of the King, proved pernicious and deſtructive, and occaſioned all thoſe Perils and Diſorders, which they had taken ſo much Pains to prevent.

This gave a Handle to the *Guiſes*, who were now encouraged and grown more powerful, to raiſe an Oppoſition to the Government. In Conſequence of which the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, taking an Opportunity of ſpeaking at the Council Table, began, without any Regard to the Queen, or the King *Navarre*, who were both preſent, to enter upon the Point of Religion, and in a very warm and pathetick Speech to ſhew, with what Indignity to the moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, what Sin againſt God, and with how great Scandal to all the World, Liberty of Conſcience was permitted to thoſe, who, profeſſing manifeſt Hereſies, already condemned in all Councils and by the common Conſent of the whole Church, went about ſcattering their monſtrous Opinions in Religion, corrupting the Youth, ſeducing ſimple Perſons, and ſtirring up the People to Tumult, Contempt, and Rebellion in all Parts of the Kingdom: Things were already come to that Paſs, he ſaid, that the Prieſts were deterred from celebrating their Sacrifices any longer in Churches, or going into their Pulpits, by the Inſolence and Arrogance of the *Calviniſts:* The Magiſtrates were no more obeyed in their Juriſdictions, through the Rebellion of Hereticks; that all Places raged with Diſcord, Burnings, and Slaughter, through the Preſumption and Perverſeneſs of thoſe that aſſumed to themſelves a Licence of teaching and believing after their own Manner; that now the moſt Chriſtian Kingdom and Firſt-born of the Church was ready to turn Schiſmatick, to ſeparate itſelf from the Obedience of the Apoſtolick See and the Faith of Chriſt, only to gratify the capricious Humours of

of a few ſeditious Perſons. He ſo expatiated upon this Subject with his uſual Eloquence, of which he often availed himſelf in Matters of Debate, that none of the *Hugonots* Friends being able to anſwer his Reaſons, the King of *Navarre* ſitting ſilent, the Queen not offering to reply, and the Chancellor being ſurpriſed and confounded; it was immediately reſolved, with the ready Concurrence of the whole Council, who were exceedingly ſcandalized at the licentious Behaviour of the *Hugonots*, that all the principal Officers of the Crown ſhould be ſummoned to attend in the Parliament of *Paris*, there to deliberate upon theſe Things in the King's Preſence, and reſolve upon ſuch Remedies as were proper to be uſed for the future: Nor was it poſſible to prevent them coming to the Parliament, which was appointed on the Thirteenth of *July*; for the King of *Navarre* durſt not openly oppoſe it, leſt, by declaring himſelf a *Hugonot*, he ſhould gain many Enemies; and the Queen, though ſhe did not deſire to ſee the Strength of the Catholick Party increaſed, was yet exceedingly perplexed, and apprehenſive leſt the advancing and Eſtabliſhment of Hereſy ſhould be imputed to her. 1561.

The Conteſts in the Parliament were very great; and though the Protectors of the *Hugonots* exerted their utmoſt Endeavours to obtain them a Decree for Liberty of Conſcience, by which Declaration they pretended theſe Commotions and Diſſenſions would ceaſe; yet all was in vain. For it being manifeſt that this was not only contrary to the Intention and Authority of the Catholick Church, but alſo to the ancient Conſtitutions of the Kingdom: And the Counſellors of the Parliament being exaſperated by continual Complaints, from all Parts, of the turbulent Proceedings of the *Hugonots*, it was expreſſly ordered, by general Conſent, that their Miniſters and Preachers ſhould be baniſhed out of the Kingdom, and every body prohibited to uſe any other Rites or Ceremonies in Religion than what were held and taught by the *Roman* Church: All Aſſemblies and Meetings, whether armed or unarmed, being forbidden in every Place, except in the Catholick Churches to hear Divine Service according to Cuſtom. And to throw ſome Weight into the Scale of the other Party, the ſame Edict ſet forth, that all Delinquencies in Matters of Religion, before the Publication thereof, ſhould be pardoned: And that for the future all Accuſations or Complaints of Hereſy ſhould be brought before the Biſhops, their Vicars, or Officials; and if it ſhould be at any time neceſſary to call in the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate, they ſhould not proceed againſt thoſe that were convicted of Hereſy, any farther than Baniſhment, but refrain from all corporal Puniſhment or Effuſion of Blood.

This Reſolution in the Form of a ſolemn Edict, approved and ſubſcribed by the King, the Queen, and all the Princes and Lords of both Factions,

1561. Factions, abſolutely reſtrained the Liberty of Religion, and gave Courage to the Catholick Party which had been not a little dejected. But the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, grieving at the Depreſſion and Humiliation of the *Hugonots*, in whoſe Force and Numbers they had founded the Strength of their Faction, not being able, any other Way, to prevent the Execution of an Edict which they had not the Reſolution to oppoſe, and which was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy by the Parliaments and moſt of the inferior Magiſtrates, endeavoured to bring it about that the *Calviniſt* Miniſters ſhould deſire a Conference with the Catholick Prelates in the King's Preſence, where the Articles of their Doctrine might be exhibited and examined, hoping by indirect Methods, and imperceptibly, to reſtore Liberty of Religion. This Demand of the *Hugonots* was oppoſed by many of the Catholick Prelates, and particularly by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, who ſaid, it was altogether in vain to diſpute Matters of Faith with Men of ſuch invincible Obſtinacy, and who ſtill perſiſted in Opinions that had been already condemned by the holy Church: That if they had a Mind to have their Pretenſions diſcuſſed, they might apply to the General Council at *Trent*, whither they ſhould have a ſafe Conduct granted them to go and propoſe, and diſpute upon their Opinions. But the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was not averſe to their Requeſt, either in hope of confuting the Doctrine of the *Hugonots* by dint of Reaſoning, and ſo diſabuſing the Conſciences of weak People, or out of a Deſire, as they that envied him gave out, to ſhew his Learning and Eloquence, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf the more conſpicuouſly in ſo publick an Aſſembly. Whatever his Intentions were, it is certain, that his Authority ſo prevailed upon the reſt of the Prelates, that, following his Example, they made no Oppoſition to the Demand of the Miniſters, but concurred with the King of *Navarre*, who, being deſirous of hearing a ſolemn Diſputation, for the quieting of his own Conſcience, ſollicited it with great Earneſtneſs in favour of the *Hugonots*.

Safe Conducts being ſent therefore to the Miniſters, who had retired to *Geneva* and *Poiſſy*, a Town five Leagues from *Paris*, being the Place appointed for the Conference; beſides the King and Court, there came thither on the Catholick Side, the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorrain*, *Bourbon*, *Armagnac*, and *Guiſe*, and with the Biſhops and Prelates of the higheſt Reputation, many Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and other Divines ſent for from the moſt celebrated Univerſities in the Kingdom. For the *Hugonots* appeared *Theodore Beza*, their Chief, *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, *Francis de St. Paul*, *John Raimond* and *John Virrelle*, with many other Preachers, from *Geneva*, and out of *Germany*, and other neighbouring Places. When they were aſſembled, *Theodore Beza*, having firſt explained their Doctrines in a very pompous Diſcourſe, and being vigorouſly oppoſed by the

the Cardinal of *Lorrain* with great Strength of Argument, drawn from the Authority of Scripture and the Fathers of the Holy Church, the Privy Council did not think it proper that the King, who was but young and not yet able to judge or diſcern the Truth, ſhould come any more to the Diſputation, leſt he might imbibe Opinions that were not orthodox or agreeable to the Doctrines of the Catholick Church. So that the Diſputation from being publick, by Degrees became a private one, and at laſt, after much Debate and Contention, ended, without coming to any Determination at all. The Catholick Party gained this Advantage by it, that even the King of *Navarre* came away diſſatisfied with the *Hugonots*, having diſcovered that the Miniſters themſelves did not agree about that Doctrine which they unanimouſly preached to others, but that ſome ſtrictly followed the Opinions of *Calvin*, ſome of *Oecolampadius* and *Luther*; that others adhered to the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and ſeveral to the *Auguſtan*: And being perplexed and diſtracted with theſe Uncertainties, he began from that Time to grow daily more cool towards them, and incline to the *Romiſh* Religion. 1561.

But the *Hugonots* gained a much more conſiderable Point by the Conference, and that indeed, for which only they were ſo deſirous of having it held; for after it was broke up, they ſpread it abroad, that they had made good their Opinions, and not only ſilenced the Catholick Doctors, but refuted the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and obtained Licence from the King to preach. In conſequence of which they immediately began, of their own Authority, to aſſemble themſelves in ſuch Places as they thought moſt convenient for their Purpoſe, and to celebrate their Worſhip publickly, which was reſorted to by ſuch a Concourſe of Nobility and others of all Ranks, that it was not poſſible any longer to ſuppreſs or prevent them. And if they met with any Interruption from the Magiſtrates, or the Catholicks attempted to drive them out of their Temples, they were become ſo inſolent and audacious, that, without regard to any Authority, they took up Arms to right themſelves. Upon which, fierce Contentions ariſing, and being fomented with the Names of Heretick and Papiſt, the whole Kingdom was turned upſide down, the Magiſtrates were oppoſed in their Juriſdictions, the People diſquieted, the Collectors of the King's Revenue not ſuffered to do their Duty, and in the midſt of Peace were ſeen the Effects of a tacit, but deſtructive War.

They that ſat at the Helm, being alarmed at theſe Extremities, and perceiving that the Edict of *July* had rather increaſed than diminiſhed the Diſturbances, called another Aſſembly of the Eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, that they might be informed of the State of every particular Province, and make ſuch Ordinances by common Conſent as ſhould be thought moſt expedient to ſettle this Matter, which continually varying

1561. ing with the Intereſts of State and Paſſions of great Men, it is no Wonder that it daily became more and more confuſed and difficult to be reduced to any Order after ſo many contradictory Edicts. For being often altered and new modelled, it could not poſſibly receive that Form which proceeds only from a conſtant and uninterrupted Continuation in the ſame Condition.

1562. This Aſſembly met at *Paris* in the beginning of the Year 1562, where the Queen conſenting (as altogether intent upon balancing the Factions, and not to ſuffer the one to preponderate, or oppreſs the other, leſt ſhe ſhould fall a Sacrifice to that which got the Superiority) and moſt of the Council approving of it (being in ſome meaſure perſuaded that ſo great a Multitude, and ſo enflamed with religious Zeal, could not eaſily be reſtrained; and at the ſame Time moved with Pity to ſee ſo much Blood ſhed to no Purpoſe) that memorable and ſo much celebrated Edict of *January* was publiſhed, by which a free Exerciſe of their Religion was granted to the *Hugonots*, and Leave to aſſemble at Sermons, but unarmed, in open Places out of the Cities, in the Preſence and under the Inſpection of the Officers of the Diſtrict. The Parliaments at firſt refuſed to accept this Edict, and the Magiſtrates vehemently oppoſed it; but, after reiterated Orders from the King and Council, it was at laſt regiſtered and publiſhed by way of Proviſion, with this expreſs Clauſe and Condition, *until ſuch Time as a General Council or the King himſelf ſhall think fit to order it otherwiſe.*

This Edict gave a great Shock to the Heads of the Catholick Party; and not being willing that the World ſhould believe they conſented to what was done, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Cardinals (of whom the Cardinal of *Tournon* was lately dead) with the Marſhals of *Briſac* and *St. Andrew*, left the Court, and began to contrive how they might prevent the Conſequence of the Edict, and effectually oppoſe the *Hugonot* Faction. But as they knew they had no manner of Right to interfere in the Government of the Kingdom, whilſt the King of *Navarre* continued united with the Regent, and therefore that whatever Attempt they ſhould make would fall to the Ground, they entered into a Conſultation how to diſſolve that Union: And being well convinced that it was the Queen's Intention and Reſolution to maintain her Power, if ſhe could, till her Son came of Age, they thought it more feaſible to gain the King of *Navarre*. It was rather of Advantage than any Hindrance to their Deſign, that they were abſent from the Court. For as it was an Affair that required much Time and Pains to bring about, it might be managed with the greater Secreſy. Accordingly *Hippolito de Eſte*, Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate, and Don *Juan Manriquez*, Ambaſſador from his Catholick Majeſty, were privately employed to negotiate

gotiate it, who being in great Eſteem with the Counſellors that the King of *Navarre* uſually confided in, found out an eaſy Way of promoting their Intentions. 1562.

The King of *Navarre*, as has been already ſaid, was much alienated from the *Hugonots* Religion, by the different Opinions which he found amongſt thoſe of that Sect about the Points in Controverſy; for which Reaſon, after the Conference held at *Poiſſy*, having not met with the ſame Conſtancy in *Theodore Beza* and *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, which they uſed to ſhew when no body oppoſed them, he ſent for Doctor *Baldwin*, a Man of great Knowledge in the holy Scripture, and well verſed in the Diſputes concerning Religion, by whom he was wholly taken off from his Adherence to the *Helvetian* and *Auguſtan* Confeſſions, and perſuaded to reunite himſelf ſincerely to the Catholick Church. And though he conſented to the Edict of *January*, he did it rather out of an old Opinion, "that Men's Conſciences ought not to be forced," and by the Perſuaſion of thoſe that told him it was the only Method of putting an End to all Tumults and Diſturbances in the Kingdom, than from any particular Liking to it, having already an Intention of reconciling himſelf to the Church. Which Inclination being known to many, by means of his chief Counſellors, who were now ſecretly diſpoſed to ſerve the Catholick Party, encouraged the Legate and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to begin upon their intended Negociation.

But to give the greater Force to theſe ſpiritual Conſiderations by Motives of temporal Intereſt and Advantage, they jointly propoſed, that he ſhould repudiate his Wife Queen *Jane* by a Diſpenſation from the Pope, as ſhe was manifeſtly tainted with Hereſy, and the *Guiſes* ſhould take upon them to obtain for him the Queen of *Scotland*, their Niece, Widow to *Francis* the Second, who, beſides her Youth and uncommon Beauty, had a Kingdom for her Dower. But finding that, out of Affection to their Children, he would not conſent to divorce his Queen, they offered to bring a Treaty once more upon the Carpet, that had ſo often proved fruitleſs, and firmly to ſecure the Iſland of *Sardinia* to him in Exchange for *Navarre*, upon certain Conditions, being well convinced that was a Concern that lay neareſt to his Heart, and of Conſequence the moſt likely to prevail upon him. And though all Expectation of bringing that to paſs was now in a great meaſure laid aſide, yet the Treaty being never abſolutely broke off, *Manriquez*, making Uſe of the Artifices that are uſually practiſed upon the like Occaſions, repreſented to him the Probability of ſucceeding in his Deſign, with ſuch Shew of Reaſons that he ſoon began to conceive freſh Hopes: For beſides the Aſſurances of his Catholick Majeſty's Compliance, they were ſo far advanced as to treat of the Manner of Exchange, and the Nature of the Tribute that ſhould be paid

1562. to the Crown of *Spain* by way of Acknowledgment; diſputing as ſeriouſly upon every particular Article of the Agreement, as if it had been really meant to be fulfilled.

What promoted the Catholicks Deſign was his natural Inclination to plain, honeſt Counſels, and it was an Advantage to them that he had diſcovered the Paſſions and Intereſts which were covered under the Veil of Chriſtian Charity and Religion: It was likewiſe of no little Service to their Cauſe, that he began to ſuſpect that the Admiral, with his overmuch Knowledge, endeavoured to arrogate ſuch an Authority to himſelf, as to make the World believe that he ruled and directed him in all his Actions. But what weighed the moſt with him was, that he ſaw the whole Faction had turned their Eyes upon the Prince of *Condé*, admiring and extolling the Courage, the Generoſity, and Readineſs that he ſhewed to ſerve them upon all Occaſions, and, on the contrary, deſpiſing his Gentleneſs and Facility. There was ſtill another Motive of exceeding great Conſequence; for, conſidering that the King of *France* and his Brothers were not of an Age to have Children, and naturally not only of a weak, cold Conſtitution, but ſubject to dangerous Indiſpoſitions, he was not altogether without Hope that he might ſome Time or other attain to the Crown, which of Right belonged to **him**, after their Deceaſe, as firſt Prince of the Blood. In which Caſe he was aware, that his being a Favourer and Protector of the *Hugonots* would be a great Obſtacle to him, and almoſt an invincible Impediment. For which Reaſon, being deſirous of removing every Difficulty that might obſtruct him in that Pretenſion, he was inclined to join the Catholick Party, and to make ſure not only of the Pope's Favour and the King of *Spain's*, but the Support of the beſt united and moſt powerful Faction. The earneſt Perſuaſions and Promiſes of the Legate, and the Ambaſſador *Manriquez* being added to all theſe Inducements, and growing ſuſpicious of his Wife's Counſels, who was zealouſly bigotted to the Opinions of *Calvin*, and naturally an Enemy to peaceable Meaſures, he finally reſolved to enter into a League with the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to make not only a verbal Profeſſion, but a publick Declaration in Writing, that they were confederated for the Defence of the Catholick Religion. But whatever Weight theſe religious Conſiderations might have with the King of *Navarre*, it is certain that he left the *Hugonot* Faction chiefly becauſe he ſaw he was not ſo much reſpected by it as his Brother, and joined with the other, upon the Proſpect of many great Advantages that he hoped to gain from it. The Deſire of riſing again to their former Greatneſs and Authority, was likewiſe the true Motive of the *Guiſes* Proceedings.

This was a Union that taught the *French* Subjects afterwards to enter into Combinations without the Permiſſion of their Sovereign, and which,

with ſo many Execrations and Maledictions, was by the *Hugonots* called *the Triumvirate*, with regard to the three principal Confederates. 1562.

Queen *Jane* was exceedingly enraged at this unexpected Reſolution in her Huſband, and, not being able to endure the Thoughts of ſeeing him the chief Perſecutor of that Religion which ſhe had ſo conſtantly profeſſed, and to which ſhe imagined ſhe had not only brought him over, but abſolutely confirmed him in it, reſolved, out of Diſdain, to leave the Court; and taking with her Prince *Henry* and the Princeſs *Catharine*, her Children, whom ſhe had educated in the Religion of *Calvin*, ſhe immediately retired into *Bearn*, being determined to ſeparate herſelf from the Counſels and Converſation of her Huſband.

But if Queen *Jane* was exceedingly affected at ſo ſudden and almoſt incredible a Change, the Queen Regent was no leſs terrified; for, ſeeing that this Confederacy had deſtroyed her Scheme of balancing the Factions, and that Equality ſo totally broken, on which the Security of the Kingdom entirely depended, whilſt ſuch Jealouſies and Diſcontent ſubſiſted betwixt the Princes, ſhe began to be in great Pain, and thought both her Son's Crown and her own Power were in the utmoſt Danger; apprehending that theſe reciprocal Changes, and this uniting of Intereſts ſo thoroughly incompatible, could not be without a ſecret Deſign of great Attempts and well grounded Hopes of obtaining ſome conſiderable End.

She was ſenſible the *Guiſes* had already diſcovered her Artifices, and that being full of Ambition and Expectation, they endeavoured by every poſſible Method to get the Government into their Hands. And ſhe thought the King of *Navarre* could not be induced to deſert his Brother and his other Adherents, and unite with thoſe that had been his bittereſt Enemies, without ſome ample Recompence for ſuch Inconſtancy. She likewiſe well knew what power Ambition and the Thirſt of Command had over the Minds of Men, though never ſo juſt; and thoroughly conſidering her Circumſtances, began to perceive her own Weakneſs, and the dangerous Situation of her young Sons: So that, no longer truſting to the King of *Navarre's* Sincerity, nor the Profeſſions of the Catholicks, that they would not make any Alteration in the State, being full of Fear and Suſpicion, ſhe could not quiet her Apprehenſions, nor tell whom to confide in. At laſt, however, after having ſpent many Nights in Conſultation with her Confidents, the chief of whom were the Biſhop of *Valence* and the High Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, ſhe reſolved by their Advice, and, what was more urgent, being forced, by Neceſſity, to join with the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral; and by favouring their Meaſures, endeavour to ſhelter herſelf under their Power; thinking ſhe might, by theſe Means, ſtill purſue her firſt Deſign of balancing the Strength of the

1562. Factions as much as poſſible. She likewiſe conſidered, amongſt many other Things, that God himſelf, in the Government of the World, often brings Good out of Evil; and ſince the *Hugonots* had till then been the Occaſion of ſo much Trouble and Diſtraction, it was but reaſonable to make uſe of them at preſent, as an Antidote againſt the Venom of thoſe Diſtempers which were likely to infect the moſt noble and eſſential Parts of the Kingdom.

The *Hugonots*, being freed from all Fear of Puniſhment by the Publication of the Edict of *January*, had already begun to gather Strength and Courage: And aſſembling themſelves publickly upon all Occaſions, it appeared that their Sect was very great and conſiderable, not only with reſpect to the Number, but the Quality of the Perſons, and their Force not contemptible. The Prince of *Condé* publickly took upon him to be the Protector of them, for, though outwardly reconciled to the *Guiſes* by the King's Command, he ſteadily perſevered in his former Deſigns, and burnt with an eager Deſire of revenging paſt Affronts upon thoſe that had been his chief Perſecutors. His Ardour and Impetuoſity were moderated by the wiſe Counſels of the Admiral, who, with his Brothers, out of a Thirſt of Power, were more ſtrictly united with the *Hugonot* Party. Their Authority drew after them the Prince of *Porcian*, the Count *de la Rochfocault*, the Lords *de Genlis*, *de Grammont* and *Duras*, the Count of *Montgomery*, the Baron *des Adrets*, the Lords of *Bouchavan* and *Soubize*, and many others of the principal Men in the Kingdom of the ſame Perſuaſion. So that upon every little Check that they received from the Government, they immediately put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, and reſolutely oppoſed the contrary Faction.

The Queen therefore, being obliged to take hold of the Opportunity of this Conjuncture, for her own Preſervation and that of her Sons, and reduced to a Neceſſity of embracing any preſent Expedient, though never ſo hazardous, that conduced to that End, leaving the Iſſue to Time and future Occurrences, began to pretend that ſhe was touched with the Reaſons and Doctrine of the *Hugonots*, and inclined to come over to their Religion. And to confirm them in this Opinion, as much as poſſible, by outward Appearances, ſhe would often ſeem to liſten to their Arguments and Diſcourſes with much Pleaſure in her own Apartment, confer with great Confidence and Profeſſions of Affection with the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, and had frequent Converſations with the Ducheſs of *Montpenſier*, whom ſhe could prevail upon to believe whatever ſhe pleaſed, by her conſummate Diſſimulation, and made Uſe of her as an Inſtrument to raiſe the Hopes and Expections of other leading Men amongſt them. And, to convince them by ſome more publick Demonſtration of the Sincerity of her Promiſes and Profeſſions, ſhe wrote

wrote Letters to the Pope of obſcure and ambiguous Import, firſt de- 1562.
manding a general Council, and ſuch a one too in every Point as the *Calviniſts* deſired, and then Licence to call a national Synod; one while deſiring the Communion might be adminiſtered in both Kinds, and another, requiring a Diſpenſation for Prieſts to marry; ſometimes ſolliciting that Prayers might be offered up in the vulgar Tongue, and propoſing other ſuchlike Things as were embraced and maintained by the *Hugonots*, in which ſhe knew ſo well how to act the Hypocrite, by the Help of Monſieur *de l'Iſle*, Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that, raiſing a Doubt in the Pope and the Catholick Party concerning her Faith, and by that Means obliging them to behave with great Circumſpection, leſt they ſhould at laſt wholly alienate her from the *Roman* Religion, ſhe at the ſame Time ſo inſinuated herſelf into the good Opinion of the *Hugonots*, and made them believe ſhe was altogether inclined to favour them, that of bitter Enemies, they became her firmeſt Friends and Confidents.

Nor were the Vulgar only deluded by her profound Diſſimulation, but the Admiral alſo, who was by Nature ſo ſubtle and cautious, put ſuch Confidence in her Promiſes, that he gave her a full Account of the Number of Forces and the Views of his Faction, of the Adherents they had both within and without the Kingdom, and of every other Particular: As ſhe ſeemed deſirous of being informed at large of thoſe Circumſtances before ſhe declared herſelf, and promiſed openly to eſpouſe that Party when they were once ſo eſtabliſhed and provided with Force, that ſhe ſhould have no Occaſion to ſtand in Awe of the Power of the Catholicks or the Triumvirate.

Thus, by a ſudden and apparently an unaccountable Change, the King of *Navarre* went over to the Catholick Party, and Queen *Catharine* made a Shew of taking upon her the Protection of the *Hugonots*. Which Revolution ſeemed very ſtrange and extravagant to thoſe that did not know the true and ſecret Reaſons of it, and therefore many at that Time imputed it to Levity in one, and womaniſh Inconſtancy in the other; and ſeveral that have wrote ſince aſſign the ſame Cauſes, not having been able to penetrate to the Bottom of the Secret, nor diſcover the real Motives of theſe Proceedings.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK III.

ARGUMENT.

The Reſolution of the King of Navarre to drive the Prince of Condé (now become formidable) out of Paris. For this purpoſe he ſends for the other Catholick Lords to Court. The Duke of Guiſe is upon the road thither, and, paſſing by Vaſſy, finds an aſſembly of Hugonots at their devotions. A bloody fray enſues. The Hugonots riſe in all parts of the Kingdom to revenge themſelves. The Prince of Condé leaves Paris. The Queen Mother retires with the King to Fontainbleau, to avoid being obliged to declare for either party. The Princes of each faction endeavour to draw the King and Queen over to their ſide and get them into their hands. The Catholicks are beforehand with the Hugonots and conduct them both to Paris. The Prince of Conde, having loſt this opportunity, takes other reſolutions, poſſeſſes

poſſeſſes himſelf of Orleans and prepares for war. The Catholick Lords raiſe an army likewiſe in the King's name. Many writings are publiſhed on each ſide. Both armies take the field. The Queen Mother endeavours to avoid a war and eſtabliſh peace. For this end ſhe has an interview with the Prince, but to no purpoſe. She continues however to treat about an agreement, which is at laſt concluded. The prince repents of it, and, by the perſuaſion of his party, takes up arms again. He reſolves to attack the King's camp in the night, but miſcarries in his deſign. Forces out of Germany, and many thouſand Swiſs come to the King's aſſiſtance; upon which the Prince is obliged to retire within the walls of Orleans, where he divides his army, not being able to keep it together. He ſends into Germany and England for ſuccour, to obtain which, he conſents to give up Havre de Grace to the Engliſh, and to receive their garriſons into Dieppe and Rouen. The Queen is ſo offended and grievouſly afflicted at it, that ſhe joins the Catholick party and cauſes the Hugonots to be declared rebels. The King's army takes Blois, Tours, Poictiers and Bourges. Beſieges Roüen and takes it. The King of Navarre is killed there. Succours come to the Prince out of Germany, with which he haſtens to attack Paris. The King and Queen Mother arrive there with the army, which obliges him to leave that place after many attempts upon it. Both armies march into Normandy. The battle of Dreux enſues, in which the Prince of Condé is taken priſoner on one ſide, and the Conſtable on the other. The Duke of Guiſe being victorious, lays ſiege to Orleans, and being upon the point of taking it, is treacherouſly ſlain by Poltrot. After his death there is a general peace, and the King's army recovers Havre de Grace from the Engliſh. The King comes out of his minority. The Queen uſes various artifices to appeaſe the diſcontented Princes, and for that purpoſe makes a progreſs through the whole kingdom together with her ſon: has an interview with the Pope's miniſters at Avignon, and with the Queen of Spain at Bayonne; it is agreed betwixt the Moſt Chriſtian and Catholick Kings to aid each other in the ſuppreſſion of ſeditions. The Queen of Navarre comes to court. The King makes a reconciliation betwixt the families of Chaſtillon and Guiſe; but in a few days after they return to their former enmities. The Queen of Navarre leaves the court in diſguſt, and meditates new ſchemes. Several great marriages are celebrated, but the civil diſſenſions continue.

AFFAIRS of ſtate having on a ſudden taken this different turn, there was no body ſo ſhort-ſighted as not to perceive very plainly, that the inveteracy of the factions would at laſt end in a war: and that there wanted nothing to make this thunder-cloud burſt but ſome convenient opportunity which (as if all things had concurred to haſten 1562.

1562. haſten the calamities of *France*) very ſoon after happened in a ſtrange manner.

The King of *Navarre*, after he had publickly declared himſelf of the catholick party, reſided in *Paris:* which city, being ſituated in the middle of *France*, far exceeds all others of that kingdom, in number of people, in riches, dignity, and power. And concluding that all the others would naturally follow the example of the metropolis, he took great pains, and much to the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, to hinder all preachings and aſſemblies of the *Hugonots* there; and, having ſtill a regard to that end in all his other meaſures of government, he hoped in time to diminiſh their credit and power, and at laſt to deprive them of liberty of conſcience, on which not only the increaſe, but the very being of that party depended. The Prince of *Condé* likewiſe ſtaid in *Paris*, who, on the contrary, encouraging the preachers, and enlarging their licence, as far as he could, under the pretence of cauſing the edict of *January* to be obſerved, arrogated to himſelf (more by power than right) a very great authority in all the affairs of ſtate.

The King of *Navarre* therefore thought it highly neceſſary to oblige the Prince of *Condé*, by ſome means or other, to quit *Paris*. For either a real deſire of peace, or the envy with which he looked upon him, had now made him exceeding violent againſt him; and every motive perſuaded him to keep that city, upon which the catholick party chiefly relied, free from tumults and ſedition; but knowing that his own forces were not ſufficient for that purpoſe, or being willing to communicate this reſolution to the other confederates before any thing was put in execution, he ſent for the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, that they might unite all their forces in the ſame place.

After the Duke of *Guiſe* retired from court, he lived at *Joinville*, his paternal ſeat, upon the confines of *Picardy* and *Champagne*; and, having received this ſummons from the King of *Navarre*, he ſet out, attended by the Cardinal his brother, with a train of many gentlemen his dependents, and two troops of lances for his guard, in order to be in *Paris* at the time appointed. But paſſing through a little village in the ſame confines, called *Vaſſy*, on the firſt of *March* in the morning, his people heard an unuſual noiſe of bells, and, having enquired the reaſon of it, anſwer was made, that it was the hour in which the *Hugonots* uſed to aſſemble at their ſermons. The pages and lacqueys of the Duke that were before the reſt of the company, being moved with curioſity and the novelty of the thing (as thoſe congregations then firſt began to be held in publick) rode forwards in a diſorderly ſort of a manner, and with taunting ſpeeches (according to the cuſtom of thoſe people) towards the place where the *Hugonots* were aſſembled at their devotions; who underſtanding

ſtanding that the Duke of *Guiſe*, one of their chief perſecutors, was there, and ſeeing his attendants advancing directly towards them, being afraid of ſome inſult, or perhaps provoked at ſome words of contempt and deriſion rudely made uſe of by the others, began, without any farther conſideration, to gather up ſtones and drive back ſuch as were come the neareſt to the place of their meeting. This behaviour ſo enraged the catholick party, who came thither without any intention of injuring them, that they with no leſs inconſideration had recourſe to their arms, upon which a terrible fray enſued betwixt them. The Duke, perceiving the uproar, and being deſirous of putting a ſtop to it, immediately ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and, without any regard to himſelf, rode into the midſt of them, where, whilſt he was endeavouring to check his own people, and exhorting the *Hugonots* to retire, he received a wound from a ſtone upon his left cheek, by which, as he bled faſt, though he was not much hurt, he was obliged to withdraw out of the ſkirmiſh. But his followers, not being able to bear ſo great an indignity offered to their lord, immediately took to their fire-arms, and attacking the houſe whither the *Hugonots* had retired to ſecure themſelves, killed above ſixty of them, and grievouſly wounded the miniſter, who climbing over the roof, ſaved himſelf in one of the adjoining houſes. 1562.

When the tumult was over, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent for the magiſtrate of the place, and ſharply rebuked him for ſuffering ſo pernicious a licence there to the prejudice of paſſengers: and he, to excuſe himſelf, ſaying that he could not hinder it, by reaſon of the edict of *January*, which tolerated the public aſſemblies of the *Hugonots*, the Duke was no leſs offended at his anſwer than at the thing itſelf, and laying his hand upon his ſword, very angrily replied, *This ſhall ſoon cut the bond of that edict, though never ſo ſtrait*. From which words ſpoken in the height of paſſion, and not forgotten by thoſe that were preſent, many afterwards accuſed him as the author and contriver of the enſuing war.

The *Hugonots* being exceedingly incenſed at this tranſaction, and no longer able to contain themſelves within the bounds of patience, nor contented with what they had formerly done both at *Paris* (where they had killed ſeveral men and ſet fire to the church of *St. Medard)* and in other cities all over the kingdom, now full of rage and madneſs, excited ſuch horrible tumults and bloody ſeditions, that, beſides much ſlaughter, the monaſteries were plundered in many places, the images thrown down, the altars broken, and the churches brutiſhly polluted. By which the whole nation being exaſperated, and people running headlong to arms in all places, the heads of the factions, upon the ſame occaſion, went about raiſing forces, and openly preparing themſelves for war.

But the Lords of both parties plainly ſaw that in the ſtate things then

1562. were, they could not take up arms without incurring the manifeſt imputation of rebellion, there being no pretext or ſhew of reaſon to give any ſanction to ſuch proceedings. For the catholick party could not oppoſe the edict of *January* without apparently contradicting an act of council, and treſpaſſing againſt the royal power by which the edict was authorized: and, on the other ſide, the *Hugonots* enjoying that liberty of conſcience, which was granted them by the ſame edict, had no juſt cauſe to take up arms. Each faction therefore was deſirous of drawing the King over to them, and, getting his perſon into their poſſeſſion, to make a ſhew of having the right on their ſide, either by utterly aboliſhing the edict, or interpreting it, under his name, according to their own meaning; and at the ſame time to throw the odium of rebellion upon the other party, by neceſſitating them not only to oppoſe the King's pleaſure, but actually to reſiſt him in perſon.

The Queen Mother, being thoroughly informed of theſe deſigns, and very ſollicitous to preſerve her own liberty and that of her ſons, ſtill continued endeavouring, by her uſual arts, ſo to balance the power of the chiefs, that neither ſide might be able to overturn the ſtate by a ſuperiority of ſtrength: and, having left *Paris*, that ſhe might not be in the hands of either party, retired to *Fontainbleau*, a delightful country palace belonging to the Kings of *France*; which being a free, open place, ſhe thought ſhe could not there be forced to declare herſelf, and hoped, by amuſing each faction with ambiguous promiſes, to maintain her credit with both. For which purpoſe ſhe gave aſſurances to the Prince of *Condé* and the Lords of *Chaſtillon* (who, being inferior in ſtrength to the catholicks, were gone out of *Paris* to arm themſelves) that ſhe would join them, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw they had got together ſuch a force as might be ſufficient to reſiſt the power of their adverſaries. And on the other hand ſhe made proteſtations to the King of *Navarre*, the Conſtable, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, that ſhe would never forſake the catholick party, nor conſent to the eſtabliſhment of the *Hugonots*, any farther than granting them a moderate liberty, and ſuch as by the advice of perſons well affected ſhould be thought neceſſary for the peace of the ſtate. Her letters were no leſs ambiguous than her words during the courſe of this affair; nor did ſhe declare herſelf more openly abroad to foreign princes, than ſhe had done to others at home; but often changing the purport of her diſpatches, and varying the inſtructions ſhe gave to ambaſſadors at other courts, and particularly to Monſieur *de l'Iſle*, who reſided in *Rome*, ſometimes clogging them with reſtrictions, and at others giving them more liberty, kept every body in darkneſs and ſuſpence.

But now her taſk became more difficult: for the heads of both parties were grown, by experience, as ſubtle as herſelf; and had, in the courſe

of ſo long a time as ſhe held the regency, had many opportunities of perceiving and finding out her artifices. Beſides, as the King now began to grow of age, it was neceſſary to put an end to all delays: for ſeveral meaſures might appear excuſeable in his minority that would wear a very different face when he arrived at years of maturity, as no body could then oppoſe his will and pleaſure without manifeſt imputation of rebellion: whereas at preſent every one might pretend that what they did was not out of oppoſition to the King's will, but to the wicked and pernicious counſels of his miniſters. So that the Duke of *Guiſe* (who, being of a more violent and reſolute diſpoſition than the reſt, abſolutely governed and directed his party in all things) having already drawn the King of *Navarre* and the Conſtable over to his opinion, perſuaded them, that going all together immediately to court, they ſhould bring the King and Queen Mother to *Paris*, and afterwards make them confirm ſuch edicts and decrees as ſeemed neceſſary in the preſent juncture; and not run the hazard of being prevented by waiting any longer, or ſuffer their adverſaries to ſeize firſt upon the King's perſon, and ſo inveſt themſelves with the authority of his name. 1562.

The Prince of *Condé* had the ſame intention, and, leaving *Paris*, retired firſt to *Meaux*, a town in *Brie*, ten leagues from thence, and then to *la Ferté*, a place of his own, there to aſſemble his forces. To this reſolution he was not only adviſed by the Admiral, but encouraged by the Queen Mother's promiſes, and perhaps haſtened in it by the deſign of the Catholicks, which was not unknown to him; as it is generally very eaſy in civil diſcords to penetrate into the moſt ſecret intentions of the enemy, by the perfidy of counſellors and the number of ſpies, which always abound in ſuch times. But the catholick Lords were able to manage this deſign by the aſſiſtance only of their common attendants, and beſides, being near *Paris*, which was abſolutely at their devotion, they had ſtill more opportunity and ſtrength to effect it. Whereas, on the other ſide the Prince of *Condé*, being much weaker than them, and having but few of his men armed, was forced to wait for the other Lords and Gentlemen of his party, who, being ſent for from different provinces of the Kingdom, were not ſo ſoon brought together.

In the mean time the Catholicks were beforehand with them, and on a ſudden appeared at court in great numbers. The Queen however, not at all diſmayed at ſo unexpected an event, though ſhe was ſomething apprehenſive that her former artifices would no longer be of any uſe to her, began to perſuade the King of *Navarre* to prevail upon the Princes and other Lords that came with him, immediately to withdraw from court, telling him that the reaſon of their coming was very well known to every body, which was to compel her, helpleſs as ſhe was, and the King,

1562. yet in his minority, to govern the State according to their humours, and to accommodate the affairs of the publick to private intereſts and reſentment, a manner of proceeding that not only very ill agreed with their profeſſions of loyalty and good intentions, but was abſolutely inconſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, which were the only ends they pretended to aim at: for to iſſue new edicts and decrees different from thoſe that were already enacted, was a ſure way to make the *Hugonots* take up arms, who, being bold enough of themſelves and ripe for inſurrections, would think and publiſh to all the world that they had reaſon on their ſide, if that edict ſhould be revoked without any cauſe, which had been eſtabliſhed and confirmed by a general conſent: that it was highly expedient to avoid the neceſſity of a war, and the troubles and calamities that attend it, whilſt the King was under age, leſt, beſides the damage which the publick would ſuſtain, a more laſting brand of infamy might be fixed upon thoſe that had the greateſt authority in the government: that ſhe had, upon this account, conſented to the edict of *January*, and left *Paris*, to take away all manner of pretence and opportunity for that miſchief to break out which was ſecretly contriving: that to return to a place ſuſpected, and to interrupt the courſe of an edict already publiſhed, would be openly to foment and encourage it. She likewiſe repreſented to the King of *Navarre*, and the other Catholick Princes, that to raiſe civil wars was only the practice of thoſe that were in uneaſy or deſperate circumſtances, and not of ſuch as were bleſſed in the poſſeſſion of immenſe riches, dignities, ſtates, and all manner of honours: that the King of *Navarre* ſhould continue to enjoy the command of the whole Kingdom, which he already exerciſed without controul; that the other Princes ſhould ſtill poſſeſs their ſtates, their power and authority, provided they would ſuffer the people to enjoy, or at leaſt to think they enjoyed, a liberty that yet would be but momentary and precarious, and by that means bring it about that the King might accompliſh his majority without being obliged to enter into a war: that there had been no conceſſion made which had not been extorted by downright neceſſity: that alone was given which could not be ſold; and only that liberty granted to the *Hugonots* which they took of themſelves. The Catholick Princes therefore ſhould have patience till this frantick humour could be got the better of by art and prudent management, and not be the occaſion (by applying untimely medicines before the King came of age) of ſuddenly bringing the diſeaſe to a criſis, which muſt inevitably be attended by many diſaſters and perilous events: but that, if they were firmly reſolved to moderate the edict, it was to be done inſenſibly, and at proper times and occaſions, and not in ſuch an open and violent a manner as would give the ſeditious that opportunity which they themſelves deſired and ſought after.

Theſe

Theſe reaſons, being powerfully urged and reiterated, would have prevailed upon the King of *Navarre*, and perhaps upon the Conſtable alſo, if the Duke of *Guiſe* would have conſented. But he, having fixed his hopes not only upon recovering, but even enlarging his former greatneſs, by the fortune of war, and being deſirous, as the ancient protector and head of the Catholick party, that whatever was reſolved upon without his approbation, ſhould by no means be put in execution; and that the honour of having fruſtrated ſuch meaſures ſhould entirely redound to himſelf, peremptorily rejected all the Queen's propoſals, and endeavoured to ſhew them that they ſhould loſe all their credit and reputation if they ſuffered themſelves to be ſo eaſily deluded by a woman (who only did this to amuſe them, whilſt her real deſign was to throw herſelf into the arms of the other party) and fondly confiding in her promiſes, ſhould be perſuaded to leave the court: that it would too much prejudice the juſtice of their cauſe, if it ſhould appear by their own confeſſion that regard for the publick good and preſervation of the royal authority was not the end of their coming, but private paſſions and particular intereſts; and that, out of a conſciouſneſs of guilt, they had not purſued thoſe intentions which they purpoſed to effect: that they ought not to be diverted from a reſolution ſo maturely weighed, and ſo unanimouſly approved, nor to deviate from thoſe principles merely to gratify her caprice, that were dictated by reaſon, preſcribed by juſtice, and commanded by religion, the preſervation and reſpect of which had chiefly brought them thither: that there was now no time to be loſt or thrown away in debates, as the Prince of *Condé* was approaching with an army, and the *Hugonots* had already joined their forces, who would, without doubt, carry the King along with them, if they did not firſt provide for his ſecurity: and therefore this being an affair not to be determined by perſuaſions, it was neceſſary to uſe force, and, taking away the King, leave the Queen to embrace which party ſhe liked beſt: for having with them the perſon of the lawful King, and the firſt Prince of the blood, to whom the government naturally belonged, they had no occaſion to give themſelves much concern about what meaſures ſhe took. And it was indeed true that the Prince of *Condé*, joined by the Lords of *Chaſtillon* and the reſt of his adherents, was now drawing near to the court. Upon which account the Conſtable and the King of *Navarre*, being confirmed by theſe reaſons, and ſeeing it was neceſſary to break off all treaties and delays, gave the Queen perſonally to underſtand, that ſhe muſt inſtantly reſolve; for they were determined, whatever happened, to carry the King and his brothers with them to *Paris*, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the *Hugonots*, who, they had intelligence, were not far off: that it did not become them to leave their lawful ſovereign a prey to hereticks, who 1562.

1562. who desired nothing so much as to have him in their power, that they might in his name subvert the foundations of the kingdom: that there was now no time to be lost, nor means to put it off: that they would dispose of his Majesty as their allegiance and the common good required; for what concerned herself they would not presume to determine any thing, but leave her free, as it was their duty, to do what she pleased.

Though this intimation was sudden and peremptory, the Queen was not surprized, as she had long foreseen it, and provided for what was most proper to be done upon such an occasion; so that, being necessitated to declare herself, though it was against her will, and she was very well convinced that an open war would immediately ensue upon it, she would not by any means separate herself from the Catholick party; not only because reason and justice so advised, but because she likewise conceived that both her own safety and her sons depended upon their strength. She came therefore to an immediate resolution, and told the King of *Navarre* and the Constable, with her usual spirit and presence of mind, that she was as true a Catholick, and as sollicitous for the good of the publick, as any other person whatsoever; that at this time she had much rather trust to to the advice of others than her own judgment, and, as they all agreed that it was best to go, she was ready to comply. Upon which, without any other reply, she instantly began to make preparations for her journey, though at the same time she dispatched letters to the Prince of *Condé*, lamenting that she could not fulfil the promise she had made, of putting the King's person and her own into the hands of his party, as the Catholicks had been beforehand with them, and carried them both by force to *Paris*, exhorting them to keep up their spirits, and, continuing their endeavours for the preservation of the crown, not suffer their enemies to arrogate to themselves the whole power of the government. After which, being mounted on horseback, with the King and her other sons, and surrounded by the Catholick Lords, who omitted no shew of duty or respect that might sooth her, they went that night to *Melun*, the next day to *Bois de Vincennes*, and with the same expedition the morning after to *Paris*.

It is most certain that the young King was seen by many that day to weep, being persuaded that the Catholick Lords would deprive him of his liberty: and that the Queen Mother, being chagrined that her artifices had not prevailed, and foreseeing the miseries of the future war, was exceedingly out of humour and spoke to nobody: of which the Duke of *Guise* making but little account, was heard to say publickly, *that whatever is right is always right, whether it proceed from love or force.* But the Prince of *Condé*, having received this news upon the road, and finding that he was either anticipated by the Catholicks, or deluded by the Queen, immediately stopped his horse, and stood still a good while in doubt what

what courſe to take; all the troubles that were likely to enſue repreſenting themſelves to him with a face of terror. But the Admiral, who was ſomewhat behind, overtaking him, they conferred a little while together, and after a deep ſigh, the Prince ſaid, *It is come to that paſs, that we muſt either drink or be drowned*, and without any farther debate immediately took another rout, and made what haſte he could to *Orleans*, which place he had formerly attempted to make himſelf maſter of. 1562.

Orleans is one of the principal cities of the Kingdom, about thirty leagues from *Paris*, of a large circumference, abounding in proviſions, well built, and very populous: and being ſituated in the province of *Beauſſe*, ſtands almoſt in the center of *France*, upon the banks of the *Loire*, anciently called *Ligeris*, a great and navigable river, which, running through many provinces, at laſt empties itſelf into the bay of *Biſcay*. This city, for the advantage of navigation, the rank it held in the kingdom, the fertility of the adjacent country, and the commerce it had with many other parts, ſeemed a very convenient place to the Prince for his head quarters, and to balance againſt *Paris*, by making it the principal ſeat of their faction. For which reaſons, having fixed his eyes upon it, many months before, he had taken much pains to hold a ſecret intelligence with ſome of the citizens, that were of *Calvin's* religion, and by their means to raiſe a great party of the youth, who are naturally reſtleſs and factious and inclined to change. So that the diſpoſition of the inhabitants correſponding with the inſtigations of the conſpirators, a great part of the people were already willing to take up arms.

And, that things might be carried on with due order, the Prince had ſent Monſieur *Andelot* to the city the day before, who was to enter privately, and endeavour to make himſelf maſter of it, at the ſame time, that the Prince ſeized upon the court. But, though it ſo fell out, that the Prince could not arrive ſoon enough at court, *Andelot*, not knowing what had happened, armed three hundred of his followers, on the day appointed, and ſuddenly ſeized upon *St. John's* gate. Upon which Monſieur *De Montereau*, governor of the city, getting ſome few men together of *Sipierre's* company, who by chance were then at hand, attacked the conſpirators ſo warmly that he began to be in great hope of repulſing them, and recovering the entrance of the gate, where they had not had time ſufficient to fortify themſelves: ſo that, after a bloody fight, which continued many hours, *Andelot* would certainly have been obliged to give way to the multitude of Catholicks, who ran together armed from all parts of the town, if he had not been relieved in a very opportune and unexpected manner. For the Prince of *Condé*, after he heard that the court was not at *Fontainbleau*, purſued his journey no farther, but returned with all expedition to *Orleans*, near which place he arrived about the time that the fight

1562. fight began; and knowing it muſt be very hot by the continual firing and ringing of bells, which might be heard ſome miles off, he immediately galloped with all his cavalry towards the city, to ſuccour his confederates, who were now in great danger of being defeated.

They were more than three thouſand horſe, and ruſhed forwards with ſuch impetuoſity, that the peaſants, though aſtoniſhed at the unuſual ſpectacle of civil wars, could not yet forbear laughing, in the midſt of their fright and amazement, when they ſaw ſometimes a horſe, ſometimes a man tumbled down; and the reſt, without regard to any accident, riding over them as faſt as their horſes could go, upon a deſign which no-body knew but themſelves. But this haſte that ſeemed ſo ridiculous to the ſpectators, was of great ſervice to the Prince's deſigns: for by the arrival of ſo powerful a ſuccour, and at ſo critical a juncture, the Governor and his forces were entirely routed, and the town, which was of the utmoſt conſequence, reduced into his hands. The authority of the commanders preſerved it from being plundered; but the churches did not eſcape the fury of the *Hugonot* ſoldiers, who pillaged and defiled them with a brutal and barbarous ferocity.

The Prince, having thus taken *Orleans*, and made it the ſeat of his faction, began in earneſt to think of war. And having firſt eſtabliſhed a council of the principal lords and commanders, he conſulted with them, about the propereſt means of drawing over as many towns and provinces to his party as was poſſible; and of raiſing ſuch a ſum of money as would defray the expences, which are always very great at the beginning of a war.

The heads of the Catholick party were buſy in doing the ſame, and, being come to *Paris* with the King and Queen, held frequent conſultations how to turn the preſent ſtate of affairs beſt to their advantage. In which councils the Duke of *Guiſe* openly declared, that it was neceſſary to make war immediately upon the *Hugonots*, to extinguiſh the fire in the very beginning, and to pluck up the evil by the roots. On the contrary, the Chancellor *De l'Hoſpital*, at the ſecret inſtigation of the Queen, pointed out ſo many difficulties, and raiſed ſuch doubts and objections to every thing that was propoſed, that he ſeemed to think it was more adviſeable to come to an agreement, that both parties ſhould retire from court, and leave the management of the ſtate free and undiſturbed to the Queen and the King of *Navarre*. But being ſharply reproved by the Conſtable, and injuriouſly treated after the news of the revolt of *Orleans*, he was excluded from the council, which was now called the council of war, under the pretence of being a man of the robe. By which means the Queen alſo loſt her principal manager there: and having now no power in that council (as *Claude* Marquis *de Boiſſy*, *Honoré*, Marquis *de Villars*, the Biſhop

ſhop of *Auxerre*, *Lewis de Lanſac*, Monſieur *de Cars*, *de Maugiron*, and *de la Broſſe*, who all abſolutely depended upon the Conſtable and the *Guiſes*, were lately admitted to it) every thing manifeſtly tended on that ſide likewiſe to a war. 1562.

There were many writings publiſhed on both ſides, as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes, before they came to any farther action. For the Prince of *Condé*, and his adherents, being willing to juſtify their taking up of arms, publiſhed ſeveral letters and manifeſtos in print, directed to the King, the court of Parliament in *Paris*, the Proteſtant ſtates of *Germany*, and other Chriſtian Princes: in which, they ſet forth the motives of their proceedings at large, and with much art; and concluded with declaring that they had taken up arms to ſet the King and Queen mother at liberty, who were kept priſoners by the tyranny of the catholick Lords; and to cauſe obedience to be paid to his Majeſty's edicts in all parts of the Kingdom, which had been unworthily deſpiſed and trampled upon by the violence of certain men, who uſurped an authority in the government that did not by any means belong to them: And that they were ready to lay down their arms immediatley, whenever the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Marſhal of *St. Andrew*, ſhould withdraw themſelves from court, and leave the King and Queen free to act as they pleaſed: provided, likewiſe, that liberty of religion ſhould be tolerated and maintained throughout the kingdom.

The parliament of *Paris* anſwered their letters and manifeſto, ſhewing that the pretence was vain by which they endeavoured to juſtify the taking up of arms, which they had turned immediately againſt the King's perſon and royal Majeſty: for the King and Queen were ſo far from being deprived of their liberty and detained in priſon, by the Conſtable and the lords of *Guiſe*, that, on the contrary, they were in the capital city of the kingdom, where the chief parliament was held, and of which *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, brother to the Prince of *Condé*, and one of the Princes of the blood was governor; that farther, the King of *Navarre*, brother alſo to the ſame Prince of *Condé*, held the chief place in the adminiſtration, and the Queen mother the charge of the regency, both choſen by the privy council, according to ancient cuſtom, and confirmed by the conſent of the ſtates general of the kingdom: that they every day aſſembled the council, which was compoſed of the moſt eminent perſons, to conſult of proper remedies for the preſent evils; that the edict of *January* was inviolably obſerved, and full liberty of conſcience granted to thoſe of the pretended * reformed religion, though it depended wholly upon the King's will and pleaſure to recal thoſe edicts, whenever he thought fit, eſpecially that of *January*, which was made by way of proviſion, and accepted

* So the Romaniſts call the Proteſtant religion.

1562. by the parliaments only for a time; that the *Hugonots* had of themſelves violated the edict publiſhed in their favour, becauſe, contrary to the tenour thereof, they went armed to their aſſemblies, and without calling in the King's magiſtrates; conditions expreſly mentioned in it. That beſides the audaciouſneſs of theſe proceedings, they had the inſolence to raiſe tumults and commit all manner of outrage and murder: that their rebellion could not be covered over with ſo ſlight a pretence, ſeeing many towns were openly ſeized upon, ſoldiers raiſed, the ammunition conſumed, artillery caſt, money coined, the publick revenues received and embezzled, churches demoliſhed, monaſteries ruined, and infinite other things done, that were in no wiſe conſiſtent with the duty of ſubjects, but acts of downright treaſon and rebellion. Upon which account they exhorted the Prince of *Condé* to follow the example of his anceſtors, and not only return to the King, but entirely abandon the ſociety of all hereticks and factious perſons, and ceaſe to diſturb the tranquillity of a country, whoſe welfare, as Prince of the blood, he was obliged to maintain at all hazards, and to the utmoſt period of his life.

The Conſtable likewiſe and the *Guiſes* returned an anſwer in their own behalf, and, after a long narration of the ſervices they had done to the crown, concluded with ſaying, that they were not only ready to depart from court, but to go into a voluntary exile out of the kingdom, upon condition that the arms taken up againſt his Majeſty might be laid down, the places that were held againſt him, delivered up, the churches repaired that had been demoliſhed, the catholick religion preſerved, and an entire obedience paid to their lawful Sovereign, under the adminiſtration of the King of *Navarre*, and the regency of the Queen mother.

After theſe declarations on both ſides, the King and Queen, by advice of the council, ſent a joint anſwer to the Prince of *Condé*, and cauſed it to be publiſhed in print, wherein they proteſted they were at full liberty, and had voluntarily removed the court to *Paris*, to reſide there in greater ſecurity, and to adviſe with the officers of the crown how to remedy the preſent diſtractions: that they were willing to continue the edict of *January* in force, and take care it ſhould be duly obſerved throughout the kingdom till his Majeſty came of age. And, ſince the catholick Princes, whoſe virtue and loyalty were ſufficiently known to all *France*, were contented to retire from court, the Prince of *Condé*, and his adherents, had now no longer any manner of excuſe, to continue armed and at a diſtance, but ought immediately to return to their obedience, and deliver up the places they had ſeized upon, into the King's hands, which if they complied with, they ſhould not only be pardoned for what was paſt, but graciouſly received as good ſubjects by their Majeſties, and have all their privileges and dignities punctually maintained.

By

By theſe means, the Queen endeavoured to bring it about that the Princes of both parties, being touched with a ſenſe of their duty, and to avoid the appearance of being guilty of any violence to the King's perſon, ſhould retire to their reſpective governments, and leave the adminiſtration of the ſtate to her and the King of *Navarre*, who being of a gentle and pacifick diſpoſition would greatly conduce to the eſtabliſhment of her ſons in the kingdom. But after much treating and many declarations on both ſides, the reſult was, that neither of them would be the firſt to diſband their forces. And upon this point there was long cavilling and ſeveral ſpecious propoſals made in writing, without coming to any effectual concluſion. 1562.

At the ſame time that theſe manifeſtos were publiſhed, and this treaty was in agitation, the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral endeavoured to draw all the greateſt towns, and thoſe that lay moſt convenient for them, to their party. For which purpoſe, having diſperſed men of courage and underſtanding in the ſeveral provinces, they by various arts, in which they were aſſiſted by the *Hugonots* and other ſeditious perſons, who abounded in all parts of the kingdom, eaſily made themſelves maſters of the principal cities and other ſtrong places of the greateſt conſequence. By theſe practices they occaſioned the city of *Rouen* to revolt where the Parliament of *Normandy* is held, with *Dieppe* and *Havre de Grace* in the ſame province, and ſituated on the ſea coaſt that lies over-againſt *England*. With the ſame facility in *Poictou* and *Tourain* they got *Angiers*, *Blois*, *Poictiers*, *Tours*, and *Vendoſme*, with *Valence* in *Dauphiné*; and at laſt, after many attempts, the city of *Lyons*, alſo into their hands; together with *Bourdeaux*, *Tholouſe*, and ſome other fortreſſes in *Gaſcony*, *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*, where there was the greateſt number of *Hugonots*; ſo that in a ſhort time they had poſſeſſed themſelves of almoſt all the cities and walled towns in the Kingdom. By which inſurrections the whole nation being in arms, and not only the provinces, but private houſes and families divided againſt themſelves; there was nothing to be ſeen any where but terrible ſpectacles of deſolation, fire, rapine, and bloodſhed.

And as the contributions which they had from the *Hugonots* (though they gave largely) and their own private revenues, with the plunder of thoſe towns that they had taken, were not ſufficient to defray the expences of the war, the Prince of *Condé* cauſed all the gold and ſilver of the churches to be brought to *Orleans* and publickly coined it into money, which was of great ſervice to them. For the ancient piety of the *French* nation had every where adorned the relicks, and filled the churches with infinite treaſure. Nor were they leſs active in providing ammunition and artillery: for having found a great quantity in the

1562. towns which they had ſurprized, and particularly in *Tours*, they ſent it to *Orleans* to ſupply their preſent occaſions, where they had fitted up a convent of the *Franciſcans* for a magazine, and there kept all the ſtores and proviſions which they had taken ſo much pains to collect for future exigencies in very good order.

In the mean time the governors of the kingdom, having likewiſe determined upon a war, were equally diligent in aſſembling the Catholick army near *Paris:* and entering into a conſultation what was proper to be done in relation to the edict of *January*, though there was ſome difference in their opinions, they at laſt came to a reſolution that it ſhould be obſerved, not only to avoid ſharpening the humours which were already in too great a ferment; but leſt a contrary method of proceeding ſhould add ſtrength and a colour of juſtice to the *Hugonots* cauſe, who, whilſt the edict was obſerved, would have no reaſonable excuſe for taking up arms.

But becauſe the *Pariſians*, who had always ſhewn the higheſt reverence for the Catholick religion, even in the moſt troubleſome times, vehemently deſired that no congregations of the *Hugonots* might be permitted amongſt them, both to take away all occaſion of tumult and danger in the metropolis, which was the main reſource of the King's party; and becauſe it would be very indecent that any religion ſhould be exerciſed where his Majeſty reſided in perſon, except that which he himſelf profeſſed; it was reſolved, for theſe reaſons, that the edict of *January* ſhould in every other point remain in force, and the *Hugonots* only be prohibited from holding their aſſemblies in the city of *Paris* and its precincts, or in any other place that the court reſided in, where none ſhould be ſuffered to live that did not conform to the rites of the Catholick religion, as obſerved in the *Roman* church.

The publication of this decree was ſucceeded by other proviſions, relating to the government of the Kingdom and the conduct of the war. And the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who did not care to engage himſelf in troubleſome affairs, having reſigned the government of *Paris* in this time of difficulty and danger, they conferred it on the Marſhal of *Briſac*, whom they looked upon as a perſon fit to be truſted with the charge of the moſt powerful city in *France*, and which alone added more ſtrength to the party which it favoured, than half the kingdom beſide could do. They likewiſe appointed other commanders in different parts to oppoſe the attempts of the *Hugonots:* the principal of whom were *Claude* Duke of *Aumale* in the province of *Normandy*, *Lewis de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpenſier* in *Tourain*, and in *Gaſcony*, *Blaiſe de Montluc*, a man of great reputation for his wiſdom and courage, but above all for his experience in war.

And

And having already raiſed a conſiderable army, the government ordered it to march directly towards *Orleans*, where the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral were continually levying freſh forces, and not to give them time for making any farther proviſions, but endeavour to ſuppreſs them before they increaſed in ſtrength and reputation. The King's army conſiſted of 4000 horſe of the principal nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, and 6000 *French* foot, all choſen men and old ſoldiers: the *Swiſs* were likewiſe daily expected, who being taken into the King's pay, had already reached the confines of *Burgundy*. With this number of men, and a proportionable train of artillery, the army moved towards *Orleans*, commanded by the King of *Navarre*, with the title of the King's Lieutenant-general, but with the conſent and authority of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, who, upon the account of their age and experience, had the chief direction of all important and weighty affairs. 1562.

The Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, by whoſe advice all things were governed on the other ſide, having now aſſembled ſuch a force as was ſufficient to oppoſe the King's army, reſolved likewiſe to march out of *Orleans* and take the field, thinking it the beſt way to ſupport their reputation, which in all, but eſpecially in civil wars, is of the higheſt ſervice in maintaining and increaſing a faction, there being always an infinite number of men that follow the rumour of fame and proſperity of fortune. Having therefore taken the field with 3000 horſe and 7000 foot, they encamped in an advantageous ſituation, about four leagues from the city, upon the main road, to prevent the Catholicks paſſage to the town, and that they might have proviſions brought in with the greater ſecurity from the country round about.

But whilſt the armies were thus drawing near to each other, the Queen was greatly concerned to ſee things end in a war at laſt, in which ſhe made no doubt but ſhe ſhould fall a ſacrifice to whichſoever ſide got the victory, being perſuaded that ſhe could no more truſt to one than be ſecure of the other. For though the Catholick Lords made a ſhew of paying her great reſpect, and promiſed that ſhe ſhould continue in her uſual authority of Regent, yet ſhe had good reaſon to fear, that when the contrary party was once ſuppreſſed, and the reſtraint taken away that kept them within the bounds of reaſon, they would make but little account of a pupil King, or a woman that was a ſtranger, and prefer their own greatneſs to all other conſiderations. And from the Prince of *Condé* ſhe could expect no ſupport; for, beſides his reſtleſs diſpoſition, and vaſt deſigns by which he was altogether governed, he thought himſelf abuſed and betrayed by her. Beſides, the exaltation of the *Hugonots* ſhe knew would abſolutely ſubvert the ſtate, and kindle ſuch a laſting fire, that the kingdom would never be able fully to recover the quiet it formerly enjoyed.

1562. joyed. For which reaſons, being deſirous of peace, and that things ſhould be carried on rather by negociation and *brigues* (as they are called in that nation) than by force of arms, ſhe endeavoured to bring about an accommodation by means of the Biſhop of *Valence*; who at laſt, after many difficulties, prevailed upon the Prince of *Condé* to conſent to an interview with her in a place equally diſtant from the two armies, where they might confer together, and endeavour to find out ſome means for the ſecurity and ſatisfaction of both parties. For which purpoſe the Queen, being arrived at the Catholick camp, accompanied by the King of *Navarre*, and Monſieur *d'Anville*, the Conſtable's ſon, advanced as far as *Toury*, a place about ten leagues from *Orleans*, whither the Prince of *Condé* alſo came with the Admiral, and the Cardinal his brother, who called himſelf the Count of *Beauvais*, of which city he ſtill held the Biſhoprick, though he had changed his religion; after they were all met together on horſeback in an open plain near this place, which extended every way as far as the eye could diſcern, the Prince and the Queen withdrew from the reſt of the company, and had a long converſation together. What paſſed betwixt them was not known; only it is certain that they parted without concluding upon any thing, and retired to their reſpective camps in great haſte. This conference made it clear to thoſe who doubted of it before, that the Queen had only been diſſembling with the *Hugonots*, in order to promote her own ends, without any manner of intention of forſaking the Catholicks: as ſhe was then in ſuch a place from which ſhe might eaſily have gone away with the Prince if ſhe had pleaſed; who, perhaps, came thither chiefly upon ſuch an expectation.

The Prince, being now returned to his army (as if he had met with ſome encouragement in this treaty with the Queen, or elſe to foment the ſuſpicion which the Catholicks in general had of her) propoſed much higher conditions than he had done before, and ſo exorbitant, that they excited diſdain even in the King himſelf; though he was yet of ſo tender an age that he was governed in every thing by the advice and direction of his council. For it was demanded, that the Lords of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable ſhould leave the Kingdom; that the *Hugonots* ſhould be allowed to hold their aſſemblies in cities, and have churches publickly appointed for them: that all the edicts ſhould be annulled that had been publiſhed ſince the Duke of *Guiſe* returned to court: that he might hold the towns which he had got into his poſſeſſion till the King was out of his minority, and command in them with a free and abſolute power: that the Pope's legate ſhould be ordered to quit the kingdom: that the *Hugonots* ſhould be capable of exerciſing any publick employment or magiſtracy: that the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Queen of *England*, the

the Duke of *Savoy*, the Republick of *Venice*, and that of the *Swiſs* ſhould give him ſecurity, that neither the Duke of *Guiſe* nor the Conſtable ſhould return into the kingdom, or raiſe any troops till the King was arrived at the age of twenty-two years. 1562.

Theſe conditions exciting an univerſal indignation, the regency determined to ſend Monſieur *de Freſne*, one of the King's ſecretaries, to *Eſtampes*, which lies in the midway betwixt *Orleans* and *Paris*, who, by a publick proclamation, ſhould give notice to the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, *Andelot*, and the reſt of their adherents, to lay down their arms within ten days, to deliver up the towns in their poſſeſſion, and to retire peaceably to their own houſes; which if they did, they ſhould obtain pardon for all that was paſſed: but if they refuſed to obey this his Majeſty's expreſs command, which would be an open act of treaſon and rebellion, they ſhould be deprived of their dignities and eſtates, and proceeded againſt as rebels. This being publiſhed accordingly, it was ſo far from making any impreſſion upon the *Hugonots*, that, on the contrary, they became more reſolute either out of deſpair or diſdain, and united themſelves by a publick contract in a perpetual confederacy to deliver the King, the Queen, and the kingdom, as they ſaid, from the violence of their oppreſſors, and to ſee that obedience was paid to his Majeſty's edicts through all his dominions. They declared the Prince of *Condé* head of this confederacy, and, with their uſual liberty, printed a long narrative of the cauſes and end of this their union.

The Queen, however, notwithſtanding all this, was not yet diſcouraged from endeavouring to bring about an agreement; for beſide the hope ſhe had of ſucceeding in it, nothing could be more advantageous to her than gaining of time, and, by delaying the war, to keep things from coming to an iſſue till her ſon was out of his minority, which they pretended was at fourteen years of age. For this purpoſe ſhe had already begun to try if ſhe could regain the Conſtable and the *Guiſes* by her uſual artifices: and, having given evident proof of her reſolution to perſevere in the Catholick religion, and continue firm to that party, ſince, when ſhe was almoſt in the very camp of the *Hugonots*, ſhe nevertheleſs came back again to them, had in a great meaſure removed and cleared herſelf of that jealouſy which they formerly entertained of her deſigns and inclinations: ſo that they not only allowed her a greater power in the government, but endeavoured to pleaſe her, and juſtify their proceedings to her. From all which ſhe now conceived greater hopes than ever of effecting an accommodation, and began to work upon the Catholick Lords by motives of juſtice, and ſetting forth the horrors of a civil war: repreſenting to them that to ſhame the *Hugonots*, and for their own honour, they ought to conſent to depart firſt from the court, as they were the

1562. the firſt that came thither: that it would be a great recommendation of their ſincerity, thus inſtantly to extinguiſh that horrible flame which was now kindling in every part of the kingdom, to conſume all things both ſacred and prophane: that they would merit much more of their country by this ſo pious a reſolution, than by all their former great actions joined together, though never ſo glorious and beneficial to the publick: for this would abſolutely be the preſervation of the ſtate; whereas the others only added greatneſs and reputation to it. She told them farther, that to abſent themſelves from the court would only be a ceremony of a few months: for if nothing ſhould happen before, which made it neceſſary to recall them, the King would immediately do it when he came of age, which would be very ſoon: in the mean time this ſhort abſence might be employed both to their honour and advantage; for if every one retired to the government which was committed to his care, they might keep the provinces in peace, and effectually purge ſuch as moſt needed it, of their malignant humours: whereas by ſtaying at court they only contributed to foment and kindle up a war. She aſſured them ſhe would never change her reſolution in point of religion, or the King's education; that nothing of importance ſhould ever be determined upon without conſulting them: that when the preſent diſturbances were once quieted, ſhe would take care they ſhould be recalled the very firſt opportunity; and that they ſhould upon every occaſion find her gratitude proportionable to the greatneſs of the obligation, if they would comply with her requeſt.

By theſe perſuaſions ſhe ſo far prevailed upon them, that at laſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Marſhal of *St. Andrew* promiſed to depart firſt from the court and the army, provided the Prince of *Condé* would ſhew himſelf ready to return to his duty, by coming to the Queen immediately unarmed, and obey ſuch orders as ſhe ſhould think moſt expedient for the welfare of the kingdom. For though this ſeemed a very hard condition to every one of them, yet they knew their compliance with it would be attended with ſuch general applauſe, and tend ſo much to promote their own reputation and intereſt; and were at the ſame time ſo firmly perſuaded that the Prince would never ſubmit to return to court unarmed, and like a private perſon, that they conſented to it: nor did they think it improbable, perhaps, that ſeveral pretences and interpretations might be found out ſufficient to warrant their ſpeedy return; eſpecially as the King of *Navarre* (who was then ſo exaſperated that it was imagined he would never be reconciled to his brother) ſtill continued in the government: from which they concluded they might be very ſecure that the form of things would not be changed; and that they ſhould have the ſame power in their abſence as if they were preſent.

When the Queen had obtained this promiſe from them, ſhe kept it very ſecret, and immediately diſpatched the Biſhop of *Valence*, and *Robertet*, one of the Secretaries of ſtate, to acquaint the Prince of *Condé* with it; who returned them for anſwer, that, if the Catholick Lords departed firſt, he would not only lay down his arms, and return to his obedience, but, for their farther ſatisfaction, would inſtantly leave the kingdom: often repeating and making large profeſſions of the ſincerity of his intention to perform this his promiſe; being confident thoſe Lords would never conſent, if they had any regard either for their ſafety or reputation, to lay down their arms firſt and depart from court. Upon which the Biſhop and *Robertet*, highly extolling his ready compliance, deſired that he would be pleaſed to tranſmit what he had then ſaid in writing to the Queen; repreſenting to him, that, whereas he was at preſent looked upon as the author of all theſe ſcandals, and indeed of the war itſelf, he would, by this liberal conceſſion, not only ſilence his enemies, and confound the faction of the *Guiſes*, but juſtify the candour and integrity of his intentions to all the world. The Prince, being prevailed upon by ſo plauſible a propoſal, and in hopes of adding ſtrength to his cauſe by a ſhew of juſtice (which always carries very great weight with it) was perſuaded to write to the Queen, that, whenever the Catholick Lords ſhould retire to their houſes without either arms or command, he, with the principal of his friends, for the King's ſatisfaction and the quiet of the ſtate, willingly promiſed to go out of the kingdom, and never to return till they were recalled by the general conſent of thoſe that governed. 1562.

The Queen, having received this aſſurance, written and ſubſcribed by the Prince's own hand, immediately ſent to deſire the Catholick Lords would retire from the camp with their uſual attendants only: which being readily complied with, they reſigned the command of their forces to the King of *Navarre*, and went to *Chaſteau Dun* with an intention to retire in good earneſt as ſoon as the Prince ſhould begin to perform his promiſes. When they were gone, the Queen, without any farther delay, diſpatched *Robertet* the very ſame night to acquaint the Prince, that the Catholick Lords having already left the army and laid down their commands, it only remained that he ſhould perform what he had ſo ſolemnly promiſed under his own hand-writing, with the ſame readineſs and ſincerity.

The *Hugonot* Lords were ſo embarraſſed with this ſtep (as they never imagined the Conſtable and the *Guiſes* would have ſubmitted to ſuch terms) that they repented that the Prince had promiſed ſo much, and began to conſult how to break off or fruſtrate the agreement. The Admiral, who little regarded the appearance of the matter, well knowing that, after a victory, all things would ſeem juſt, and quite the reverſe in

1562. caſe of a defeat, adviſed them to ſend *Robertet* immediately back, and break off the treaty without any farther ceremony. *Andelot*, according to his cuſtom, perſuaded them to violent meaſures, and ſaid in a vaunting manner, that he wiſhed they were near enough to come to an engagement with the Catholicks, for then it would ſoon appear whom it moſt concerned to abandon their country: that it was a ſhame ſo many gallant men, who had taken arms to right themſelves, ſhould be deluded by fraudulent treaties and other artifices of the Queen and Catholicks. And the Prince, though very unwilling to forfeit his word, thought it very hard to relinquiſh his command in the army, and to fall in an inſtant from ſo great hopes, to a neceſſity of forſaking his country without knowing whither to retreat.

The *Hugonot* miniſters, mingling their divinity with reaſons of State, alledged, that the Prince having undertaken the ſupport of thoſe who had embraced the pure faith (as they called it) and ſworn to be the protector of God's word, no obligation could afterwards be of ſufficient force to prejudice his former oath and promiſe. Others ſaid, that the Queen having broke her word with the Prince at the beginning, when ſhe promiſed to bring over the King to his party, he was not bound to obſerve any engagement with her who had firſt been guilty of ſo manifeſt a breach of faith. After theſe opinions had been delivered in a manner rather tumultuous than otherwiſe, they took a middle courſe, as it is uſual in doubtful and difficult caſes, and it was at laſt determined, though not without much debate, that the Prince ſhould go to the Queen, and ſay he was ready to perform his promiſe, and do all that lay in his power to eſtabliſh peace: but that the Admiral and other *Hugonot* Lords ſhould come ſuddenly the next morning and carry him back, as it were by force, to the camp, giving out that he had not violated his promiſe, but that he was obliged by his party to obſerve his firſt oath, and the confederacy he had ſo ſolemnly entered into but a little before. What ſuggeſted this ſtratagem to them was the great opportunity of putting it in execution: for the King and Queen being to meet the Prince and confer with him farther about theſe affairs at *Talſy*, about ſix miles from the army, where they were to be attended only by their uſual guards and ſome courtiers, he could not be under any apprehenſion of being detained there by force; and the other Lords of his party might go thither and return without any danger or impediment.

All this was executed exactly as they had ſettled it. For the Prince, accompanied by ſome few attendants, went to the Queen with great appearance of humiliation, and was received by her very courteouſly. But whilſt he was raiſing difficulties, and endeavouring by delays to evade ſubſcribing the conditions, which *Robertet* propoſed to him by an order of

the King and Council, and whilſt Monſieur *De Lanſac* a man of great ſubtlety and addreſs, was exhorting him, by the Queen's direction, to fulfil the promiſe he had ſo honourably made; the *Hugonot* lords arrived and were introduced to pay their obeiſance to the King and Queen, but ſeeming greatly offended that the Prince had abandoned them, they in a manner forced him on horſeback, and took him away with them. And though the Queen, vexed to be ſo over reached, loudly threatned every one of them; and the biſhop of *Valence*, *Lanſac*, and *Robertet* uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Prince to ſtay at court, without mentioning any thing farther of leaving the kingdom; yet the deſire of command and authority prevailing over their arguments, and it being no time for the Queen to uſe force, he returned the ſame day, which was the 27th of *June*, with all haſte to the *Hugonots* camp, reaſſuming the office of Captain general in this enterprize to their great ſatisfaction. Thus all hopes of peace being at an end, the war begun and was carried on betwixt the two factions under the names of ROYALISTS and HUGONOTS. 1562.

The treaty of agreement being now broke off, which the Queen, with wonderful policy, had kept on foot for many months, to prevent things from coming to extremities: the Prince of *Condé*, being deſirous to aboliſh the infamy of breaking his word by ſome great and remarkable action, determined to attack the King's army that very night in their own quarters. Two circumſtances chiefly encouraged him to ſo bold a reſolution: one was, that the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, whoſe valour and conduct he thought of great importance, were at that time both abſent: the other, that a peace being then in a manner concluded and publiſhed, many had left their colours, and the greateſt part of the cavalry was quartered up and down in the neighbouring villages, for the convenience of forage; by which the army was not a little weakened and diminiſhed. Theſe hopes induced him to venture upon ſuch an attempt, though it appeared a new thing to undertake the ſurpriſal of a royal camp in their own trenches. But he was forced likewiſe to try the fortune of a battle, though hazardous, by another conſideration; for he knew that the *Swiſs* were within a few days march, and when they had joined the King's army, his own would be ſo far inferior in number, that he ſhould not be able to keep the field, but be obliged to withdraw his forces to defend the ſtrong places he was in poſſeſſion of; which would be both a dangerous and difficult taſk, as he had but little expectation of any ſuccours. For which reaſons, he was deſirous of attempting ſomething, whilſt he had yet time, that might deliver him from the neceſſity with which he was threatened. With this reſolution he decamped in the duſk of the evening from *la Ferte d'Ales*, where he then lay; and having divided his army into three columns, the firſt conſiſting of horſe led by the Admiral, the ſecond of foot conducted

1562. by *Andelot*, and the laſt, both of horſe and foot, commanded by himſelf, he marched with great ſilence and expedition, deſigning to attack the enemies camp about midnight.

But his intention was fruſtrated by accident. For though the road was plain and through a free open country, yet the guides that conducted the firſt column, miſtaking their way, either through treachery, or fright, or ignorance, wandered up and down ſo long, that the next morning at break of day, he found he was advanced but a little more than a league from the place where he had ſet out over night, and ſtill above two leagues from the King's camp. However, as neceſſity now obliged him to run all hazards, the commanders reſolved to purſue their deſign in the ſame order, and endeavour to accompliſh that by day light, which they had failed of in the night. But Monſieur *D'Anville*, who was poſted with the light horſe in the front of the King's army, having intelligence of their coming by his ſcouts, had already given notice of it to the whole camp by firing two pieces of cannon, upon which the ſoldiers and gentlemen running from all parts to their colours, he marched forwards along the highway, that they might have time to draw up the army in good order; and having divided his horſe into ſeveral little ſquadrons, began to ſkirmiſh with the foremoſt of the *Hugonot* troops, by which, they being obliged to march ſlower and cloſer together, often halting in the heat of the ſkirmiſh, and endeavouring to avoid diſorder in the face of the enemy, the King of *Navarre* had more opportunity to get his men together and put them in order of battle. So that the Princes army ſtill advancing, and the King of *Navarre* ranging his men in battalia upon the plain, with the camp in their rear, about noon the two armies faced each other, having nothing betwixt them but a little open plain. But, though the artillery played furiouſly on both ſides, yet nobody advancing to begin the attack, it was perceived that the commanders did not deſign to come to an engagement. For the Prince, who thought to have ſurpriſed the Catholicks on a ſudden, before they could either join or make themſelves ready for battle, now ſeeing them all together and drawn up in excellent order, and being apprehenſive that his ſoldiers, who were but newly raiſed, would not be able to ſtand againſt the King's foot, that were all choſen men and veterans, thought it more adviſeable to retreat than venture a battle. And the King of *Navarre*, who knew that his forces would be increaſed in a few days, was not willing to expoſe himſelf to that hazard, without an abſolute neceſſity, in the abſence of the other catholick commanders. So that after they had ſtood facing each other almoſt three hours, the Prince, retiring ſomething more than a league, quartered his men at *Lorges*, a little town in *Beauſſe*; the King of *Navarre* likewiſe drew off his men, but in much better order, to the place where they had been encamped before.

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The ſame evening the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had been ſent for in great haſte from *Chaſteaudun*, arrived at the army; and having doubled the guards at all the poſts where it ſeemed neceſſary, they ordered great piles of wood to be placed at the diſtance of a hundred paces from each other quite through the camp; which being ſet on fire by perſons appointed to attend them, if the enemy ſhould come to attack them by night, would give ſo much light, that the ſoldiers might eaſily be drawn up in a proper manner, and the cannoniers ſee how to point their artillery with greater exactneſs. The Prince of *Condé*, being acquainted with theſe precautions, found the enemy was not to be ſurpriſed, and therefore, after he had ſtayed three days at *Lorges*, decamped with all his army, the ſecond of *July* in the morning, and marched to attack *Baugency*, a large walled town, that he might refreſh his ſoldiers, who were in great want both of money and proviſions, with the plunder of it. Nor was it an enterpriſe of any great difficulty: for the wall being battered with four pieces of canon brought thither for that purpoſe, and aſſaulted in another part by the regiment of *Provençals* at a breach which they had made by ſapping, the town was taken that day, and ſacked, with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. 1562.

Whilſt the *Hugonots* lay before *Baugency*, the King's army was joined by ten troops of *German* horſe, commanded by the *Rhine-grave*, and ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, under the conduct of *Jerom Freulich*, a man of great eſteem in his own nation, for valour and experience. With theſe forces the catholick commanders deſigned immediately to attack the enemy's army. But the Prince of *Condé*, being informed of their arrival, after he had diſmantled *Baugency*, that the Catholicks might make no uſe of it, retired in great haſte to *Orleans*, abſolutely quitting the field without making any other attempt.

But in *Orleans* it was no longer poſſible to keep the army together, for want of money to pay the ſoldiers, without which they could not fulfil when they were ſhut up in a town: and becauſe the nobility that ſerved under him as volunteers had now ſpent what they had brought with them. Upon which account, having called a council, the chief of the *Hugonots* determined to exert their utmoſt endeavours and make the beſt of this extremity. So that, not being able to reſiſt the King's army with the forces they then had, nor to continue all together within thoſe walls, they came to a reſolution of ſeparating to defend the towns and fortreſſes, which they were poſſeſſed of in other parts of the kingdom, and to ſupport themſelves in this manner, till they ſhould have ſuch aſſiſtance from their friends and confederates as might enable them to meet the enemy again in the field.

Their hopes of ſuccour were chiefly from the proteſtant Princes of *Germany*,

1562. *Germany*, and from *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who was not only of the ſame religion, but alſo deſirous, from the ancient maxims of that nation, to have ſome footing in the kingdom of *France*. The Princes of *Germany* had already voluntarily promiſed them their aid, and there only wanted commanders to conduct, and money to pay, the ſoldiers. But the Queen of *England* inſiſted upon harder terms and more difficult to be complied with; without which ſhe refuſed to lend them any aſſiſtance. For ſhe offered to take upon herſelf the protection of the confederates, and to ſend an army of eight thouſand foot into *France*, with a large train of artillery, at her own expence, and to maintain it there till the war was concluded: and at the the ſame time to invade the coaſts of *Normandy* and *Bretagne* with her fleet, to cauſe a diverſion and divide the King's forces: but upon condition that the confederates, on their part, ſhould engage to reſtore *Calais* to her (a very ſtrong town, ſituated upon the ſea ſide in *Lower Picardy*) which had been many years in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *England* her predeceſſors, and was at laſt retaken by the Duke of *Guiſe* in the reign of *Henry* the ſecond. But as the *Hugonots* were not maſters of that place, ſhe demanded that they ſhould, in the mean time, deliver up *Havre de Grace* to her, a fortreſs and port of no leſs conſequence upon the coaſt of *Normandy*, and receive her garriſons into *Dieppe* and *Rouen*. Theſe conditions ſeemed intolerable to many, and not to be accepted upon any account whatſoever; knowing the infamy and univerſal deteſtation they were ſure to incur, if they ſhould be the authors of diſmembring the kingdom of ſuch important places, and introduce the moſt cruel and implacable enemies of the *French* nation into them. But the *Hugonot* miniſters, who had great authority in all their deliberations, and were reverenced like oracles, objected, that no worldly conſideration was to be regarded, when the heavenly doctrine and propagation of God's word were at ſtake: and that all other motives were to be deſpiſed, ſo that religion might be protected, and liberty of conſcience eſtabliſhed.

The Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, being deſirous of continuing in their commands, and neceſſitated, by the circumſtances of their own private intereſts, to perſevere in the undertaking, were of the ſame opinion: ſo that their authority being of greater weight than the reaſons of other people, after many conſultations it was at laſt reſolved to comply with the demands of Queen *Elizabeth*, and by all means to accept of her propoſals. For this purpoſe, they immediately diſpatched Monſieur *De Briquemaut*, and the new Vidame of *Chartres*, with credentials from the Prince and the confederates to confirm the agreement in *England*. *Andelot* and the Prince of *Porcian* went to ſollicit the ſuccours in *Germany* with what money they could raiſe. The Count *De la Rochefoucaut* went to *Angouleſme*, the Count *De Montgomery* * into *Normandy*, Monſieur *De Soubiſe* to *Lyons*:

* The ſame perſon that killed *Henry* the ſecond at a tournament.

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the Prince, the Admiral, *Genlis*, and *Bouchavanes*, ſtaid to defend *Orleans* and the neighbouring places. But many of the commiſſioners for the confederacy that was treating with *England*, not being able to endure ſuch diſhonourable conditions, began to think of leaving them. Amongſt whom Monſieur de *Pienne* went over to the King's army; and the Sieur *de Morvilliers*, who was fixed upon by the Prince to be Governor of *Rouen*, declined that charge, and retired to his own houſe in *Picardy*, that he might not be reduced to the neceſſity of admitting an *Engliſh* garriſon into a town of ſuch conſequence. 1562.

Whilſt the *Hugonots* were endeavouring by theſe means to provide themſelves with forces, the Catholicks came to a reſolution of making an attempt upon *Orleans*, as the chief ſource and ſeat of the enemy's ſtrength. But as it was exceeding well provided for defence, and furniſhed with ammunition of all kinds, they knew it was an enterpriſe of great difficulty. Upon this account they determined firſt to make themſelves maſters of the places round about it, and cut off all hopes of ſuccour; that ſo they might afterwards the more eaſily either reduce it by a ſiege, or take it by ſtorm, when there was no-body to relieve it. For this purpoſe they decamped on the eleventh of *July*, the Duke of *Guiſe* leading the vanguard, and the King of *Navarre* the main body of the army: and whilſt both parties expected to ſee them ſit down before *Orleans*, they left that town on the left hand, and paſſing about ſixteen leagues farther, ſuddenly inveſted *Blois*: which, though beautified with one of the nobleſt caſtles or rather palaces in the whole King, and ſituated upon the very banks of the *Loire*, was yet not ſo well fortified that it could be expected to make any long reſiſtance againſt the King's army. And ſo indeed it happened, for when the ſoldiers that were in garriſon ſaw the cannon planted, being terrified at the danger, they paſſed over the bridge to the other ſide of the river, and leaving the town defenceleſs, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. Though the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was neareſt to the wall with the vanguard, perceived this, yet, being more intent upon taking the town than to purſue thoſe that ran away, whilſt the citizens diſpatched their deputies to capitulate, he ſent a body of foot to make an aſſault; and they finding the breach forſaken that was made by a few cannon ſhot, took the place without reſiſtance; which was miſerably ſacked by the fury of the ſoldiers, without any orders at all to the contrary from their officers.

From *Blois* the army marched towards *Tours*, a much more noble, more populous, and more ancient city, where the *Hugonots* firſt began to flouriſh and gather ſtrength. But the people, who for a few days at the beginning of the ſiege behaved as if they intended to make an obſtinate defence, as ſoon as they ſaw the trenches opened and the artillery planted

1562. planted, of their own accord thruſt out their commanders, and ſurrendered the town, upon condition that their goods and perſons ſhould be ſafe, which was punctually obſerved.

In the mean time the Marſhal of *St. Andrew*, with the rear of the army, went another way to beſiege *Poictiers*, a large and ſpacious city, and famous likewiſe for its antiquity, where the Catholicks expected to meet with a ſtout reſiſtance. But it proved to be a work of much leſs difficulty than they imagined: for the Marſhal having battered it two days together with his artillery, and made an aſſault upon the town rather to try the reſolution of the beſieged than with any hopes of taking it: the officer that commanded in the caſtle (who till that time had been more violent than any other perſon in the *Hugonot's* intereſt) ſuddenly changed his opinion, and began to fire from thence upon thoſe that ſtood ready to receive the aſſault: which unexpected accident ſo daunted and aſtoniſhed the garriſon, that, not knowing what courſe to take for their ſafety in the midſt of this confuſion, they left the breach open to the aſſailants, who, finding no reſiſtance, entered furiouſly into the town, which, like *Blois*, was ſacked in the heat of the fight, and numbers of people put to the ſword.

The Catholicks having thus in a few days taken thoſe towns, which ſupplied and defended *Orleans* on the ſide of *Poictou* and *Touraine*, and thereby prevented all ſuccours coming from *Guyenne*, *Gaſcony*, and other places beyond the river; it was now neceſſary to turn back a little and paſs over to the other ſide, in order to make themſelves maſters of *Bourges*, and ſo cut off all aid that might be ſent from *Auvergne*, *Lyonnois*, and other provinces adjoining to *Dauphiné*. *Bourges*, anciently *Avaricum*, is one of the largeſt and moſt populous cities in *France*, reſorted to by ſtudents of all ſorts, and particularly famous for the ſtudy of the civil law. This town being within twenty leagues of *Orleans*, and full of ſtrangers, upon the account of the vaſt trade in wool that is carried on there, and the great concourſe of pupils, was at firſt in the hands of the *Hugonots*, ſtrictly guarded and well fortified, as a place of the utmoſt importance to the commerce of the neighbouring provinces that depended upon them. So that now, upon the proſpect of a ſiege, Monſieur *d'Ivoy*, brother to *Genlis*, had entered into it with two thouſand *French* foot and four troops of horſe: a garriſon thought ſufficient, both with regard to its own ſtrength and the reputation of the commander, to make a long defence. And indeed with theſe forces, at the arrival of the King's army, which was on the tenth of *Auguſt*, the beſieged ſhewed ſo much courage and confidence, that they not only bravely defended the walls, but made ſallies night and day, and were continually harraſſing the enemy with ſudden and warm ſkirmiſhes: in one of which they advanced

advanced close up to the trenches, and, though they could not do so much damage as they intended, killed five captains, with many gentlemen and common soldiers. Monsieur *de Randan*, General of the foot, was likewise so grievously wounded, that he died a few days after, notwithstanding the greatest care had been taken of him. 1562.

During these transactions, the Admiral, issuing out of *Orleans*, scoured all the adjacent country with his horse: and having had intelligence of a great quantity of artillery that was going from *Paris* to the army, he set upon it in the night at *Chasteaudun*, where, after a long dispute, having defeated the convoy, which consisted of four companies, he broke the largest pieces of cannon, and burning the furniture that belonged to them, carried many of the smaller to *Orleans*, together with such baggage and ammunition as could be saved from the fire and pillage of the soldiers. But the Duke of *Guise*, being very intent upon the siege of *Bourges*, after he had advanced the trenches so far that he began to batter the wall, and blown up several bastions that the *Hugonots* had raised to defend the weakest part of it: Monsieur *d'Ivoy*, not answering the opinion that had been conceived of him, began to listen to terms that were proposed to him from the camp. In consequence of which, the Duke of *Nemours* going with a safe conduct to treat with him, he agreed to deliver up the town to him the last day of *August*, upon the following conditions; That he and all that were with him in the city should receive a pardon for what was past; that the soldiers should be at liberty to go where they pleased, but under an obligation never more to bear arms against the King, or in favour of the *Hugonots*; that the city should not be plundered, and the inhabitants enjoy liberty of conscience in all points, conformable to the edict of *January*. After this capitulation, *Ivoy*, not being able to bear the ignominy and reproaches that were cast upon him by his former friends, retired to live in privacy at his own house. *St. Remy* and *Brichanteau*, men of known courage, likewise went over to the King's service.

In the mean time the affairs of state took a new turn. For the resolution of the *Hugonot* Lords being known, not only of introducing foreign armies into *France*, for which purpose they had sent two of their principal officers into *Germany*, but also of alienating *Havre de Grace*, and putting *Dieppe* and *Rouen*, places of such importance, and upon the frontiers of the kingdom, into the hands of the *English*, who in all times had been the bittersest enemies to the crown of *France*, they were now not only detested by the generality, but the Queen herself, who till then had earnestly laboured to establish peace, and formerly supported that faction as a counterpoise to the *Guises*, never imagining they would run such desperate lengths, had conceived such an incredible indignation

1526. at their proceedings, and was ſo terrified at the thoughts of the *Engliſh* being introduced to eſtabliſh themſelves in thoſe places, that ſhe reſolved to unite herſelf ſincerely with the Catholick party, and make war in good earneſt upon the *Hugonots*; deſiring to make it clear to all the world that ſhe held no intelligence with them, as it had been formerly reported; eſteeming it a double loſs and a double ſhame, that the *Engliſh*, who had been victoriouſly driven out of *France* by her huſband, ſhould get footing there again in the time of her government. So that being outrageouſly provoked at the behaviour of the *Hugonots*, and become furious in her reſolutions, ſhe determined to lay aſide all farther delays and negociations, and make uſe of her whole power to their utter extirpation.

To prepare the way therefore for the execution of her deſigns, ſhe brought the King with great ſolemnity into the court of Parliament at *Paris*, where, after grievous complaints made in his name by the High Chancellor, of the inſolence of ſome of his ſubjects, who, not content with plundering and depopulating their country, had uſurped all the great offices, and even the regal power, and perfidiouſly conſpired to bring in the *Engliſh* and *Germans* to the deſtruction of his kingdom, he cauſed *Jaſper de Coligny*, late Admiral of *France*, *Francis d'Andelot*, with *Odet de Chaſtillon*, his brothers, and many other principal perſons of that party, whoſe names were mentioned, to be declared rebels, and as ſuch to have forfeited all their employments, honours, nobility, goods, and revenues; which ſhould be deemed as confiſcated to the crown. And as the *Hugonots*, amongſt the reſt of their enormities, had plundered ſeveral towns, deſtroyed the churches, demoliſhed the religious houſes, filled every place with rapine and bloodſhed, and were become ſo outrageous that it was not poſſible to bear with them any longer; they were likewiſe declared publick enemies to the King, and licence granted to all Catholicks to aſſemble at the ringing of the alarm-bell, and to kill or ſeize upon their perſons and deliver them up to juſtice. The Prince of *Condé's* name was not mentioned in this proclamation; but, taking the advantage of the artifice that was firſt made uſe of by the other party, it was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, both by report and in writing, that he was forcibly detained by the rebels, and continued with their army much againſt his inclination; and that they made uſe of his name and authority, though he was utterly averſe in his heart to all their proceedings.

After theſe tranſactions, the Queen, publickly lamenting that the *Hugonots* had abuſed the clemency which ſhe had ſhewed, not only in ſupporting, but often favouring them: and being deſirous to make it appear how zealous ſhe was to extirpate them, and, by all means to prevent any foreign power from getting a foothold in the Kingdom, haſted down in perſon

perſon with the King to the army before *Bourges*, and couragiouſly went from one end of the camp to the other, though very much annoyed by the cannon from the town, animating and exhorting both the ſoldiers and commanders to do their duty. 1562.

Bourges being now taken, and all means of ſuccour cut off from *Orleans*, the Catholicks reſolved immediately to beſiege it, if the Queen had not declared that ſhe thought it much better to recover *Rouen*, before the *Engliſh* had eſtabliſhed themſelves there, and fortified it in a ſtronger manner; as it was a place of ſuch importance, of ſo large an extent, and lay ſo conveniently for them to make farther incurſions into the Kingdom. For the confederacy betwixt the *Hugonots* and Queen *Elizabeth* being concluded, the *Engliſh* had already paſſed the ſea, and not only taken poſſeſſion of *Havre de Grace*, but placed garriſons in *Dieppe* and *Rouen*.

There was great variety of opinions in the privy council upon this affair. Some thought it the beſt way to make an attempt upon *Orleans* immediately, and cut off the heads of the *Hugonot* faction at one blow: for the chiefs of that party, who were then both in the town, being ſuppreſſed, and their magazine deſtroyed, every other obſtacle would ſoon and eaſily be got over. But the King of *Navarre* and the Queen, being more intent upon driving out the *Engliſh* than any other thing, thought that if *Rouen* was once taken, and the ſuccours which the *Hugonots* expected from *England*, cut off, *Orleans* would be more eaſily reduced, which at preſent they looked upon as very difficult, and a work of much time: during which the *Engliſh* would have an opportunity of fortifying the town, and, perhaps, make themſelves maſters of all *Normandy*, where the Duke of *Aumale* had ſo inconſiderable a force, that he was not able to make head againſt them. This opinion at laſt prevailed, as the Queen ſeemed much inclined to it, and it was reſolved to go upon that enterpriſe directly.

The ſituation and conveniencies of *Rouen* are admirable: for the river *Seine*, upon which it ſtands, riſing out of the mountains in *Burgundy*, and diſtending itſelf thro' the plains of the iſle of *France*, after it joins with the *Matrona*, commonly called *Marne*, and becomes deep and navigable by the confluence of other ſmaller rivers, paſſes thro' the middle of *Paris*, and then, running with great rapidity quite thro' *Normandy*, empties itſelf thro' an exceeding wide channel into the ſea; which, ebbing and flowing, and continually filling the river with ſalt water, affords ample room for navigating the largeſt veſſels. On the right hand of the mouth, on the coaſt that is over-againſt *England*, ſtands *Havre de Grace*, a large and ſecure port, which being reduced into the form of a town with modern fortifications by King *Francis* the Firſt, ſerves as a barrier againſt the in-

1562. roads of the *Engliſh*. And in the midway betwixt *Havre de Grace* and *Paris*, about twenty-two leagues from the ſea, as high as the tide reaches, ſtands *Rouen*, a city of great note, and become very populous and opulent by its commerce with all the northern nations. From one ſide of the fortreſs of *Havre de Grace* upon the right-hand, a narrow tract of land running many miles into the ſea, makes a ſort of a large peninſula, which is commonly called the county of *Caux*, and on the extreme point of it lies *Dieppe*, directly oppoſite to the mouth of the *Thames*, the fineſt river in *England*. Now theſe places, which are ſo conveniently ſituated to annoy *France*, and be ſupplied by the *Engliſh* fleets, were already in the poſſeſſion of that nation. For though the governors of *Dieppe* and *Rouen* were both *Frenchmen*, and choſe by the council of the confederates, yet the ſtrong garriſons kept there by Queen *Elizabeth* were ſufficient to curb thoſe people in ſuch a manner, that it was a very eaſy thing to reduce them into their power.

When it was reſolved therefore to beſiege *Rouen*, the King and Queen marched along with the army, and in fourteen days arrived at *Darnetal*, about two leagues diſtant from the city, and there encamped the twenty-fifth of *September*. The Generals, conſidering that the body of the city is defended on one ſide by the river, beyond which there is nothing but the ſuburbs of *St. Sever*, and on the other by *St. Catharine's* mount, on the top of which there is an ancient monaſtery, now reduced into the form of a modern fortreſs, thought it beſt to make themſelves maſters of the mount, as it appeared very difficult to batter or aſſault the town itſelf till they had taken that fort, which flanked and commanded the avenues from every quarter. This being determined upon, *Sebaſtian de Luxemburg*, Lord of *Martigues*, made a General of the foot in the room of *Randan*, advanced the night of the twenty-ſeventh of *September*, and took poſt under *St. Catherine's* mount, in the great high road that leads towards *Paris*, which being hollow like a trench, in a great meaſure covered them from the ſhot of the fort.

The Count of *Montgomery*, who commanded in the town with a garriſon of two thouſand *Engliſh* and twelve hundred *French* foot, four troops of horſe, and more than a hundred gentlemen of quality, having foreſeen that the enemy muſt of neceſſity firſt take the outworks, beſides the old fortifications on the top of the mount, had raiſed a half moon of earth about the midway up the hill, which, having the fort behind it, and fronting towards the campaign, might not only make the aſcent very difficult, but alſo flank the walls of the town, and oblige the Catholick army to ſpend much time and loſe many men in it. And indeed it very well anſwered the intention: for though Monſieur *de Martigues* did not take the direct way up, but carried his trenches in a ſpiral line betwixt

the half-moon and the fort, in order to gain the top of the hill, yet the work proceeded with much difficulty and great ſlaughter of the ſoldiers; who, the nearer they advanced with their gabions and trenches, were ſo much the more expoſed to the cannon of the fort, and grievouſly galled not only by the muſket-ſhot, but by other ſorts of fire-works and inventions with which the beſieged very reſolutely defended themſelves. Theſe difficulties, though conſiderable of themſelves, were ſtill increaſed by the quality of the weather, which, as it always happens there in the beginning of autumn, was then very rainy: ſo that the waters continually falling down from the top of the hill to the plain, where the army lay, greatly incommoded them. They were likewiſe much harraſſed by the vigorous ſallies which the *Hugonots* made night and day. For though they were bravely ſuſtained and repulſed, yet they kept the whole army in motion and employment. Nor were their horſe leſs fatigued than the foot in the trenches, ſo that the ſiege was many times interrupted and delayed. 1562.

Theſe impediments were ſo great that it would have proved a very tedious and difficult enterpriſe, if the negligence or arrogance of the beſieged had not made it ſhort and eaſy. For *John d'Hemery*, Sieur *de Villers*, who afterwards married a ſiſter of *Henry Davila*, the author of this hiſtory, being upon guard with his regiment, obſerved, that about noon there were no people to be ſeen in the fort, or at leaſt very few in compariſon of what appeared at other times of the day. Upon which he ſent for Captain *Lewis*, a *Norman* ſoldier, who had been taken priſoner two days before in a ſally which they made from the fort, and aſked him, by way of diſcourſe, what was the reaſon that, at certain hours, ſo few of the *Hugonots* were to be ſeen upon the rampart? The ſoldier, not conſidering what might be the conſequence of it, frankly told him, that the garriſon had ſo little apprehenſion of the Catholick forces, that they uſed to go every day, in great companies, to the town for recreation, and to provide themſelves with neceſſaries; and that, for their own convenience, they generally choſe the middle of the day. From this account it appeared to *Villers* that it would be a very proper time to ſurprize the fort: for which reaſon he acquainted the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable with it, who, being determined not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity, ſecretly gave orders to have the ſcaling ladders in readineſs, and, when they ſaw the feweſt men in the fort, to make a ſudden attack upon it, and the half-moon alſo at the ſame time, the more effectually to divide the enemy's forces.

Martigues, who was to make the diſpoſition for this attempt, choſe the ſame *Villers* to command the aſſault upon the fort, and *St. Colombe*, colonel of foot, to attack the half-moon: and, having made all neceſſary

1562. ſary preparations with great ſilence, gave the ſignal for it at the time appointed, by firing a cannon. Upon which *Villers* with his men immediately running up the ſteep part of the hill, reared their ladders to the wall, before the enemy could poſſibly make uſe of their artillery or ſmall arms to repel them. The ſoldiers that were within, however, though few in number, courageouſly preſenting themſelves at the walls, there enſued a hot and bloody engagement with ſhort weapons, in which, as it generally happens, the braveſt men falling firſt, the defendants were ſo weakened that they were hardly able to hold out any longer. On the contrary, *Villers*, being ſupplied with freſh men, and ſupported by *Martigues*, began to get the better of the enemy; and though he was grievouſly wounded in the face with a pike, and had received a muſket ball in his thigh, he ſtill continued fighting till he had planted the King's flag upon the wall of the fort. At the ſight of which, two great bodies of foot, that were appointed for a reſerve, advancing to his aſſiſtance, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of it, before they that were within could be ſuccoured either by the town or their comrades. The attack made upon the half moon was attended with the ſame ſucceſs: and it was taken by the Catholicks in as ſpeedy a manner, though with the loſs of much blood: for the garriſon, not having it in their power to retreat, all died valiantly fighting to the laſt man.

St. Catharine's mount being thus taken, there ſtill remained the ſuburbs of *St. Hilary*, without the walls, which the *Hugonots* had turned into a fortreſs, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it. But when the Catholicks had begun to fire upon it, they found their artillery had little effect, as the works were made of earth: however, they made a fierce attack; which likewiſe proving vain, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the ramparts, and the valour of the beſieged; they changed their reſolution and planted twelve pieces of heavy cannon about the middle of *St. Catharine's* mount, from which height they began to batter the houſes and fortifications, with ſo great ſlaughter and fury, that the whole ſuburbs being in a manner beat down, and the Catholicks ready to renew the aſſault, the garriſon, having ſet fire to the houſes that were left, retired ſafe into the town, which was now deprived of all defence except the walls only. But the *Hugonots* having loſt great numbers of their men in the frequent ſallies that they made, and the many aſſaults they had ſuſtained; the Count *De Montgomery* had recourſe to the laſt remedy, and ſent to deſire aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh* at *Havre de Grace*, though he plainly ſaw it would be exceedingly difficult for them to find any entrance. For the King's forces, having taken poſſeſſion of *Quilbeuf* and *Harfleur*, two places upon the river in the midway betwixt *Rouen* and *Havre de Grace*, had planted ſeveral pieces of cannon there, which, keeping a continual fire, prevented the paſſage

passage of such vessels, as, by the assistance of the tide which flows there with great rapidity, endeavoured to come up the stream to *Rouen*. 1562.

But the *English*, being desirous of assisting their friends at all events, were determined to expose themselves to any danger; so that passing up the river in the night time, they in a great measure avoided the effect of the enemy's cannon, which, being fired at random in the dark, did them but little hurt. For which reason, by the advice of *Bartholomew Campi*, an *Italian* engineer, the Catholicks caused several vessels loaded with stones and gravel, and fastened together with chains, to be sunk in the river, which so choaked up and embarrassed the passage, that neither the enemies ships nor galleys could get by them: only now and then a small bark, which drew but little water, with much difficulty and danger got safe into the town. But this supply being of little consequence, and *Rouen* in extreme necessity; as there appeared no other possible way of relieving it, the *English* resolved to make their last effort: and being arrived at the boom with a number of barks, though some of them turned back, and many perished by the fury of the cannon, and other fireworks; yet, the chain being broke in one place, three galleys and another vessel got through, which carried seven hundred men, with ammunition and money for their present relief.

In the mean time, the autumnal rains still increasing, to the great annoyance of the catholick army, that was encamped on a low and dirty plain; yet the commanders, making but little account of the few supplies that had been thrown into the town, carried on the siege with great vigour, and began to batter it from *St. Hilary's* gate to that of *Martinville*, between which they had advanced their trenches to the counterscarp. The second day, so much of the wall was demolished, in the middle of the curtain, that the besiegers might easily march up to it; and the regiments of *Sarlabous*, *Villers*, and *St. Columbe* were in readiness to lead the attack: when the King of *Navarre*, being gone into the trenches to reconnoitre the breach, received a musket ball in his left shoulder, which breaking the bone and tearing the nerves, he dropt down upon the place for dead. This accident obliged them to delay the assault for that day: for, being carried to his own tent before they examined his wound, all the other commanders immediately repaired thither, and being soon after dressed with great care, in the presence of the King and Queen, the surgeons were of opinion that he could not live, upon account of the large orifice and the depth of the wound that the ball had made. This unhappy accident obliging them to call a council, the day was so far spent, that the regiments appointed for the assault were called back to guard the trenches, without having made any attempt.

The siege however was not discontinued in the following days: for besides

1562. beſides the care of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Conſtable, who in fact had the conduct of the army from the beginning, the Queen herſelf likewiſe aſſiſted in perſon, and encouraged the ſoldiers, both by her preſence and exhortations, to continue the battery with the ſame vigour; till, after the firing above two thouſand ſhot, the breach was ſo much larger, that they marched up in very good order to the aſſault; which, being made with very great fury by the beſiegers, and ſuſtained with no leſs reſolution by the *Hugonots*, continued with very great ſlaughter on both ſides, from noon till the evening, the Catholicks not being able to make themſelves maſters of the wall. The night after the aſſault, they endeavoured to throw freſh ſuccours into the town from *Dieppe:* for which purpoſe, the Sieur *De Corillan*, having advanced into a neighbouring wood with four hundred firelocks, thought to eſcape the guards, by the benefit of the night, and get ſecretly through the gate that lies lowermoſt upon the river. But being diſcovered by Monſieur *D'Anville*, who was ſcouring the country with his light horſe, he was ſoon defeated, and his men diſperſed; ſo that all hope of ſuccour was now vain.

The beſieged therefore having ſuffered ſo much, not only by the fury of the cannon, but by ſo many and ſuch hot ſkirmiſhes, that it was well known their number was greatly reduced, the Catholicks, being determined to loſe no more time, marched up with great reſolution, but in very good order, on the twenty ſixth of *October*, about break of day, to make another aſſault; which thoſe in the town, out of weakneſs and fatigue, not being able to ſuſtain; *St. Colombe*, he that took the baſtion upon the mount, was the firſt, with his men, that paſſed the breach and entered the town, though mortally wounded over againſt the *Celeſtine's ſtreet*, where he dropt down, and three days after ended his life. At the ſame time the regiments of *Villers* and *Sarlabous* forced their paſſage at another breach, and entered at the ſtreet of *St. Clare*, but not without ſome difficulty, occaſioned by a barricade of caſks that was thrown croſs the way. After this the whole army entered tumultuouſly, and plundered the town with great ſlaughter of the ſoldiers and inhabitants, ſparing nobody whatſoever in the heat of their fury, but putting all to the ſword both armed and unarmed. The churches only and things ſacred were preſerved from violence, by the great care and diligence of the commanders.

The Count of *Montgomery*, when he ſaw things in this deſperate condition, and the town reduced into the enemy's power, got into one of the galleys that brought the ſuccours, in which he had beforehand embarked his wife and children, and, paſſing through all the fire of the Catholicks cannon, eſcaped ſafe into *Hævre de Grace*, from whence he immediately went over into *England*. Monſieur *Colombiere*, with ſome few of his friends, did the ſame. All the reſt, being left to the diſcretion of the conquerors,

conquerors, met with a different fate. Captain *John de Croze*, who had introduced the *Engliſh* into *Hævre de Grace*, having fallen into the King's hands, was drawn aſunder by four horſes, as a rebel. *Mandreville*, who had been in the King's ſervice, and had not only gone over to the *Engliſh*, but carried his Majeſty's money along with him; together with *Marlorat*, who from an *Auguſtine* Friar had turned *Hugonot* miniſter, were both condemned to be hanged. Many were knocked on the head, and ſome remained priſoners with the army, who afterwards ranſomed themſelves. 1562.

The city continued eight and forty hours at the mercy of the ſoldiers: the third day the King, making his entry at the breach, together with the parliament and the Queen mother, who, in the fury of the ſack, had ſent all her gentlemen and the archers of her guard to take care the women that had fled into the churches ſhould not be violated, the army deſiſted from pillage and ſlaughter, and, being drawn out of the city, was quartered in the neighbouring villages.

In the mean time, the King of *Navarre*, finding no reſt either in body or mind, from the anguiſh of his wound, was determined, at all events, to imbark in ſome veſſel, and go up the river to *St. Maur*, a place near *Paris*, whither he often uſed to retire for recreation, upon account of its privacy and the goodneſs of the air. For which purpoſe, contrary to the perſuaſions and intreaties of his phyſicians, he was carried into a boat, attended by the Cardinal, his brother, the Prince *De la Roche-ſur-yonne*, and *Lewis Gonzaga*, with ſome other few friends and ſervants, both Catholicks and *Hugonots*; the principal of whom was *John Vicenzo Lauro*, a *Calabrian* by birth, and at that time a phyſician, but afterwards Biſhop and Cardinal. But he was hardly arrived at *Andely*, a few leagues from *Rouen*, when his fever increaſing upon him by the motion of the journey, he began to loſe his ſenſes, and ſoon after died.

He was a Prince not only of very high birth, but of noble preſence and great virtue, and if he had lived in other times would have been numbered amongſt the moſt worthy men of his age. But the ſincerity and candour of mind, with which he was endowed, and his mild and gentle diſpoſition in the diſtractions of a civil war, were the occaſion of infinite care and diſquiet to him all his life long, and often filled him with doubts and irreſolution in his deliberations. For being urged forwards, on one ſide, by the violent impetuous temper of his brother, the Prince, and ſpurred up by the ardour of his faction, of which he was the chief; and reſtrained, on the other, by his love of juſtice, and an inclination naturally diſpoſed to peace, and averſe to civil diſcords, he many times appeared changeable and inconſtant in his judgment and reſolutions. At firſt he was pointed out and perſecuted amongſt thoſe that endeavoured to diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and afterwards was ſeen at the head of the contrary

1562. faction, vehemently purſuing thoſe that had taken up arms. And in matters of religion, as he ſometimes inclined to the *Calviniſts* party, by the perſuaſion of his wife and the preaching of *Theodore Beza*; ſometimes again to the catholick religion, out of conformity to the general opinion, or prevailed upon by the Cardinal of *Lorrain's* eloquence; he became miſtruſted by both parties, and left behind him, a doubtful and uncertain opinion of his principles. Many thought that he was a *Calviniſt* in his heart, or rather inclining to what they call the *Auguſtan* confeſſion, but that ſecret ambition alienated him from that party, when he perceived his brother the Prince was much more eſteemed amongſt them, upon the account of his high ſpirit and reſolution, and made him chuſe rather to be the firſt amongſt the Catholicks, than the ſecond amongſt the *Hugonots*. He died in the forty ſecond year of his age; at a time when experience had ſo matured his underſtanding, that it would, perhaps, have produced effects very contrary to the opinion that was conceived of him. He left behind him his wife Queen *Jane*, with the title and remains of the kingdom of *Navarre*, and only two children, *Henry* Prince of *Bearn*; then nine years old, and the Princeſs *Catharine*, an infant, who continuing at *Pau* and *Nerac*, with their mother, were carefully educated by her, and at the ſame time received ſtrong impreſſions of the *Hugonot* religion.

Whilſt ſo much blood was ſhed on both ſides at *Rouen*, *Andelot* had, with great pains and diligence, aſſembled the aids of the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, together with a large body of horſe and foot, and having met the Prince of *Porcian* in the territories of *Straſbourg*, eſcorted by two hundred *French* gentlemen of quality, he conſidered what was the beſt courſe to be taken, in order to join his forces with the reſt of the confederates.

The Marſhal of *St. Andrew* being ſent to the frontiers with thirteen troops of *Gens d'arms* and two regiments of foot, to intercept theſe ſuccours, lay upon the road, which, paſſing through *Rheims* and *Troyes*, leads directly out of *Germany* into *France*. And *Francis de Cleves*, Duke of *Nevers*, who was governor of *Champagne*, ſtaid with all the forces of the province, betwixt *Chalons* and *Vitry*, to block up the other paſſage from *Lorrain* to *Paris*. But *Andelot*, conſidering, that if he was encountered by the enemy, he could not long keep his men together for want of money; and if he retarded his journey he ſhould not come ſoon enough to relieve his friends, already reduced to extreme neceſſity; reſolved rather to ſtruggle with the difficulty of the paſſes and the impediments of the roads, than the oppoſition of the enemy. So that to deceive the Catholicks he marched for two days along the common road, till he came to the confines of *Lorrain*, and then decamping ſilently in the

the night, and turning to the left, though rough defiles, full of rapid streams, marched with the utmoſt expedition out of the main roads till he came into *Burgundy*; and from thence, notwithſtanding the continual rain and dirt, which in that country is every where very deep, being beforehand with any report, brought all his men, though toiled and fatigued, to *Montargis*, where he was at laſt joined by the Prince and Admiral, having led five thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe ſo many leagues ſafe from all diſaſters, except what they had ſuffered from the injury of the weather. 1562.

This ſo powerful and timely a ſuccour, in ſome degree, mitigated the grief and terror with which the *Hugonots* were affected upon the loſs of *Rouen*. But their hopes were exceedingly diminiſhed by the defeat of the Baron of *Duras*, which happened much about the ſame time, who, being a man of vaſt intereſt, had raiſed a large body of men in *Gaſcony* and the adjacent provinces, to the number of five thouſand horſe and foot, with which he endeavoured to force his way, betwixt the Catholick towns, to ſuccour his party at *Orleans*. But being attacked on his march by Monſieur *de Monluc* and Monſieur *de Bury*, two of the King's commanders in thoſe parts, he was not only totally routed, but moſt of his men cut off, and with great difficulty ſaved himſelf and ſome few horſe that were left. The *Hugonots* likewiſe ſuſtained ſeveral other, though not very great, loſſes in different places: by which misfortunes the reputation of their faction being every where much leſſened, the Prince and the Admiral reſolved to undertake ſome important enterpriſe to recover their loſt credit: and the rather, becauſe they were in great want of money, and did not know how to pay and ſupport the *German* troops any other way than by the plunder of the country. But what the enterpriſe ſhould be they could not determine amongſt themſelves; for the Prince, always adapting his meaſures to the greatneſs of his deſigns, had a mind to make a ſudden attack upon *Paris*, perſuading himſelf, that in ſuch a multitude of people there muſt of neceſſity be ſeveral well inclined to the *Hugonots* party, and many others that, out of regard to his name, would preſently ſhew themſelves, whenever a proper opportunity occurred. He likewiſe believed, and endeavoured to perſuade others, that the King's army, being fully employed in *Normandy*, could not come up ſoon enough to the aſſiſtance of that city; by the taking of which they ſhould not only be plentifully ſupplied with all manner of proviſion, arms, ammunition, and artillery, of which they began to be in no ſmall need, but alſo have it in their power to raiſe large contributions upon ſo rich and populous a city, by which means they ſhould gain great reputation, and become far ſuperior to their adverſaries.

The miniſters adhered to this opinion, out of the bitter hatred they

1562. bore to the *Pariſians*, who had at all times conſtantly held the Catholick religion in the higheſt reverence, and were implacable enemies to their preachings. But the Admiral, *Andelot*, and the moſt experienced officers, looking upon the enterpriſe rather as impoſſible than difficult, diſſuaded him from it; alledging, that the Marſhal of *Briſac*, the new governor, had driven all thoſe out of the city that were ſuſpected of having any connections with their party; ſo that there was no reaſon to hope for any riſing in their favour from a people ſo firmly united together for the preſervation of the Catholick faith: that the King's army, having met with ſuch ſucceſs at the ſiege of *Rouen*, and ſecured all *Normandy*, would have ſufficient time to relieve that city, from which it was no farther off than twenty-eight leagues: whereas they, on the contrary, had thirty-four leagues to paſs through a hoſtile country, and every where infeſted by the enemy, which would very much retard a march that ought to be performed with the greateſt expedition: that they had neither artillery nor other warlike ſtores ſufficient to attack *Paris*, a city of ſo vaſt a circumference, ſo full of people, and generally armed, as they had only four pieces of battering cannon, and very little ammunition: that it was not poſſible to prevail upon their army to follow them in an enterpriſe which muſt prove of ſuch length, not only without money, but alſo without means to ſubſiſt them: that it would be much better to recover the places round about *Orleans*, and open a way for proviſions and ſupplies, ſubſiſting their forces with plunder, which was near at hand and eaſy to be come at, than to hazard their whole ſtrength in an undertaking that would infallibly prove unſucceſsful. But theſe reaſons made no impreſſion upon the Prince, who continuing obſtinate in his opinion, and finding it approved by the greater part of his adherents, reſolved to venture all upon this enterpriſe. So that having reviewed his army, and got together as much proviſion as the exigency of the time would admit of, he immediately marched towards *Paris*.

In the mean time, after the taking of *Rouen*, the town of *Dieppe*, having driven out the *Engliſh* garriſon, ſurrendered itſelf to the King. Their example was likewiſe followed by *Caen* and *Falaiſe*, two towns in *Lower Normandy*, which extends itſelf a great way along the ſea coaſt beyond the banks of the river. Nor was there any place that now remained in their hands, except *Havre de Grace*, which the Queen had determined to beſiege with the whole army, that ſhe might be entirely delivered from any apprehenſion of the *Engliſh*. But being informed of the arrival of the *Germans*, and that the Prince, after very great preparations, was marching with his whole army through *Beauſſe*, which is the country that lies betwixt *Orleans* and the iſle of *France*, the Queen, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Conſtable, who had now the whole power of the go-

vernment in their hands, reſolved to defer the ſiege of *Havre de Grace*, and endeavour to meet the *Hugonots* army. For which purpoſe, having left Monſieur *de Villebon* governor of *Rouen*, and the *Rhinegrave* with his horſe to ſecure *Caux*, and prevent the *Engliſh* from making inroads into the country, the King and Queen, with the reſt of the army, marched along the *Seine* toward *Paris*. 1562.

The Prince, marching in very cloſe order through the enemy's country, took *Piviers*, *Mont l'Hery*, and *Dordan*, without much difficulty, and having given the plunder to his army, proceeded with all poſſible expedition towards *Paris*. But his journey was ſtopt at *Corbeil*, a little inconſiderable town upon the *Seine*. For four companies of *French* foot having entered into it, which the Prince did not know of, they made ſo reſolute a defence, that it held him in play ſeveral days, being determined to take it at all events rather out of rage than any other motive. But the Marſhal of *St. Andrew* coming upon him from another quarter, as he was marching to *Paris*, when he at laſt perceived that *Andelot* had eſcaped him, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege with the loſs of much time and reputation, beſides the total ruin of the main deſign, which entirely depended upon expedition. For, having ſpent many days there to no purpoſe, the Catholick commanders in the mean time penetrating into his intentions, had brought the whole army, together with the King and Queen, into *Paris*; and, having fortified the ſuburbs to their ſatisfaction, diſtributed their men in very good order through their ſeveral quarters. On the twenty-third of *November* the Prince lodged at *Sauſſay*, a religious houſe, which the nuns had abandoned in great terror, and came the twenty-fourth to *Villejuif*, two leagues from the ſuburbs of *Paris*. The twenty-fifth in the morning, though their hopes were much damped, they yet reſolved to try their fortune, and, having drawn up their army, advanced to attack the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Victor*. The attempt at firſt ſeemed likely to ſucceed: for ſix hundred light horſe, who were ſent out to ſkirmiſh and reconnoitre the proceedings of the enemy, when they ſaw the whole army reſolutely advancing towards them, ran away in ſuch a precipitate manner, that many ſuſpected it was the effect of treachery rather than fear. The foot, that were upon duty on the ramparts of the *Fauxbourg*, being put into diſorder by this unexpected tumult, were juſt going to retire into the city; and the people, full of terror and confuſion, cried out to ſhut the gates and abandon the ſuburbs. But order was ſoon ſo well reſtored by the arrival of the Duke of *Guiſe*, that there was nothing farther to be feared that day nor the following. Upon this occaſion, *Philip Strozzi* ſallying out with twelve hundred foot to ſupport the horſe, gave a moſt remarkable proof of his valour; for being deſerted by his men, and finding himſelf engaged in the midſt of the

Hugonot

1562. *Hugonot* army, he retired under the ruins of a broken windmill, a place of ſome advantage upon the account of its height, and there ſo reſolutely defended himſelf, that they could not by any means drive him away: but he alone made it good againſt numbers of the enemy that uſed their utmoſt endeavours to take that poſt. The Prince however, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the firſt encounter, without any farther delay made a fierce aſſault upon the *Fauxbourg* in many places at the ſame time. During the ſpace of two hours that the fight continued, not only the ſkill and conduct of the commander, but the alacrity and courage of ſoldiers appeared in a very eminent manner: but meeting every where with a gallant reſiſtance, and the cannon from the ramparts continually galling his army in the flank, he was obliged to draw for that time from the walls, that he migh have day-light enough to quarter his men in a convenient manner.

The weather being rainy, and the ſeaſon very cold, the ſoldiers were not able to lie abroad: upon which account, the army being divided into four parts, Monſieur *de Muy* and the Prince of *Porcian* were quarted at *Gentilly*; *Genlis* at *Montereau*; the Prince and the Admiral at *Arcueil*; and *Andelot* with the *Germans* at *Cachan*; where, by making great fires, and the report of their cannon, they endeavoured to ſtrike a terror into the people, and by that means occaſion ſome commotion in the town. But, which is very remarkable, though it is computed that there are eight hundred thouſand perſons in *Paris*, it continued in ſuch compoſure and tranquillity all the time that theſe troubles laſted, that the profeſſors never diſcontinued their lectures, nor the judges to ſit in the courts of juſtice.

The third day the Prince, having drawn up his men, advanced into the middle of a plain, inviting the Catholicks army to battle. But inſtead of fighting, the Queen, being deſirous of a peace, and to rid the kingdom of foreign troops, or elſe by a treaty of accommodation to abate the firſt ardor of the *Hugonots*, to whom ſhe knew nothing was ſo pernicious as delays, firſt ſent Monſieur *de Gonnor*, and afterwards *Rambouillet* and the Biſhop of *Valence*, to negociate an agreement with the Prince, which was ſo far advanced in a few days, that the Conſtable, and then the Queen herſelf, coming to an interview with him, it was hoped a peace would enſue; ſuch reaſonable and advantageous conditions being propoſed by the Catholick party, that the *Hugonots* themſelves did not well know how to refuſe them.

But the Prince and the Admiral, not being able to lay aſide the high expectations they had conceived of entirely ruling the kingdom of *France*, and the miniſters never ceaſing to demand liberty of conſcience and ſecurity, they would by no means agree to the moſt reaſonable terms that were

were offered to them: the forwardneſs likewiſe that they obſerved in their adverſaries to come to terms appearing like a ſign of weakneſs, only ſerved to increaſe the ardour and obſtinacy of the common people. So that the treaty having continued till the ſeventh of *December*, and the *Hugonots* not being able to ſupport themſelves any longer in the ſame quarters, for want of money and proviſions, there was end of all negociation; and they reſolved, in order to go off with ſome reputation, to attack the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Germain* the night following, with a body of four thouſand men: which being garriſoned only by the militia of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, who were reckoned not ſo good men as the reſt, and lying in a part that was the fartheſt from the enemy, was not ſo carefully guarded. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, having been informed of their deſign, reſolved to attack them, when they came, in the flank. For which purpoſe he ordered all the cavalry to continue under arms and in readineſs from the beginning of the night till next morning, and conſtantly going round the guards, at the ſame time kept the foot awake and upon duty. But, as it happened, there was no need; for the *Hugonots* were ſo long detained, partly by the great circuit they were obliged to take for fear of being diſcovered, and partly through the darkneſs of the night, which generally occaſions miſtakes of ſome kind or other, that they did not come before the *Fauxbourg* till the break of break of day; and then finding the Catholicks in good order and ready to receive the aſſault, they retired for that time without making any attempt. 1562.

The night following they deſigned to attack the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Marceau*; but that was prevented by the ſudden reſolution of *Genlis*, who, either perceiving the wicked intentions of the *Hugonot* chiefs, as he ſaid himſelf, or being affronted that the Prince made but little account of him and his brother, after the giving up of *Bourges*, as others ſaid, went over the ſame night, with all his men, into the city. This accident greatly diſconcerted their deſigns; for they took it for granted that he had diſcovered them, as he was preſent when the reſolution was taken, and were apprehenſive that any attempt upon *St. Marceau* would not only prove vain, but be attended with fatal conſequences. They reſolved therefore to decamp that very night: for which purpoſe, whilſt the Catholicks in great order expected the aſſault, and the Duke of *Guiſe* had formed a deſign of making a ſudden attack at the ſame time upon one of their quarters, they immediately decamped, without either beat of drum or ſound of trumpet; and, the baggage being firſt ſent towards *Beauſſe*, the *Germans* marched off next, ſeveral hours before day. The rear was brought up by the Prince and the Admiral, who, after they had fired *Arcueil* and *Cachan*, where they lay, and many other neighbouring villages, departed in great haſte, as ſoon as the light began to appear, taking

1562. taking the ſame rout with the reſt of the army, not upon any particular deſign, but for the convenience of ſubſiſting their men in a better manner.

In the mean while the Catholick army was exceedingly increaſed; for whilſt the time was artfully protracted by the treaty, the infantry of *Gaſcony* arrived by way of *Mante*, under the conduct of Monſieur *de Sanſac*: and the King of *Spain*, being deſirous of ſeeing the *Hugonots* ſuppreſſed, had likewiſe ſent three thouſand *Spaniſh* foot by the ſame rout. Upon which, that they might not keep ſo great a force idle within the walls, the King's army marched the next day after the *Hugonots*; the Conſtable commanding as General, but with the joint authority and aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the King and Queen Mother being determined to continue together in *Paris*.

The *Hugonots*, having taken and plundered *St. Arnoul* three days after, were in doubt what courſe to take. To maintain the army long was altogether impoſſible for want of money, as they had no fund for that purpoſe but their pillage; and the *Germans* were not only very importunate for their pay, but inceſſantly demanding largeſſes: and to meet the enemy and give them battle, appeared too raſh and deſperate an undertaking, being much inferior both in foot and artillery and all other proviſions. The Prince was of opinion, as the chief of the Catholicks with the whole army had left *Paris* and followed him into *Beauſſe*, that it would be the beſt way to return thither with the ſame expedition that he had departed from it, hoping to find an opportunity of entering the city on a ſudden, and ſeizing upon the perſons of the King and Queen Mother before they could receive any ſuccour from the army. But when this was propoſed in the council, it was diſapproved of by all the reſt; conſidering that the enemy would follow them ſo cloſe that they muſt come upon them, either whilſt they were making the attack, or elſe (ſupoſing their deſigns ſhould ſucceed) when they were plundering the city; in either of which caſes their army would inevitably be deſtroyed.

At laſt, after long debate, the Admiral's opinion was approved of; who adviſed, that they ſhould depart, as ſecretly as they could, with all the army into *Normandy*; for if the Catholicks did not follow them, they might pillage all that rich and fertile province, where they would have a fine opportunity of raiſing money and recruiting their forces: and if they did follow them, they ſhould ſtill have the advantage, if they marched with expedition, of getting to *Havre de Grace* before they could be overtaken; and there, being joined by ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, with twenty pieces of cannon, plenty of ammunition, and a hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, which Queen *Elizabeth* had ſent to their aid, according to the articles of agreement, they might either hazard a battle, or continue the war in ſuch other manner as ſhould be thought moſt expedient.

With

With this reſolution, having left all their unneceſſary carriages and horſes in the caſtles of *Beauſſe*, they marched out of the territory of *Chartres* the fourteenth of *December* in the duſk of the evening, to get clear of the enemy before they ſhould be informed of their departure, and with the utmoſt expedition took the rout of *Normandy*. 1562.

The Catholicks did not know of the Prince's decamping till the day after; and, that they might have certain intelligence which way he bent his courſe, ſtaid in the ſame place till the evening of the ſixteenth: ſo that the *Hugonots* got, in a manner, three days march of them; but as they were obliged to ford many rivers, and met with ſeveral other impediments from the rigour of the ſeaſon, they could not help loſing a great deal of time: whereas the Catholicks, paſſing over the bridges and through the towns that were of their party, made a more eaſy and expeditious march. The Admiral with the *Germans* led the van, that they might be accommodated with the beſt quarters, and to feed and content them with the pillage of the country; having no other way to ſatisfy them and prevent their daily complaints and mutinies. The Prince followed him with all the infantry, which made the main body of the army. The Count *de Rochfoucaut* and the Prince of *Porcian* brought up the rear, with the greateſt part of the *French* cavalry. A diſpoſition very proper; for the *Germans*, plundering all the country that had not yet been ravaged, more chearfully ſupported the want of pay; and the *French* cavalry, coming laſt, were the fitteſt to ſuſtain any attack from the Catholicks, if they ſhould be overtaken by them. But the Prince, when they came near to *Dreux*, began to think it was not impoſſible to make himſelf maſter of that place by ſome ſort of capitulation: and for that reaſon, ſuddenly inverting the order that was at firſt eſtabliſhed, without acquainting the Admiral with his deſign, he preſſed forward his march with ſo much eagerneſs, that the main body was become the vanguard: the horſe that were in the rear followed with the ſame expedition, and became the center; and the *Germans*, being left behind, made the rear quite contrary to the firſt diſpoſition. In the mean time the attempt upon *Dreux* proving unſucceſsful, the Admiral, highly out of humour at this piece of levity, thought it beſt to halt one day where he was, that the army might recover its former order. This delay gave the Catholicks an opportunity of overtaking them, and of conſequence reduced both armies to an unavoidable neceſſity of coming to an engagement.

The city of *Dreux* is about ſixteen leagues from *Paris*, ſituated on the confines of *Normandy*, contiguous to thoſe plains that were anciently called the *plains of the Druids:* on one ſide of it runs the *Eure*, a ſmall river, and fordable in moſt places. This river the *Hugonots* had paſſed on the

1526. nineteenth, and, being quartered in the adjacent villages, expected to continue their march with the ſame expedition that they had done before. But the Catholick army following them with equal ſpeed by a nearer road and without halting any where, arrived at the river the ſame night, and quartered likewiſe in villages thereabout: ſo that there was nothing betwixt the two armies but this little current. Yet the ſhrubs and trees that grew upon the banks prevented them from ſeeing each other though they were ſo near. It is moſt certain that the Prince, who lay next the river, was ſo negligent (a fault which has ever proved fatal to the *Hugonots*) that, without placing the uſual guards, or ſending out ſcouts, or any other precaution whatſoever, he took his reſt all night, and knew nothing of the Catholicks arrival till very late the next morning. But the Conſtable, quite contrary, being an old experienced ſoldier, very well knew the advantage he had, and availing himſelf of the enemy's careleſſneſs, paſſed his whole army over the river that very night by moonſhine, without the leaſt obſtacle or impediment; and, going on a league farther than the place where they lay, poſted himſelf on a highway, through which, if they purſued their deſign, they muſt of neceſſity paſs. There, betwixt *Spinal* and *Blainville*, two little villages that ſtand by the road ſide, he drew up his men with great order and ſilence.

The army was divided into two parts, one led by the Conſtable, the other by the Duke of *Guiſe*, in ſuch a diſpoſition, that in the Conſtable's diviſion or right wing, the *Swiſs* were flanked by the regiments of carbineers, that came out of *Bretagne* and *Picardy*; and in the left wing, commanded by the Duke of *Guiſe*, the *Germans* were flanked by the *Gaſcon* and *Spaniſh* infantry: both wings being cloſed and covered by the houſes of the villages, having *Spinal* on the right, and *Blainville* on the left hand. Beſides the defence of the houſes, they placed their carriages and artillery on each ſide: for, the enemy being ſtronger in horſe, they were apprehenſive of being ſurrounded or attacked in the flank. The main of the cavalry, being divided into little troops of lances, that they might be employed to the beſt advantage, were placed between the battallions of foot, which in a manner flanked and covered them: and the light horſe only, taking poſt out of the battallions, were drawn up at the point of the right wing, where the plain began to open; extending their front to a great length, and croſs the high way. But the Duke of *Guiſe's* battallion, which was in the left wing, though it was neareſt to the enemy, was ſo covered by a number of trees in the flank, and the houſes of *Blainville*, that it could hardly be perceived by the *Hugonots:* on the contrary, that of the Conſtable, who had ranged his light horſe along the plain, was eaſy to be diſcerned afar off, and by the largeneſs of the front might well be taken for the whole body of the army.

The

The next morning when the Admiral, who lay fartheſt from the river, began to march, he ſuddenly diſcovered the Conſtable's ſquadron, and, being aſſured by his ſcouts that it was the catholick army, drawn up in order of battle, he could not help exclaiming bitterly againſt the negligence of his officers: after which he turned round and ſaid aloud to thoſe that were next him, *The time is now come that we muſt no longer truſt to our feet, as we have done of late, but rely, like ſoldiers, upon the ſtrength of our arms.* And, having ſent word to the Prince of the enemy's arrival, he ordered his diviſion to halt, that the reſt of the army might come up and join upon the plain. The Prince was adviſed by many to turn to the left hand, and endeavour to recover a neighbouring village, by which means he might either prolong, or wholly avoid the neceſſity of fighting; but, the nearneſs of the enemy exciting his natural ardour, he reſolved rather to hazard a battle, though at a diſadvantage, in the open field, than be afterwards forced to diſband his army without having made trial of his fortune. So, preſſing forwards, he joined the van in the middle of the plain; and, having drawn up his men in great haſte, continued his march with an intention to purſue his firſt deſign, without provoking the Catholicks; but, if he was provoked by them, not to decline an engagement. 1562.

Marching in this manner, and not having diſcovered the Duke of *Guiſe's* diviſion, who ordering his infantry to kneel with one knee upon the ground, and his cavalry to retire into the ſtreet of the village, lay in a ſort of ambuſh, the *Hugonots* paſſed without being aware, that they had left part of the enemy's force behind them, and advanced to the place, where the Conſtable's diviſion was drawn up; who, perceiving the great advantage that he had, by their having ſo unwarily entangled themſelves, (as the Duke of *Guiſe* might then take a ſmall circuit and attack them in the rear) ordered the ſignal to be given for battle, by fourteen pieces of cannon, which were planted at the extremity of his wing. Upon which, the Prince putting himſelf with his light horſe at the head of his diviſion, though they were ſomething diſordered, led them on with great fury to attack the *Swiſs*, who in a manner fronted him. Monſieur *De Muy*, and *D'Avarè* with their cavalry bravely made the onſet, and were ſucceeded by the Prince himſelf, whoſe example was followed by the Baron of *Liancourt*, the Count *De Sault*, Monſieur *De Duras*, and the other commanders of the horſe. So that the whole force of that diviſion was chiefly turned upon the *Swiſs*: ſome charging them in the front, others in the flank, with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution, being perſuaded that if they could once break them, they ſhould infallibly get the day.

But the *Swiſs*, though charged and ſurrounded on every ſide by ſuch a multitude of enemies, bravely puſhing their pikes, received the ſhock of

1562. the cavalry with ſo much reſolution, that, though ſeveral of their pikes were broke, and many of them trampled under foot by the horſes, yet they ſtood firm and in order, not only ſuſtaining, but repulſing the fury of the enemy with very great ſlaughter.

At the ſame time the Count *De la Rochfoucaut*, and the Prince of *Porcian*, who brought up the rear, entring fiercely into the battle, firſt fell upon the light horſe, who made but a feeble reſiſtance; and then upon the regiments of *Picardy* and *Bretagne*, that flanked the *Swiſs* on that ſide, and having routed and broke the carbineers, they likewiſe aſſaulted that body in the rear, where, though they made great ſlaughter and havock, yet they met with a reſolute and ſharp encounter. For the *Swiſs* ſtanding in cloſe order, fronted every way and made a brave reſiſtance on all ſides. So that two thirds of the *Hugonot's* army were employed to no purpoſe in the ſame place, being obſtinately bent upon breaking the *Swiſs*; to whom however, if they had been abandoned by the reſt of the army, they muſt in the end have been obliged to ſurrender, or at leaſt retire with much loſs.

But the Admiral, who led the van with better conduct and more advantage, had in the mean time charged the Conſtable's cavalry, and having in the firſt encounter, killed his ſon *Gabriel de Montmorancy*, Lord of *Montbrun*, and laid the Count *De Rochefort* dead upon the ground, though it was bravely fought on both ſides, yet he began to make the Catholicks give ground; upon which the *German* horſe coming up in two great ſquadrons, armed with piſtols, made a freſh and furious attack, by which that whole battalion was not only greatly diſordered, but at laſt being entirely routed and defeated, it plainly ran away. There, the Conſtable, fighting valiantly, and endeavouring to rally his men, being hemmed in by a number of *Germans*, (who, if they once find a breach open, preſently bear down every thing before them) his horſe falling him under him, and being wounded in the left arm, was at laſt taken priſoner. The Duke of *Nevers*, Monſieur *De Givry*, and many other gentlemen and cavaliers being ſlain by his ſide.

The Duke of *Aumale* and Monſieur *D'Anville*, who were near the Conſtable's diviſion, were advancing with two ſquadrons of lances to ſupport that party, as they ſaw it now began to give ground, and came boldly on to the battle. But thoſe that were ſo hard puſhed by the Admiral fled with ſuch precipitation, that, running over their own men, they diſordered the Duke of *Aumale's* ſquadron; who, being thrown down and his horſe falling upon him had his left leg broke. And Monſieur *D'Anville*, ſeeing no good was to be done, retired out of the tumult of the runaways to avoid the ſame misfortune, and was obliged to return to his former ſtation. All the Conſtable's cavalry being thus routed, and the

French

French infantry that were with him defeated, the *Swiſs* alone attacked on all ſides, but ſtanding firm in cloſe order and double battalia, having not only repulſed, but cut in pieces the *German* foot, who had the courage to attack them, though they had loſt their colonel and moſt of their captains, ſtill made a very obſtinate reſiſtance. And the report was very true, that the courage even of the meaneſt ſoldiers amongſt them was ſuch that day, that many of them, when their pikes were broken and their ſwords loſt, fought reſolutely with ſtones. 1562.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, when he ſaw the left wing totally routed, and knew the Conſtable was taken priſoner, there being now no longer any danger of being diſordered by thoſe that ran away, as they were ſcattered at a diſtance over the plain, and perceiving the enemy rather out of order and fatigued with fighting, ordered the wing that he commanded to advance, and putting on his armour, made a ſhort harangue to his men, telling them the advantage they had of fighting with an enemy already wearied out and in a great meaſure broke, who, becauſe they had routed the Conſtable's cavalry, thought themſelves ſecure of the victory. He had the *Spaniſh* foot on the right, and the *Gaſcons* on the left, who covered his horſe, that for the more ſecurity were placed in the center; and about a hundred paces before the reſt was the forlorn hope, led by Monſieur *De Villers*, the ſame that took the fort of *St. Catharine* at the ſiege of *Rouen*; which conſiſting of reſolute old ſoldiers was there poſted to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy. In this diſpoſition he marched on to the battle with great courage, but cooly and in good order, and with his ranks very compact and cloſe together; and putting himſelf at the head of the cavalry ſeemed to make light of the enemy's victorious army.

On the other hand, the Prince and the Admiral, not being aware that they had left the Catholicks van behind them and imagining they had got a compleat victory, when they ſaw ſo great a force coming upon them, having put their men in order again, and joined with the *German* horſe (who, when they found they could not break the *Swiſs*, went in purſuit of thoſe that ran away) came ſeparately to the attack, but with different ſucceſs and reſolutions. For the Prince being ſet upon by the forlorn hope, which deſpiſed all danger, and filled every place with death and confuſion, and galled in the flank by the *Gaſcon* muſketeers, who made a fierce attack, was ſo ſhocked and diſordered before he could come up to charge the horſe, that his diviſion was broke and defeated without much difficulty, and he himſelf being ſurrounded by Monſieur *D'Anville* (who fought deſperately out of vexation at his father's diſgrace) after he had received a wound in the right hand, was at laſt taken priſoner, all covered with ſweat and blood. On the other hand, the Admiral perceiving the fury with which the *Spaniſh* infantry kept pouring inceſſant vollies of ſmall

ſhot.

1562. ſhot upon the flank, and that the Marſhal of *St. Andrew* was at the ſame time advancing to attack him with a body of lances that was yet freſh and entire; and finding that both his men and horſes were ſo fatigued that they could hardly be kept in any order, did not march up to the front of their army, but endeavoured to rally his troops that were ſcattered and diſperſed, by wheeling about and making ſlight ſkirmiſhes; watching an opportunity of retreating in the beſt order and the moſt reputable manner he could. However, as he made ſeveral charges, and came near enough to engage them with piſtols, he ſuſtained the fury of the enemy a long time; eſpecially after the Marſhal, who was mortally wounded, had quitted the field. But, being at laſt attacked by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who after the Prince was taken, had come up with ſeveral ſquadrons of his cavalry, in order to ſurround him, and the foot, which drew nearer and nearer to him on all ſides, deſtroying his horſe by their continual fire, all hope of rallying his troops being at an end, he reſolved to ſave himſelf in time; and, getting as many of his men together as the heat of the enemy's purſuit would admit of, retired in great haſte towards the woods, and without ſtopping to take breath, arrived at *Neuf Ville*, in the cloſe of the evening, with the remainder of his army, grievouſly harraſſed and fatigued.

Andelot, in the beginning of the rout, had retired to the ſame place, not being able to continue in the battle any longer, on account of a quartan ague which he then laboured under; and having got to the top of a riſing ground, when he ſaw the Duke of *Guiſe's* troops advancing, after the King's army was utterly defeated as he thought, aſked whoſe forces thoſe were: and being told they were the Duke of *Guiſe's*, and had not yet been engaged, often repeated with great vehemence, *It is not poſſible to flea that tail.* And immediately ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf, without ſtaying any longer to ſee the iſſue of the battle.

Both the brothers then being come to *Neuf Ville*, they endeavoured to aſſemble the remains of an army that, having been once victorious, had now loſt the day, and retreated, after the example of their commanders, without keeping any rank or order. So the darkneſs coming on, which prevented the Catholicks from purſuing them, the Prince of *Porcian*, the Count *De la Rochfoucaut* and the *Germans*, who led the Conſtable priſoner, all met together in the ſame place: where with univerſal approbation the Admiral was declared general of the *Hugonots*. But, not thinking it proper to expoſe himſelf to the inconvenience and hazards of the night, he ſtayed there till break of day the next morning, at which time he drew up thoſe few forces that were left, and marched with the utmoſt expedition towards *Orleans*; finding the paſſage to *Havre de Grace* was already poſſeſſed and blocked up by the enemy, who had encamped directly in the middle of the main road thither.

The

The Duke of *Guiſe*, now remaining maſter of the field, together with all the enemy's baggage and artillery, and having given quarter to the *French* infantry, who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, had ſurrendered at diſcretion, being overtaken by the night, was obliged to ſtay, though with great inconvenience, upon the ſpot, at *Blainville*: where the Prince of *Condé*, being brought in to him, it was very remarkable, that thoſe two Princes, who for a long time paſt, and particularly in the late battle, had ſhewn ſuch a mortal hatred to each other, were ſo far reconciled on a ſudden, by the viciſſitude of fortune, as not only to ſup together at the ſame table, but even lie in the ſame bed, for want of other lodging and conveniencies: for the Duke of *Guiſe*, behaving himſelf with great modeſty after his victory, ſhewed all manner of reſpect to the Prince, and offered him a part of his. In which the patience of the conquered, in the deſperate ſituation of his affairs after the late defeat, was no leſs wonderful than the moderation of the conqueror in the midſt of his ſucceſs. 1562.

The firſt news that came to *Paris*, was, that the King's army was defeated, and the Conſtable taken priſoner; which account was brought by thoſe that fled at the beginning of the battle, and filled the court with great terror and apprehenſion. But, a few hours after, Monſieur *De Loſſé*, a captain in the royal guards, who had been diſpatched by the Duke of *Guiſe*, arrived there with a very different relation, and aſſured them, that the Catholicks had obtained a compleat victory; which, in ſome meaſure, diſſipated their concern for particular loſſes, in which the chief part of the kingdom had a ſhare: for, beſides many lords and gentlemen of the higheſt eſteem and reputation, there were ſlain, on both ſides, above eight thouſand perſons.

Various were the ſpeculations and remarks of the publick upon this battle. Many blamed the negligence of the Prince of *Condé*, who, for want of proper intelligence, thought the enemy at a conſiderable diſtance, when they were cloſe upon his heels; which obliged him to come to an engagement againſt his inclination. Several condemned the Admiral's too great precipitation in retreating; being of opinion, that if he had vigorouſly attacked the catholick army, when the Marſhal of *St. Andrew* was killed, he would have totally routed their horſe, and reſtored the fortune of the day. On the other ſide, there were ſome that put an unfavourable conſtruction upon the Duke of *Guiſe's* proceedings, and were of opinion, that he might have made the victory more eaſy and ſecure, if he had, at firſt, attacked the enemy in the rear, and not ſtayed to ſee the Conſtable's misfortune, with ſuch a ſlaughter both of other horſe and foot: but that being deſirous of the Conſtable's ruin, and to become ſole arbiter of the catholick faction, he had ſuffered the enemy to rout the right wing, on purpoſe to aſſume all the glory and command to himſelf. To theſe accuſations how-

1562. ver, he and his partiſans made anſwer, that the reaſon of his not moving at the beginning of the battle, was, in the firſt place, to let the enemy paſs by; and in the next to avoid the tumultuous rout of thoſe that ran away, by which he might have been diſordered, in all probability, as the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Conſtable's ſon actually were; but that he had waited for a proper opportunity of making the victory ſure, which a premature and inconſiderate haſte would have rendered dangerous and uncertain. However that matter was, it is certain, that as the Duke of *Guiſe* had all the glory of the day, ſo the reputation of the *Hugonots* was conſiderably diminiſhed, rather by accidents than the greatneſs of the loſs. The Duke continued the three following days in the ſame place, not only to refreſh and put his men in order, but alſo to provide for the wounded, and the burial of his dead: and being declared general of all the forces by the King and Queen, (which was the immediate fruit of the victory) he marched directly towards *Orleans*, that he might not give the enemy any time to recover themſelves.

In the mean while the Admiral, with a great part of his forces, and particularly the *German* horſe, which had received but little damage in the battle, returned to *Beauſſe*, where he relaxed the rigour of his diſcipline a little, and indulged his ſoldiers, to gain and confirm their affections: by which means he at laſt brought them all together to *Beaugency*, in order to concert meaſures, and take ſuch reſolutions as ſhould be thought moſt expedient in the preſent exigency. There it was debated, with great variety of opinions, in a council of all the *French* Lords and *German* commanders, what was beſt to be done in that change of fortune. There was no doubt but the Duke of *Guiſe*, purſuing his victory, would immediately come before *Orleans*; which lying in the middle of the kingdom, was the chief ſeat and ſource of the war. For which reaſon it was neceſſary to think of proper means of defending that city, and alſo to lay in a ſufficient ſupply for it in time: which being a very difficult taſk, as many now began to waver in their reſolutions, and the fortune and reputation of the *Hugonots* declined in all parts of the kingdom, the two brothers of *Coligny* boldly undertook to provide for both. For *Andelot* offered to defend *Orleans* himſelf with the *German* foot and part of the *French* horſe: and the Admiral, ſetting forth the great booty and riches of *Normandy*, and the convenience of being aſſiſted there from the nearneſs of *England*, prevailed upon the *German* horſe, or *Reiters*, as they call them, to follow him into that province: where, whilſt the Duke of *Guiſe* was perſonally employed in ſo difficult a ſiege, they might have an opportunity not only of being joined by the *Engliſh*, but of receiving the money ſent by Queen *Elizabeth*, and bringing all the ſuccours together; out of which they ſhould form a conſiderable army, and be able afterwards to relieve the beſieged in good time. Theſe

Theſe were the views of the *Hugonot* chiefs. But the Duke of *Guiſe* was making great preparations to beſiege *Orleans* at the very beginning of the year, that he might not loſe the fruits of his victory by delays; having ſent for heavy cannon from *Paris*, and all other ſtores neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking. The Queen herſelf deſigned to be preſent at this ſiege, not only to haſten the iſſue of it, but becauſe ſhe did not care to truſt wholly to any one perſon: and ſetting out with great reſolution, in the moſt rigorous and inconvenient ſeaſon of the year, came with the King to *Chartres*; and having ſtaid there a few days, at laſt arrived at the army, where they were obliged to take up with very bad quarters in the adjacent villages. Upon the coming of the King's army, *Piviers*, *Eſtampes*, and the reſt of the places thereabouts, were immediately ſurrendered: after which the Duke of *Guiſe*, having got all his forces together, drew near to the town on the fifth of *February*, and encamped betwixt the Fauxbourg of *Olivette* and the town of *St. Aubin:* a very convenient ſituation, and abounding with proviſions, as it lay upon the *Loire*. There were then in *Orleans*, beſides *Andelot* who commanded in chief, Monſieur *de St. Cyr*, Governor of the city, the Sieurs *d'Avaret*, *Duras*, and *Bouchavanes*, with fourteen companies of foot, part *Germans* and part *Gaſcons*, and five troops of *French* horſe, chiefly compoſed of old, experienced ſoldiers: the citizens likewiſe, who refuſed neither labour nor danger of any kind for the defence of their town, being divided into four regiments, went upon all ſorts of duty with ſurpriſing alacrity. 1563.

Orleans is divided, though not equally, by the river *Loire:* for on one ſide ſtands the whole body of the city, and on the other lies only a great Fauxbourg, commonly called the Portereau. This is joined to the city by a very fine bridge, the entrance of which, next the Fauxbourg, is commanded by two forts called the Tourelles: at the other end of it ſtands one of the city gates ſtrengthened with good walls, but without any rampart, and defended by a high, ſquare tower, built after the ancient manner, and of a great thickneſs. The walls of the town were not very ſtrong; but they had lately repaired and made them more defenſible. Amongſt other precautions they had likewiſe fortified the Portereau, with two great baſtions before it, which might detain and keep off an enemy for ſome time from the town. One of them, being right overagainſt the place where the Catholicks had encamped, was garriſoned by four companies of the *Gaſcons*; and the other, which was farther off, by two companies of the *Germans*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, for very good reaſons, was determined to begin the ſiege on that ſide; firſt, becauſe his men, being conveniently lodged there, might the better ſupport the ſeverity of the winter: and in the next place, as he looked upon it as an eaſy matter to make himſelf maſter of the Portereau, he intended to

1563. take the advantage of the river, and not only batter but aſſault the walls of the city from a number of barks, covered with gabions and full of other warlike inſtruments, which would greatly facilitate the attack. Beſides, the beſieged had neither any ramparts within the wall on that ſide, nor fortification capable of containing a body of men. Upon which account the whole army advanced the next morning in very goodorder within ſight of the town: Monſieur *De Sipierre* leading the vanguard of the Catholicks, at the head of ſix hundred horſe and two regiments of foot, with which he eaſily drove thoſe back into the Fauxbourg that had made a ſally out of it to ſkirmiſh and ſhew their courage. So that his men, being encouraged by this good ſucceſs at the beginning, he cauſed a furious aſſault to be made upon the baſtion that was defended by the *Gaſcons*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, coming up at the ſame time, and making a feint of drawing all his forces to that place, immediately detached *Sanſac's* regiment to attempt the other baſtion by ſcalado, that was guarded by the *Germans*, who, being aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of the aſſault, made ſo little reſiſtance that it was preſently taken, and the Catholicks entered the Fauxbourg before any body was aware that there had been any attack made upon that part. By which means the aſſailants, having already fortified themſelves within the rampart, and all the army, which ſtood drawn up at ſome diſtance, now beginning to advance towards them in good order, the garriſon was obliged to abandon the Fauxbourg with great terror and confuſion: in the midſt of which *Duras* and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction being killed, the Catholicks purſued them ſo cloſely, and poured in upon them with ſuch fury from all ſides, that they would have entered the Tourelles, if *Andelot* himſelf, fighting gallantly at the head of a large body of gentlemen, had not prevented them. But he, being well armed and bravely ſupported, made ſo reſolute a ſtand at the entrance of the bridge, that they were at laſt with much difficulty repulſed, and the gates of the towers and city being ſhut, that bloody ſkirmiſh was put an end to by the coming on of night. The Fauxbourg being thus ſecured, the army approached to the Tourelles, which proving very difficult to be taken upon the account of their ſtrength, the Duke of *Guiſe*, however, had ſo far advanced by the help of trenches, gabions, and other engines of war, that he found they could not long maintain that poſt; though his men that lay upon the banks were terribly galled and incommoded by the cannon, that were planted on ſome little iſlands in the middle of the river.

In the mean time the Admiral with his Reiters and ſome few *French* horſe, having left all their carriages and baggage at *Orleans*, had paſſed the *Loire* at *Gergeau* and marched with ſuch expedition, that the Marſhal of *Briſac*, who endeavoured to intercept their paſſage, could by no means

ſtop them any where, nor prevent their getting into *Normandy*; which province the Reiters over-ran without reſiſtance, ſlaughtering the inhabitants, firing and plundering the towns, and deſtroying all things both ſacred and profane wherever they came; there being no forces in that country that were able to hinder their incurſions. Paſſing thus through every place like a furious and dreadful ſtorm, they at laſt came to the ſea coaſt, at *St. Sauveur de Dive*. There the *Germans*, not knowing in what part of the world they were, and ſeeing the ſea run very high, the ſeaſon tempeſtuous, and no appearance of the ſuccours ſo often promiſed from *England*, began to grow fierce and mutinous, demanding their arrears of pay in a clamourous and threatning manner, and calling upon the Admiral to fulfil his promiſe: upon which he came out of his quarters, and pointing to the ſea with his finger, endeavoured to excuſe the delay of the expected ſupplies, by the roughneſs of the ſea, and the perverſeneſs of boiſterous and contrary winds. But they were not to be appeaſed by any thing he could ſay; ſo that he could hardly prevail upon them to have patience for a few days: though, to ſatisfy their greedineſs, he gave them liberty to plunder every body, both friends and enemies, without diſtinction. This was followed by a cruel devaſtation of all that fertile and opulent country which extends itſelf along the ſea ſide: where they waited till at laſt, after the bad weather was over, the *Engliſh* ſhips appeared off *Hœvre de Grace*, which brought with them not only the hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, but two regiments of foot, with fourteen pieces of cannon and all manner of ammunition in plenty. This arrival of the *Engliſh*, under the conduct of the Count of *Montgomery* and Monſieur *de Colombiere*, filled them with incredible joy: for the Reiters were immediately paid their arrears, and the Admiral, having ſent for the Count *de la Rochfoucaut*, who brought ſuccours out of the neighbouring provinces, which increaſed the army to eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, prepared to go to the relief of his brother with all the expedition that was poſſible; hoping that he ſhould now be able, either by force or art, to oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of *Orleans*. But the Duke of *Guiſe* having already taken the Tourelles, though with the loſs of many men, the beſieged were reduced to great difficulties; nor could the Admiral have arrived ſoon enough to relieve the town, if other means had not been made uſe of to deliver them from that imminent danger. 1563.

There was a perſon in the *Hugonot's* faction named *John Poltrot*, born of a noble family, near *Angouleſme*. This man, who was of a ready wit and ſubtle diſpoſition, had lived many years in *Spain*, and afterwards embracing the opinions of *Calvin*, was ſo worked upon by the preachings and practices of the miniſters at *Geneva*, that he was generally thought

1563. (as indeed he was) fit to undertake any great attempt. Upon which account, being pitched upon by the chiefs of the *Hugonot* party as a very proper inſtrument to execute any ſuch deſigns, as are the uſual conſequences of civil wars, he was perſuaded, as it is ſaid, by the Admiral and *Theodore Beza*, to aſſaſſinate the Duke of *Guiſe*: one of them propoſing to him vaſt rewards and acknowledgments, and the other repreſenting how greatly he would merit of God by deſtroying ſo bitter a perſecutor of their religion. Theſe arguments prevailing upon *Poltrot*, he pretended to have abandoned the *Calviniſts*, and went to ſerve in the King's army; where he inſinuated himſelf even into the Duke of *Guiſe's* court, and only waited for a proper opportunity of putting his deſign in execution, which ſoon happened. For on the twenty-fourth of *February* in the evening, which is the feſtival of St. *Matthias*, the Duke having given order for an aſſault that he intended to make the next day upon the bridge of *Orleans*, and retiring, without any armour, to his quarters, which were almoſt a league from the trenches: *Poltrot*, lying in wait for him, mounted on a ſwift horſe, and ſeeing him come alone, and engaged in converſation with *Triſtan Roſlin*, one of the Queen's gentlemen, diſcharged a muſket at him loaded with three balls, which all hitting him on the left ſhoulder, paſſed quite through his body, and laid him for dead upon the ground. Upon this ſudden accident his gentlemen, who rode a little before, to avoid incommoding their maſter, immediately returned to his aſſiſtance. But *Poltrot*, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, made his eſcape to the neighbouring woods: and the Duke, being carried to his quarters, ſeemed to be paſt all hopes of life, when he came to have his wounds dreſſed by the ſurgeons. At the news of this fatal misfortune, the King and Queen Mother, with all the nobility in the army, immediately went to viſit him: but all care and remedies proving ineffectual, he died the third day after he had received theſe wounds, with ſentiments full of piety and religion, and the higheſt proofs of conſtancy and moderation.

He was a man of mature wiſdom, remarkable application, and great courage, deliberate in concerting, quick in execution, and very fortunate in conducting his deſigns to their intended iſſue. For which qualifications he was univerſally eſteemed the greateſt General of his time. He had likewiſe, by his particular ſervices, acquired the title of *Defender and protector of the Catholick religion*; and when he died, left the glory of his name to be celebrated and renowned to all poſterity.

The aſſaſſin, in a manner diſtracted, either by the conſciouſneſs of ſo great a crime, or the apprehenſion of being purſued from every ſide, having loſt his way to *Orleans*, wandered about all night in the roads and woods. At laſt, when the morning came on, both he and his horſe being

ing ſo tired that they could hold out no longer, he fell into the hands of ſome *Swiſs* that were upon guard at the bridge *d'Olivette*, who took him and carried him before the Queen and the commanders of the army: where he firſt confeſſed the whole of the plot voluntarily, and afterwards, being put to the torture, ratified the ſame confeſſion, for which, being taken to *Paris*, he was publickly quartered by the ſentence of the parliament. 1563.

The Admiral and *Theodore Beza* endeavoured to clear themſelves of having had any concern in this fact, by writing long juſtifications, and diſperſing them through every part of Chriſtendom: but the general opinion, confirmed, not only by circumſtances, but the confeſſion of the delinquent himſelf, refuted all their pretences: and the poſterity of the Duke kept it conſtantly in their memory till the conſummation of their revenge. Very different was the behaviour of the Queen Mother; for *la Motte*, a *Hugonot* Captain, having offered her to get *Andelot* aſſaſſinated, by ſome means or other, ſhe ordered her guards to ſeize him and ſent him bound to *Andelot*, that he might puniſh him as he thought proper. Some indeed put a ſiniſter interpretation upon this proceeding, and imagined, that the Queen had either diſcovered double dealing in the aſſaſſin, or was in hopes of prevailing upon *Andelot*, by ſuch a piece of kindneſs, to deliver up *Orleans* out of gratitude, which they found hardly to be reduced by force: yet it is certain, that the greatneſs of the Queen's mind made it generally believed, that ſhe uſed no artifice in an action ſo generous that it is ſcarcely to be paralleled in modern hiſtory.

After the Duke of *Guiſe's* death an accommodation was brought about, without much difficulty, as the treaty had never been abſolutely broke off, even when the war was at the hotteſt. For the Queen, being now delivered from the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, the former of whom ſhe had always been jealous of, upon account of his nearneſs to the crown, and of the latter for his immenſe power and the high eſteem he was in for his valour and other excellent qualities, was very deſirous of compoſing the diſturbances of the kingdom, that, when peace was eſtabliſhed at home, ſhe might drive out the foreign troops before they had got ſtronger footing. Neither had ſhe any longer apprehenſions of the Prince of *Condé* or the Conſtable, who were ſo enraged at each other, that ſhe thought it was impoſſible they ſhould ever be ſincerely reconciled. Beſides, the Conſtable being almoſt worn out with age, had neither power ſufficient, nor any thoughts of aſpiring to the government: and the Prince of *Condé*, though firſt Prince of the blood, was become odious to the whole kingdom, except the *Hugonots*, by his late proceedings, and particularly the agreement he had made with *England*. For which reaſons ſhe was inclined to offer very advantageous terms, as ſhe thought it highly

1563. highly neceſſary to conclude a peace immediately, that they might employ their united forces, without any diverſion, to the recovery of *Havre de Grace*; the alienation of which place into the hands of ſo powerful an enemy gave her more concern than any thing elſe. She was likewiſe very ſollicitous to have the Reiters expelled, who ravaged the kingdom without diſtinction, and deſtroyed the people with unheard-of cruelties. There was alſo another very important conſideration, that ſtill made her the more deſirous of coming to an agreement; which was, that the Duke of *Guiſe* being dead, and the Conſtable priſoner in the enemy's hands, the King's army had no General of like authority and reputation, or that was a match for the ſubtlety of the Admiral, or the fury of *Andelot*. For though the Duke of *Aumale*, brother to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, was a man of great courage, yet he was not ſo able in council, nor ſo fortunate in war; and if there had been no other objection, he was then unqualified to undergo the labour and fatigue which attend that command, by the hurt he had received in the laſt engagement: and the Marſhal of *Briſac*, though a commander of great experience and approved valour, had not authority ſufficient for a general of the King's army, which was compoſed of the chief Princes and nobility of the kingdom. But the weightieſt of all other reaſons for her deſiring peace, was, that the devaſtations of a civil war had every way ſo diminiſhed the King's revenues, and the expences, which are always exceſſive in the beginning of one, had exhauſted the treaſury to ſuch a degree, that the government was not only unable to pay the intereſts of thoſe debts that had been contracted by former Kings; but the Queen was obliged to increaſe them, having borrowed a conſiderable ſum of the grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and a hundred and fifty thouſand ducats from the republick of *Venice*, in the time of her neceſſity. So that not having money to continue the war, ſhe thought it prudent to take the advantage of that conjuncture.

On the other ſide, the Prince of *Condé*, ſeeing himſelf in the hands of his enemies, ardently deſired a peace, that he might obtain his liberty. And *Andelot*, being almoſt reduced to a neceſſity of ſurrendering, thought it would be more for his reputation to be included in a general agreement, than to deliver up the town upon terms made for himſelf only. But the Admiral was of a different opinion; for, neither truſting to a ſeeming reconciliation on the King's ſide, nor the promiſes of the Queen, and knowing he was inwardly hated and deteſted by them both, he thought it better to continue the war, now the chief commanders of the adverſe party were gone, than to expoſe himſelf to the hazard of a ſuſpicious and diſſembled peace. But as he was abſent and the accommodation negotiated at *Orleans*, where the Queen was perſonally in the camp, and the Conſtable a priſoner in the city, whither Madam *Eleonora* wife to the

the Prince of *Condé* was alſo come for the ſame purpoſe, the peace was concluded and eſtabliſhed, without any regard to the Admiral's opinion, upon the following conditions: That all ſuch as were free lords over the caſtles or lands, that they poſſeſſed, not holding of any but the crown, might have liberty to exerciſe the reformed religion within their juriſdictions: That the other feudataries, who had not ſuch dominion, might do the ſame in their houſes with their own family only; provided they did not live in any city or town: That in every province certain cities ſhould be appointed, in the Fauxbourg, or ſuburbs of which the *Hugonots* might aſſemble at their devotions: that in all other cities, towns and caſtles, the city of *Paris* in particular with its juriſdiction, and in all other places where the court reſided, the exerciſe of any religion, but the *Roman* catholick, ſhould be prohibited, any one however being allowed to live there in freedom of conſcience, without diſturbance or moleſtation: that the profeſſors of the *Hugonot* religion ſhould obſerve the holy days appointed in the *Roman* calendar, together with rites and ceremonies eſtabliſhed by law, in their marriages: That all the princes, lords, gentlemen, officers, and ſoldiers, ſhould have a full pardon for all delinquencies committed during the time and upon account of the war: with a declaration that all was done with a good deſign, and not to offend royal Majeſty; and therefore every one ſhould be reſtored to his places, dignities, goods, privileges, and prerogatives: That the *Germans* ſhould be ſent and have ſafe conduct out of the kingdom; and that the King ſhould be at liberty to recover all his towns, caſtles, and fortreſſes, from any perſons that ſhould preſume to withhold them from him. 1563.

This agreement being publiſhed in the camp and in the court, the eighteenth of *March*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Conſtable came out of their confinement. *Andelot* delivered the city of *Orleans* into the Queen's hands: the nobility, no leſs wearied with the fatigue than expence of the war, very willingly departed; and the Reiters being conducted to the frontiers, and ſatisfied for their pay, returned to their country.

The eight parliaments of the kingdom, but particularly thoſe of *Paris*, *Tholouſe*, and *Aix*, which three were always the moſt averſe to the *Hugonots*, refuſed to accept and regiſter the edict of pacification. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* appearing in behalf of the government at *Paris*, the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe* at *Tholouſe*, the Count *D'Euzè* at *Aix*, and repreſenting to them that the King thought it neceſſary, for the quiet of the kingdom, that the pacification ſhould be accepted and approved; the articles were at laſt publiſhed, with a power reſerved to his Majeſty of correcting or revoking them, whenſoever he ſhould think fit. There was no leſs oppoſition made to it by the *Hugonot* miniſters, when they ſaw the edict of *January* ſo much altered to their prejudice:

1563. prejudice: and it was exceedingly reſented by the Admiral, who had now conceived great hopes of getting the better in this war. But it being the Prince of *Condé's* pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo, and the nobility eagerly concurring with him, they were forced to comply for the preſent, though they were ſtill meditating new and more dangerous revolutions amongſt themſelves.

The peace being thus agreed on and concluded; the Queen hardly giving herſelf time to take breath, ſent the army into *Normandy* under the command of the Marſhal of *Briſac*, and followed it thither in perſon: deſigning to reduce *Havre de Grace* immediately by force, and to forward the undertaking by her own preſence and directions. By which ſhe imagined ſhe ſhould not only ſecure herſelf from the artifices and machinations of the grandees, but conduct her deſigns the more effectually to their proper ends: and at the ſame time conciliate the affections of the ſoldiery to the King, who, being brought up in the midſt of armies, and preſent at all councils and actions, began to ſhew a generous and active ſpirit, daily learning by experience the art of governing a kingdom. He was of a magnanimous and truly royal diſpoſition, of a lively and quick underſtanding, and for the majeſty of his aſpect and gravity of manners at ſo tender an age, not only eſteemed but greatly reverenced by thoſe that were about his perſon.

On the other hand, the *Engliſh* garriſon in *Havre de Grace*, conſiſting of about three thouſand men, under the command of the Earl of *Warwick*, began to lay in proviſions and fortify themſelves with great diligence: hoping, from the ſtrength of the place, they ſhould be able to make a vigorous defence till the arrival of their fleet, which was making vaſt preparations not only to ſuccour that place, but to make a deſcent and invade the borders of lower *Normandy*, and all the coaſt that lies upon the *Britiſh* ſea. But the Queen having ſummoned them by a herald to deliver up the town in three days, which they held by violence contrary to the articles of peace; when that time was expired, the whole army was brought before it, and batteries raiſed in ſeveral places.

A few days after, the Conſtable arrived at the camp, whoſe preſence greatly animated and encouraged the beſiegers; and though the ſuperintendance of the military operations was divided betwixt him and the Marſhal of *Briſac*, the ſupreme authority and command was veſted in the Queen: who taking up her quarters in the abbey of *Fecan*, rode every day to the army, preſſing the ſiege forwards with ſuch earneſtneſs, that one of the towers, which ſtood at the entrance of the gate, being already taken, and maintained by Colonel *Sarlabous*, with a conſiderable body of foot, the beſieged were reduced to great difficulties; and theſe daily increaſing by the heat of the ſeaſon, it being then about the beginning of *July*,

July, occaſioned a grievous peſtilence in the town: which, being encou- 1563.
raged by the manner of diet and conſtitution of the *Engliſh*, raged with ſuch fury that it carried off the greateſt part of their men in a few days. So that the Earl of *Warwick*, not being able to ſtand out any longer againſt the attacks of the beſiegers and the malignity of this diſtemper, at laſt agreed to ſurrender, the ſeventeenth of *July*, on condition That he ſhould immediately deliver up the town into the hands of the Conſtable, for the uſe of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, with the artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, belonging to the *French*, and all the ſhips and merchandize taken and ſeized upon ſince the beginning of the war: That all the priſoners, on both ſides, ſhould be ſet at liberty, without ranſom: And that the *Engliſh* ſhould tranſport their baggage and arms without receiving any impediment or interruption whatſoever, in the ſpace of ſix days from that time.

The articles of this capitulation were hardly ſigned, and hoſtages given on both ſides, when the *Engliſh* fleet of ſixty ſail, with a large number of foot on board, appeared at ſea, ſteering their courſe with a favourable wind, directly to that port. But the Earl of *Warwick*, thinking it diſhonourable not to fulfil the articles of his capitulation, acquainted the Admiral of the fleet that the town had ſurrendered, upon which he came to an anchor till he had taken the garriſon on board: and when they were all embarked, he weighed and returned to *England*, without making any farther attempt.

The Queen, having got rid of the foreigners with ſo much eaſe and diſpatch, immediately turned her thoughts upon compoſing the inteſtine diſturbances, and reforming the ſtate. It was her intention, as the King was now almoſt fourteen, to get him declared out of his minority, and capable of taking the reins into his own hands; knowing that ſuch a declaration would deprive the Princes of the blood of all pretenſions to the government of the kingdom: and that on account of the King's youth, and the great influence ſhe had over him, the ſame power would ſtill continue in her hands. But this deſign was oppoſed by the opinions of many counſellors and lawyers; who objected, that, according to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom, he could not be out of his pupillage, nor declared of age, nor take the government upon him, till he had fully completed his fourteenth year, of which he yet wanted many months.

Amongſt the archives of the crown, that are kept in the monaſtery of *St. Dennis*, together with the acts of the court of parliament, there is a conſtitution of *Lewis* the fifth (ſurnamed the *Wiſe*) ſolemnly regiſtered by the parliament of *Paris*, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixty three, ſealed by the High Chancellor *D'Ormans*, and ſubſcribed by the King's Brothers, the Princes of the blood and many of the moſt con-

1563. ſiderable noblemen in the kingdom; by which it is declared, that the Kings of *France* may take upon them the government of the ſtate at the age of fourteen: but it is not clearly ſpecified whether this conſtitution is to take place at the beginning or end of the fourteenth year. For which reaſon, many of the counſellors, eſpecially thoſe of the parliament of *Paris* (who knew they had great power whilſt the King was under age, and were deſirous, perhaps, to enlarge the time of exerciſing it) aſſerted, that it could not be ſaid the pupil was arrived at the age of fourteen years if he had not actually accompliſhed them, nor could he, upon any account, be legally deemed out of his minority before that time.

On the other hand, the High Chancellor *De L'Hoſpital*, a man of profound learning, and all thoſe that were of the Queen's party, alledged, that in points of honour and dignity, they were not to count minutes, as is uſual in the * integration of common pupils; it being the intention of the laws to favour thoſe in minority by prolonging that time to their own advantage: but in ſucceſſion to honours and dignities, it was often advantageous and neceſſary to ſhorten the term: That a few months could make but little difference in maturing the judgment and underſtanding of any perſon: And that the law ſet a man free from his pupillage at the age of fourteen. Theſe arguments they ſupported by the tenour and example of the imperial laws, (the authority of which is ſubmitted to by all chriſtian princes) and the interpretation of them by the cleareſt and moſt learned expoſitors: who, in the inheritance of honours and dignities, according to the known maxims of the civil law, had conſtantly reckoned the year begun (or, in their own expreſſion, *annus inchoatus)* as the year ended and accompliſhed. But as the parliament of *Rouen* had at all times ſhewed itſelf more obedient to the King's commands, than any of the reſt, and the counſellors had received many particular marks of favour from the Queen, upon the late reſtitution of the city; they both determined to have that edict regiſtered in their parliament, rather than expoſe themſelves to any contradiction from the *Pariſian* counſellors, who had of late taken upon them to model the royal decrees by their opinions. For this purpoſe, after the reduction of *Havre de Grace*, the King and Queen mother returned with much reputation to *Rouen:* and, on the fifteenth of *September*, went in great ſolemnity, with all the court and great officers of the crown, to the parliament: where he took upon him the free and abſolute government of the ſtate, with the uſual ceremonies.

The parliament of *Paris* was exceedingly diſguſted that an affair of ſo great importance ſhould be determined in any other court but theirs, which has the pre-eminence of all the reſt, and is commonly reputed a

* Livery made to wards.

general

general council of the whole nation. But the King, being already declared out of his minority, and naturally of a manly ſpirit, was much more offended that the parliament of *Paris* ſhould preſume to interfere in affairs of government which did not belong to them, and ſharply admoniſhed the counſellors to mind their own buſineſs, and attend to the adminiſtration of juſtice, for which they were deputed, and not to meddle with ſtate affairs, that entirely depended upon his own will and pleaſure. The counſellors, being ſomething humbled by this rebuke, accepted the declaration of his majority, and publiſhed it without any farther conteſt. 1563.

The King having thus aſſumed the ſupreme power and command in name and appearance; the Queen, whoſe counſels were now of greater weight and authority than ever, turned all her thoughts to quiet and compoſe the kingdom: which (like the ſea after a ſtorm) ſtill remained troubled and unquiet. It was no longer neceſſary to keep the parties divided, and balance the power of the factions: becauſe the majority of the King had put an end to all pretenſions in any body elſe to the adminiſtration of the government: and his authority was already ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed by the reputation of ſo many victories, and by taking the power into his own hands, that he was under no farther apprehenſions of the plots and machinations of any perſons, how powerful ſoever, who had been ſuſpected of endeavouring to deprive the royal pupils of their ſucceſſion to the crown, in order to uſurp it themſelves: beſides, the death of the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, had ſo manifeſtly weakened the catholick faction; and the raſh proceedings of the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral had leſſened their credit and diminiſhed the number of their followers to ſuch a degree, that the power of both parties being ſuppreſſed, and all civil diſſenſions quieted, the kingdom might eaſily reaſſume that form in which it had been governed for ſo many ages by the preceding Kings. For which reaſons, after the Queen had concerted meaſures with the King and the High Chancellor *De l'Hoſpital*, who in a private manner had the joint management of all affairs, ſhe determined to uſe her utmoſt endeavours not only to prevail upon the Prince to abandon the *Hugonots*, but to ſoften and appeaſe the Admiral and *Andelot*, who, being full of ſuſpicion, kept in a great meaſure at a diſtance from the court; and, having in this manner deprived that party of its chiefs and protectors, by little and little, without noiſe or violence, to eradicate and deſtroy them: ſo that at laſt, it would break of itſelf and be extinguiſhed inſenſibly; as it had happened to many others in former times. By theſe, and other ſuch practices, they hoped to re-eſtabliſh harmony and tranquillity in the kingdom; which it would be very dangerous to attempt, and difficult to effect by force of arms.

1563. For the accompliſhment of theſe ends, it was neceſſary not only to be in peace with *England*, but to renew the confederacy with the *Swiſs*, and to keep up a good underſtanding with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*; that the *Hugonots* might be deprived of their ſupport, and foreigners of all pretence to come into the kingdom, from whoſe invaſions they had lately freed themſelves with ſuch infinite pains and prejudice, both to the publick and every individual. An overture of a treaty was therefore made with Queen *Elizabeth* by *Guido Cavalcanti*, a *Florentine*, who was converſant in the affairs, and underſtood the intereſts of both kingdoms. To ſooth and gain over the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, they ſent *Raſcalone*, a man formerly employed in that country by the Duke of *Guiſe*; with a commiſſion likewiſe to treat of ſeveral other things that mutually concerned both nations: and to the republick of the *Swiſs* they diſpatched *Sebaſtian l'Aubeſpine*, Biſhop of *Limoges*, to renew the ancient alliances that had been contracted with the father and grandfather of the preſent King. But upon the Prince of *Condé* they practiſed all their arts, to bring him back in good earneſt to his duty. For the King and the Queen receiving him with great appearance of confidence and reſpect, as firſt Prince of the Blood, immediately conferred the government of *Picardy* upon him; the taking away of which was the firſt ſpark that kindled a reſolution in him to attempt alterations in the ſtate: and, entertaining him at court with plays, feaſting, and all manner of diverſions, endeavoured to make him in love with the pleaſures and repoſe of peace, and, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, lay aſide his natural fierceneſs. Theſe endeavours were not a little forwarded by the death of his wife *Eleanor de Roye*, a woman of an unquiet ſpirit, and continually ſpurring him up to new undertakings. Upon which event, the Queen perſuaded *Margaret de Luſtrac*, widow to the Marſhal of *St. Andrew*, to whom both her father and huſband had left immenſe riches and poſſeſſions, to marry the Prince; in hopes, that when his circumſtances were ſo greatly increaſed by this match, and he came to live at eaſe, and in the ſplendor that became the greatneſs of his birth, it would be a difficult matter to prevail upon him afterwards to involve himſelf in freſh troubles, eſpecially when he conſidered how dangerous and prejudicial the paſt had been to him.

But to ſeparate and withdraw him from the *Chaſtillons*, whoſe inſtigations, it was plain, had excited him to thoſe attempts, they had recourſe to flattery, the uſual engine of courts, and endeavoured to make him believe, that the loſs of the battle of *Dreux* was entirely owing to the cowardice and treachery of the Admiral and *Andelot*, who, being too careful of their own perſons, or envying his valour, which they ſaw was likely to gain the victory, fled before there was any occaſion, and left

thoſe that fought bravely, particularly himſelf, in the hands of the ene- 1563.
my: which things being exaggerated and often repeated, they thought would make him ſuſpicious of his former friends. But neither the beauty of *Limeville*, one of the maids of honour, whom he was exceedingly enamoured of, and enjoyed (though the Queen ſeemed not to know of it) nor the hope of ſo rich a match as was offered him, were ſufficient to alter his reſolution; nor could all the arts they made uſe of prevail upon him to break off his friendſhip and intimacy with the Admiral and his brothers; who, putting no manner of confidence in the Queen, and being convinced ſhe would never truſt them, could not be gained over by any means, but were continually endeavouring to raiſe freſh hopes in the *Hugonots*, and kept upon their guard at a diſtance from the court.

The Queen's intentions, however, to eſtabliſh the common peace, were fruſtrated not only by the oppoſition of the *Hugonots*, but by the cagerneſs of the Catholick chiefs to revenge the Duke of *Guiſe's* death, and by the impatience with which they bore a toleration in religion.

Francis, late Duke of *Guiſe*, left three ſons, by his wife *Anne d'Eſte*, ſiſter to *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Ferrara*: *Henry*, now Duke of *Guiſe*, a youth of wonderful hope and expectation: *Lewis*, deſigned for an eccleſiaſtick life, and the dignity of Cardinal: and *Charles*, firſt Marquis, and then Duke of *Mayenne*, who, in the courſe of theſe wars, was afterwards chief of the Catholick league againſt *Henry* the fourth. Theſe ſons did not degenerate from their father, either in courage or greatneſs of mind: and, though very young, yet being ſupported by the reſolution of the Duke of *Aumale*, and the authority of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, their uncles, boldly attempted to put themſelves at the head of the Catholick party: and for that purpoſe ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to raiſe their reputation, and to contrive new means to keep up the ardour of that faction. With this view, having aſſembled a great number of their relations and dependents, they all went together, cloathed in mourning, to the King, and earneſtly demanded that juſtice might be executed upon thoſe that had cauſed their father to be vilely aſſaſſinated, at a time when he was glorioufly and loyally bearing arms in the ſervice of God and the crown, and exerting himſelf for the good of his country. Theſe demands being attended with great clamour and noiſe of the *Pariſians*, who ran in multitudes to ſee this ſpectacle, the King could not return any other anſwer, than that at a proper time and place he would not fail to bring thoſe that ſhould be found the perpetrators of ſo horrid a crime to condign puniſhment. Upon this, the brothers of *Coligny* became more ſuſpicious than before, and were in a manner reduced to a neceſſity of arming their faction again, that they might be able to withſtand the power and enmity of the *Guiſes*.

But

1563. But whilſt theſe arts were practiſed to raiſe the Catholick party, the endeavours to ſuppreſs the *Calviniſts* were ſtill greater. For the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being ſenſible that the intereſts of his nephews would become ſtronger and more powerful, and wear a better face, if they were joined with the cauſe of religion, went to *Rome*, as ſoon as the council of *Trent* was diſſolved (which happened this year in the month of *November*) and perſuaded the Pope, *Pius* the fourth, who was diſpleaſed at the peace concluded in *France*, to preſs the King and Queen to cauſe the decrees of the council to be publiſhed and obſerved through their kingdom; promiſing that his nephews, with the whole houſe of *Lorrain*, would be ready to ſupport the publication, and afterwards undertake to ſuppreſs the *Hugonots* by dint of force. The Pope was likewiſe ſollicited to the ſame effect by the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe dominions lay ſo near to *France*, that they apprehended they were in danger from the *Hugonots*; as they had already introduced themſelves into ſome parts of them: and not only the Low Countries belonging to King *Philip* were already infected, but *Savoy* and *Piedmont* grievouſly peſtered with them; where, from the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, they had ſowed the ſeeds of their hereſy. Upon which account they were both deſirous that this dangerous fire, kindled in a country ſo near them, might be immediately extinguiſhed.

Nor was it a difficult matter to prevail upon his Holineſs to enter ſeriouſly into an affair, in which the grandeur of the apoſtolick ſee and the authority of the pontificate were ſo nearly concerned. In conſequence of which they each of them determined to ſend an ambaſſador, to exhort the King of *France* to cauſe the council to be publiſhed and obſerved, with offers of forces and aſſiſtance to extirpate hereſy out of his dominions.

This embaſſy, to give it more weight, was ſent in the names of them all, and exceedingly perplexed both the King and Queen Mother. For though they concurred with the Pope and the other Princes in their deſire to ſuppreſs and eradicate the *Hugonot* faction, which they knew to be the ſource of all the late diſturbances; yet they did not think it adviſeable to attempt it ſuddenly, and in a publick manner, or to precipitate their deſigns, which, though wiſely laid, were not yet come to maturity. They were likewiſe exceedingly offended that the King of *Spain*, and much more the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould preſume to interfere in the government of their ſtate in ſuch an authoritative manner; eſpecially as ſo urgent a ſollicitation reduced them to an evident neceſſity, either of alienating the Pope from them, and ſeparating themſelves from their obedience to the apoſtolick ſee, with great infamy to themſelves and ſcandal to the publick; or of diſcovering their deſigns, to the execution of which they

they had determined to proceed by ſlow methods: for they were in hopes, by keeping them ſecret, to accompliſh their end by degrees, and in an inſenſible manner, without expoſing themſelves to the hazards of war. Whereas if they were by this means betrayed, whilſt they uſed their utmoſt art and diſſimulation to conceal them, there was no doubt but the *Hugonots*, upon ſuch a diſcovery, would immediately kindle up a war again in the bowels of the kingdom, and open a way for foreign troops to invade and ſpoil the beſt parts of *France*, as they had ſufficiently experienced from their proceedings in the laſt war. Upon theſe conſiderations, there being no other way to evade the force of theſe demands but by art and delays, they received the Ambaſſadors privately at *Fontainbleau*, a diſtant and retired place, that their errand might be thought of no mighty conſequence by the little ceremony that was ſhewn upon the occaſion. After this they endeavoured to antiquate the negociation and make it fall to the ground, by ſpinning out the time and deferring to give an anſwer. And when they were at laſt, in ſome meaſure, obliged to it, they made uſe of ſuch general and ambiguous terms, that the Ambaſſadors were entirely left in the dark as to their real intentions; and concluded with telling them, that they ſhould ſoon ſend miniſters of their own to his Holineſs and the other Princes, to acquaint them particularly with their reſolutions. 1563.

The King and Queen, having thus got quit of the Ambaſſadors at the end of *January* 1564, reſolved to viſit all the provinces and principal cities in the kingdom; hoping to reap much advantage from this progreſs, by diſpoſing things in ſuch a manner as ſhould moſt conduce to the execution of the deſigns which they conſtantly had in view. For, as they propoſed to confer with the Duke of *Savoy* in *Dauphiné*, with the Pope's miniſters at *Avignon*, and the King or Queen of *Spain*, upon the confines of *Guyenne*, they thought they might there communicate their intentions to them in perſon, without the hazard of having them revealed to the *Hugonots* by truſting *Frenchmen*, who were all, in ſome meaſure, connected with them, either by obligation or alliance. So that, having ſecured the friendſhip of the Pope and the other Catholick Princes, they might act in concert with them and have ſufficient time to bring their reſolutions to maturity. It ſeemed likewiſe of no little advantage to treat in perſon with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and by his means with the Proteſtant Princes: whom they hoped to engage in ſo firm an alliance, that they ſhould have no occaſion to apprehend they would any more appear in favour of the *Hugonots*, or interpoſe in the affairs of their kingdom. From this journey there likewiſe reſulted another very important advantage; as, by viſiting the chief cities, and informing themſelves particularly of their condition, they might take ſuch meaſures for their ſecurity, either by 1564.

ſtronger

1563. ſtronger fortifications, or changing their magiſtrates and governors, that they needed not to fear any revolt in them for the future. Beſides this, they expected, that by appeaſing the tumults, and redreſſing the complaints and grievances of the people, the King would greatly increaſe his authority, and ſo conciliate the affections of his ſubjects to himſelf, that they would return by degrees to that ancient loyalty, which both by nature and cuſtom they uſed to ſhew to the perſons of their ſovereigns with ſo much reverence and devotion. This journey was alſo neceſſary in relation to Queen *Jane*. For ſhe, after her huſband's death, became ſo bigotted to the worſhip and opinions of the *Hugonots*, that ſhe had by publick edicts and open violence, taken away the images, baniſhed the prieſts, ſeized upon the churches, and thrown down the altars: commanding all the people that were ſubject to the principality of *Bearn* to live according to the rites and ceremonies of *Calvin's* religion. At the report of theſe proceedings, the King of *Spain*, either thinking it a proper opportunity to make himſelf maſter of the reſt of *Navarre*, or out of apprehenſion that the infection of hereſy, making ſuch near approaches to his dominions, might at laſt penetrate into them, complained bitterly of it to the Pope, intreating him to provide againſt ſo great an evil without any farther delay. Upon which, the Pope, moved not only by the advice and exhortations of the King of *Spain*, but alſo by the manifeſt prejudice which the intereſts of the apoſtolick ſee would receive by it, firſt kindly admoniſhed the Queen, by Cardinal *Armagnac*, a near relation and old dependant upon that family, not to introduce ſuch intolerable innovations: and then, finding theſe remonſtrances had no effect, iſſued out a monitory, in which he required her to deſiſt from perſecuting the Catholick religion, and to return within the ſpace of ſix months into the boſom of the church; otherwiſe, he ſhould proceed to eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and give her country away to thoſe that could firſt conquer it.

The King of *France* openly proteſted againſt this monitory; alledging that the ſtates of Queen *Jane* being held directly of him, his Holineſs could by no means make a grant of them upon any delinquency in her, who was only a feudatary; but that they immediately reverted to him as the proper and natural ſovereign. The vehemence and ardour of the Pope being ſomething abated by this oppoſition, Queen *Jane* became ſo much the more reſolute, in her endeavours to baniſh the Catholick and eſtabliſh the *Hugonot* religion by new laws and proclamations. But the King, not being willing that any act of his ſhould give the *Spaniards* a plauſible pretence to intermeddle in the affairs on this ſide the mountains which ſeparate *France* from *Spain*; or that ſo wide a paſſage ſhould be opened to enter his kingdom, gave orders to the parliaments of *Bourdeaux* and *Tholouſe* to oppoſe the attempts of the Queen of *Navarre*: pretend-

ing that ſhe had no right to make new laws, or introduce another religion into thoſe ſtates, without the conſent and permiſſion of the King of *France*, who was ſovereign lord of them. This indeed was true of *Nerac*, *Oleron*, and the county of *Bigorre*; but not in regard to the principality of *Bearn*, which had been often controverted, and always declared independent upon any one except the King of *Navarre*. But the ſtate of the preſent affairs, and the apprehenſion of the future, was the occaſion of theſe diſputes being revived, which had been ſo long buried and decided, in order to prevent the growing diſorders. Upon which account the King and Queen judged it very neceſſary, when they were viſiting all parts of the kingdom, to touch likewiſe upon thoſe confines, to ſee whether they could alter Queen *Jane* in her opinions; or, if they could not do that, to bring away her ſon *Henry*, firſt Prince of the blood, that he might not be any longer educated in the doctrine of the *Hugonots*, and thereby diſpoſed to afford new protection and ſupport to that faction. Theſe were the reaſons that moved them to undertake this journey: but that the true and ſecret end of it might not be diſcovered by thoſe that they had a deſign upon, they pretended, and endeavoured to make every body believe, that the King was deſirous of making this progreſs, only out of a youthful vanity to ſhew himſelf in all parts of his kingdom, and to take different recreations in different places: and that the Queen conſented to it, out of an ambition of letting the world ſee the magnificence of her government, and a deſire of viſiting her daughter the Queen of *Spain*. With an appearance therefore much different to their inward deſigns, they made large and publick preparations of ſumptuous liveries, of all manner of things for different ſorts of hunting, for comedies, and banquets; with a large train of courtiers for pomp, and to aſſiſt in their diverſions. When every thing was in readineſs, they immediately ſet out in proſecution of their deſigns as ſoon as the ſeaſon would admit, and went through *Brie* and *Champagne* to the city of *Bar*, upon the confines of *Lorrain*; whither the Duke himſelf, with the Ducheſs *Claudia* his wife, ſiſter to the King and daughter to the Queen, came to receive them. There the Queen began to negotiate an interview with the Duke of *Wittemberg*, the chief of the Proteſtant party in *Germany*, by the means of *Raſcalone* and the Duke of *Lorrain's* miniſters: imagining, if ſhe had an opportunity of treating in perſon with him, and the other Princes of the ſame religion, ſhe could artfully draw them into ſuch a confederacy with the crown of *France*, that ſhe ſhould not need to fear any oppoſition from them for the future. But the Duke excuſing himſelf from coming, upon account of his old age and infirmities, ſhe employed other people (though with leſs hopes of ſucceſs) to treat with him and the reſt of the Princes about receiving penſions, and other large emoluments from the King,

1564.

1564. under an honourable name: as ſhe thought they would naturally rather deſire to have certain ſtipends from his Majeſty, than depend upon the uncertain promiſes and vain offers of the *Hugonots*. But theſe propoſals had ſo little effect, that the Duke of *Wittemberg*, *Wolfangus* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, and the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, who inclined to favour the *Hugonots*, more for the common intereſt of their religion than upon any other conſideration, refuſed all penſions from the crown of *France*, and only promiſed, in civil and general terms, not to ſend any aid to the faction of the malecontents, except they were moleſted in their liberty of conſcience. On the contrary, *John William*, one of the Dukes of *Saxony*, and *Charles*, Marquis of *Baden*, either out of jealouſy of the other Princes, or tempted by ſuch advantageous conditions, accepted of ſtipends from the King, and engaged to ſerve him, upon occaſion, with a certain number of men, and to bear arms againſt all his enemies.

From *Bar* the King continued his progreſs till he came to the city of *Lyons*; in which the *Hugonots* had ſo ſtrong a party, that in the laſt war it was one of the firſt that rebelled, and the laſt that returned to its obedience. So that, conſidering the importance of the place, the nearneſs of *Geneva*, and other circumſtances, it was reſolved in the council to build a citadel betwixt the *Rhone* and the *Soane* (two great rivers that run through the town) which might bridle the people, and ſecure the city from the attempts of its neighbours. The foundation of this fortreſs being laid then in the preſence of the King, it was afterwards ſoon finiſhed by the diligence of Monſieur *De Loſſé*, to whom the King had lately given the government of that city, upon the diſcharge of the Count *de Saut*, who had made himſelf obnoxious by favouring the *Hugonot* party. From *Lyons* the King came to *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, which he ordered to be diſmantled, and built a new fortreſs there; that town having always afforded a ſafe retreat to thoſe that were in rebellion. When he arrived at the caſtle of *Rouſſillon*, *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, came thither poſt to meet him: with whom he treated of ſuch things as concerned both ſtates, and ſufficiently informed him of his intentions, and the method by which he deſigned to free himſelf, without noiſe or danger, from the plague and inſolence of the *Calviniſts*: ſo that being fully ſatisfied and determined, by the perſuaſions of the Queen, he promiſed ſuch aſſiſtance as could be ſent from thoſe parts.

From *Rouſſillon* the King went to *Avignon*, a city under the immediate juriſdiction of the Pope; where *Fabricio Serbelloni*, the governor, and the Biſhop of *Fermo*, Vice-Legate, received him with very great ſolemnity; and *Ludovico Antinori*, a *Florentine* and miniſter, much confided in by his Holineſs, being come thither, according to the Queen's deſire, they began to confer about their common intereſts. At this place the King

and

and Queen gave an anſwer to the Pope's embaſſy, which they durſt not truſt to the ambaſſadors: aſſuring him they were ready to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate hereſy, and force an obſervance of the council of *Trent* throughout their dominions; but to prevent the introduction of the *Engliſh*, and the incurſions of the *Lutherans* out of *Germany*, and to accompliſh their deſigns without the danger or tumult of new wars, in which ſo many thouſand ſouls muſt inevitably periſh, and many parts of Chriſtendom be miſerably depopulated, they had reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt caution and ſecreſy to take off the principal abettors and chief ſupports of that party, to reduce the Prince of *Condé* and the brothers of *Chaſtillon* to a ſenſe of their duty, to fortify ſuch cities as were ſuſpected, to put the King's revenues in good order again, to raiſe money, and make all other neceſſary proviſions: which could not be done but by ſlow degrees and length of time, ſo as to accompliſh their deſigns with ſecurity, and avoid thoſe dangers and misfortunes which too much precipitation would plunge them into, without any reaſonable hopes of a proſperous event. The pope, who was naturally averſe to cruelty of all kinds, and eſpecially to the effuſion of chriſtian blood in civil diſſenſions, was eaſily prevailed upon by the ſpecioufneſs of theſe arguments, and conſented that the publication of the council ſhould be deferred till ſuch time as they had brought their deſigns to maturity. 1564.

It was now the beginning of the year 1565, when the King continuing his journey through the province of *Languedoc*, and celebrating carnival with youthful diverſions, arrived at *Bayonne*, ſituated at the bottom of the bay of *Biſcay*, upon the confines of *Stain*, in the place where ancient writers deſcribe the *Aquæ Auguſtæ*. The Queen of *Spain* being come to this city, attended by the Duke of *Alva*, and the Count *De Benevento*, whilſt they ſeemed to attend to nothing but feaſting and tournaments, and pleaſures of all kinds, there was a ſecret conference held, to eſtabliſh a mutual intelligence betwixt the two crowns: in which, their common intereſt being well weighed and conſidered, they all agreed it was highly neceſſary that one King ſhould aid and aſſiſt the other, in quieting his ſtates and purging them of diverſity of religions. But they were not of the ſame opinion concerning the methods that were to be taken in order to arrive at this end, with the moſt ſecurity and expedition. For the Duke of *Alva*, who was a man of a vehement and impetuous diſpoſition, ſaid, that, to prevent thoſe innovations in religion and commotions in the ſtate, they ought to cut off the heads of the poppies, to fiſh for the great fiſhes, and not to trouble themſelves about catching frogs (theſe were his expreſſions) for the winds being once laid, the billows of the common people would eaſily be quieted and calmed of themſelves: he added, that a Prince could not do a thing more unworthy, or prejudicial to himſelf, than to grant a liberty of 1565.

1565. conſcience to the people, ſince it was introducing as many ſorts of religion into a ſtate, as there whims and caprices in the heads of reſtleſs men: and opening a door to let in diſcord and confuſion, which are fatal to all ſtates: ſhewing, by many remarkable examples, that variety of religions had never failed to occaſion inſurrections in ſubjects, and excite them to the blackeſt treaſons and rebellion againſt their ſuperiors: from which he concluded, that as controverſies in religion had always ſerved as an argument and pretence to the practices of malcontents, it was neceſſary to put an end to them in the firſt place, and then proceed by ſevere methods, no matter whether fire or ſword, to eradicate an evil, which by mildneſs and toleration ſtill continued ſpringing up and increaſing in ſo pernicious a manner.

On the other hand, the Queen adapting her counſels to the genius and cuſtoms of the *French* nation, was deſirous, if poſſible, to avoid imbruing their hands in the blood of the Princes of the royal family, or the nobility of the kingdom: and reſerving this for the laſt reſource, had a mind to try all manner of other expedients, firſt to reduce the chiefs of the *Hugonots* to their obedience and into the boſom of the church; being of opinion, that when they were drawn over from that party, they might eaſily, by different methods, take away the fuel that had nouriſhed the civil diſſenſions. She ſaid, ſhe well knew the evils that were derived from a liberty of conſcience, and wiſhed they had been proceeded againſt with ſeverity at the firſt, when they were newly planted, but that it was now too late, when they had taken root and were grown up: that commotions upon account of religion, are generally ſo powerful and violent, that, when they are once ſet on foot, it is neceſſary to diſpenſe with many things, which in other times and circumſtances, could not poſſibly be endured, and to ſteer an oblique and round-about courſe to a port that we cannot arrive at by a direct one; adding, that in matters of government they were to do what they could, if they were not able to do what they would; and that in points of conſcience it was requiſite to proceed with great caution and circumſpection, as they occaſion fires that break out with the utmoſt violence: for which reaſon it was prudent to weaken and damp them by degrees, and extinguiſh them in a ſecret manner before they flamed out and filled every place with ruin and deſolation: ſhe likewiſe put them in mind how narrowly the kingdom of *France* had eſcaped being torn to pieces and diſmembered, by the *Engliſh* and *Germans*, no longer ago than in the very laſt war. Upon which account ſhe thought all means were to be tried to avoid the neceſſity of another. This contrariety of opinions was occaſioned by the difference of circumſtances, cuſtoms, intereſts, and humours of the members that compoſed the council, who delivered their ſentiments according to theſe motives. They all agreed however

however in the end: for both parties aimed at the deſtruction of the *Hugonots* and the eſtabliſhment of obedience. So that at laſt they came to a reſolution that one King ſhould aſſiſt the other, either openly or ſecretly, as ſhould be thought moſt conducive to the execution of ſo important and difficult an enterpriſe: but that both of them ſhould be at liberty to proceed by ſuch methods and counſels as appeared to them moſt proper and ſeaſonable; praying to God that ſeverity and clemency, means ſo different, might nevertheleſs conſpire to the ſame end. 1565.

The interview at *Bayonne* being ended in this manner, and Queen *Iſabel* departed to return into *Spain*, the King, purſuing his journey, went towards the territories of the Queen of *Navarre:* and not being able to prevail upon her to return to the rites of the catholick church, he perſuaded her however to ſuffer the maſs to be reſtored in all places, where it had been prohibited, and that the prieſts ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their former poſſeſſions. He likewiſe invited her to come to court with her children, which ſhe readily complied with: not that ſhe had any great affection to the King's perſon, or liked the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration: but as there was at that time a matrimonial proceſs depending before his majeſty, betwixt the Duke of *Nemours*, and her niece *Frances de Rhoan*, who was of the ſame religion and tenderly loved by her, ſhe thought it neceſſary to be preſent at the diſcuſſion of an affair, in the event of which ſhe was ſo much concerned. To confirm her in this reſolution the more effectually, the King made great ſhew of affection both to her children and herſelf. But having ſeen with his own eyes, the churches deſtroyed through all the provinces of *Aquitaine*, the altars profaned, the images pulled down, the monaſteries burnt and demoliſhed, and even the bones of the dead raked out of their graves and ſcattered about the fields, he conceived ſuch an inward hatred againſt her and all the *Hugonots*, that he never ceaſed to perſecute them afterwards with the greateſt ſeverity, till he had ſatiated the deſire of revenge which this ſpectacle had kindled in his breaſt. Having now finiſhed his progreſs through the kingdom, and being deſirous to remedy the diſorders which they had diſcovered in many places, from the complaints of the people, he ordered an aſſembly of the moſt eminent perſons of the eight parliaments to be ſummoned to meet the year following at *Moulins*, in the province of *Bourbonois*, and there to concert ſuch meaſures as ſhould ſeem moſt expedient to the preſent ſituation of affairs. It was his majeſty's deſign in that illuſtrious aſſembly, to reconcile the houſes of *Guiſe* and *Chaſtillon*, which were ſo bitterly incenſed againſt each other; as their private enmity was of courſe attended by diviſions amongſt the people and diſſenſions in the kingdom. He thought likewiſe it might be poſſible, by theſe means, to draw the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral, to court, and there

1565. there find ſome method of diſſolving their connection with the *Hugonots*, and of diverting them from any future machinations by a preſent certainty: as it would not only make them ſenſible of the benefits of private and publick repoſe, but at the ſame time ſo deprive that party of their authority and protection, that they might eaſily afterwards reſtrain and ſuppreſs them.

But all theſe attempts were in vain. For the Admiral, who had laid down his arms with regret, and *Andelot*, who had conſented to a peace only to ſave himſelf at the ſiege of *Orleans*, were more intent than ever in contriving new ſchemes, and miſtruſted both the profeſſions of the King and the ſeeming ſincerity of the Queen: imagining, at the ſame time, that there never could be a thorough reconciliation betwixt the *Guiſes* and themſelves. And the Prince of *Condé*, always meditating great deſigns, was now ſatiated with the pleaſures of the court: and, deſpiſing a marriage with the widow of *St. Andrew*, as unequal to him in birth, had taken to wife, *Mary*, ſiſter to the Duke *De Longueville*, and became ſtill more ſtrictly united with the lords of *Chaſtillon*. So that what the Queen had been building up with her uſual arts, was thrown down again by the reſolution of the Prince and the ſubtlety of the *Chaſtillons*. There was no leſs diſorder threatened from the diſſenſion that aroſe in the Conſtable's family, which being kindled before, now broke out with greater violence. For *Francis*, Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, his eldeſt ſon, declared himſelf more openly than ever for the lords of *Chaſtillon*, profeſſing an implacable hatred to the *Guiſes*, upon their account; induced thereto by nearneſs of kindred, and a certain inordinate ambition to imitate the Admiral, though with an underſtanding and abilities much inferior. And, on the contrary, *Henry D'Anville*, allied to the Duke of *Aumale* by his wife, who was niece to Madam *Valentine*, and elated by being newly created Marſhal in the room of *Briſac*, out of oppoſition likewiſe to his brother, cloſely adhered to the catholick party and the friendſhip of the Princes of *Lorrain*. By which diſcord they not only divided the intereſt of their family, but greatly embarraſſed their father in his reſolutions; ſeeing that one of them manifeſtly intended to join with the *Hugonot* party, and the other with the Catholicks; in this manner increaſing the publick diſturbances by their private contentions.

An accident happened about the ſame time that ſerved ſtill more to inflame the animoſity of the parties: for the Cardinal of *Lorrain* returning from *Rome*, and offering to enter *Paris* with a guard of armed men, as he had licence to do by a brevet from the King, ſealed by the High Chancellor, and ſubſcribed by the Queen: the Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, who had been made governor of the city upon the death of *Briſac*, firſt rudely forbad his entry, and afterwards thruſt him out of the town in a tu-

multuous

multuous manner, pretending that he did not know the Cardinal had any authority from the King and the council. In this confuſion the Admiral, who was always ready to take any opportunity of exciting freſh diſturbances, and affecting to appear the arbiter and oracle of the kingdom, not only haſted thither with a great attendance, but afterwards went to the parliament, and made a ſpeech to the counſellors (which is a thing that is ſeldom done, except in great neceſſity, by any body but the King himſelf, or by his authority) gravely promiſing them his protection, and not only to quiet the preſent uproar, but entirely deliver them from the impending dangers. Which extraordinary kind of proceeding extremely offended the King and Queen, as it evidently appeared, that theſe people preſumed to counterpoiſe the royal power and authority. But the end which they aimed at, obliged them carefully to diſſemble their diſpleaſure. With theſe ſeeds of diſcord ended the year 1565. 1565.

At the beginning of the next the King and Queen, being really intent, though inwardly much exaſperated, to put an end to the troubles of the kingdom, rather by peaceable meaſures than the violence of war, went to *Moulins*; where thoſe that had been ſummoned were now met, from all parts, at the aſſembly; in which, the irregularities that had been introduced into the ſtate being conſidered, and the grievances of the people laid before them, there was a long and circumſtantial decree made, by the advice of the Chancellor, in which a form of government was preſcribed, with particular inſtructions to the magiſtrates how to proceed in their reſpective offices, in order to remedy thoſe corruptions and impoſitions which uſually give the ſubject juſt cauſe of complaint. The King inſiſting, at the ſame time, upon a union amongſt his ſubjects for the general peace of the kingdom, a reconciliation was propoſed betwixt the houſes of *Guiſe* and *Chaſtillon:* for which purpoſe the Marſhal of *Montmorancy* with the *Chaſtillons* were employed on one ſide, and the Cardinals of *Guiſe* and *Lorrain* on the other: but with ſuch backwardneſs in both parties, that there was but little hope of their being ſincerely reconciled, when there appeared ſo much reſentment and tenacious adherence to private intereſts. For on one part the Duke of *Aumale*, brother to the Cardinals, had abſolutely refuſed to be preſent; and *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, yet in his minority, only came thither to comply with the requeſt of his guardians; but behaved himſelf with ſo much coldneſs and reſerve, that it was plain he had been in a manner forced to it, and that when he came of age he would not forget the death of his father, nor obſerve this agreement, to which he could not, at his years, be in any wiſe obliged. On the other part, the Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, who could not humble himſelf to make ſuch a condeſcenſion, flatly refuſed to pronounce certain words that were dictated by the Queen and council for the ſatisfaction of 1566.

1566. the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; nor would he ever have been prevailed upon to do it, if he had not been compelled by his father, who threatned to disinherit him if he did not: and the *Chastillons* counteracting this seeming agreement by their daily behaviour, were continually calumniating and putting malicious constructions upon the proceedings of the *Guises*. At last, however, they were brought together in the King's presence, where they embraced each other, and had some conversation: but it was the general opinion, and even of the King himself, that the reconciliation would not continue long, which indeed was verified in a few days: for the Duke of *Aumale* arriving at court, peremptorily refused to meet the Admiral, or even to salute him, or shew the least civility to him or any of his family. On the contrary he said, in the Queen's presence, that "whereas the Admiral had laid it to his charge, that he had endeavoured "to have him assassinated, he should take it as a great favour to be shut "up in a chamber with him alone, that he might shew him he had no "occasion for assistance, but that he was able of himself to determine "his own quarrels." The Queen, seeming offended at this, said, that "they might meet in the field:" to which the Duke replied, "That he "came thither with fifty gentlemen, but would return with twenty only; "and if he met with the Admiral, he might, perhaps, let him hear "more." In this fury he was going to leave the court immediately, if the King had not laid his express commands upon him to stay there.

After these new provocations, *Andelot*, seeking all opportunities of raising fresh scandals, publickly accused the Duke of *Aumale* in the council with having employed one Captain *Attin* to murder him: to which the Duke replied, with great resentment, that it was necessary, therefore, to lay hold of *Attin* to come at the truth of this matter, who, having been apprehended and examined, and not found culpable in any respect, was set at liberty again. In this manner both parties were continually persecuting each other, both in words and deeds, mutually accusing their adversaries of going about to raise men, with an intention to disturb the quiet of the kingdom: which, though diligently enquired into, proving but vain surmises, it was at last thought the best way, in order to continue peace, that the chiefs of both parties should withdraw from the court, where new occasions of contention daily arising betwixt them, the things that had been already settled, were again disturbed and disconcerted. For this purpose, and to set an example to the rest, the Constable, with the Marshal *d'Anville* his son, taking publick leave of the King and Queen, went to their castles in the isle of *France*. The other great Lords likewise departed in a few days; the Prince and the Admiral retiring separately to their own houses, and the Duke of *Aumale* to *Anet*, a seat of pleasure, which had been built by Madam *Valentine*, his

his mother-in-law, who died about that time and made him her heir. 1566.
So that there now only remained at court the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who was employed by the King in all affairs of importance, and the Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, whom the Queen deſigned to deprive of his government of *Paris* upon ſome pretence or other; that ſo powerful a city might not be under the command of a perſon ſo much inclined to innovations; and that the chief ſupport of the King's authority, for the preſent, might be put into the hands of a ſubject that abſolutely depended upon him.

At the ſame time the Queen of *Navarre* departed from court in great diſguſt. For ſentence being given by the King againſt *Frances de Rohan*, the contract of marriage betwixt her and the Duke of *Nemours* was diſſolved, though ſubſcribed by them both; and he had engaged to marry *Anne d'Eſte*, widow to the late Duke of *Guiſe*. Upon which Queen *Jane*, after infinite ſollicitations to no purpoſe, in favour of her niece, at laſt hired a perſon to make a proteſt againſt it, in the name of *Frances*, at the very inſtant that the matrimonial ceremony was going to be performed in the preſence of the King: but he being ſeized and impriſoned, the marriage was celebrated. So that finding all her endeavours fruitleſs, and thinking herſelf injured and deſpiſed by every body there, ſhe was ſo provoked that ſhe reſolved to leave them, and retire to *Bearn*, with a reſolution to excite new diſturbances. She pretended, that the reaſon of her going was, that ſhe was not ſuffered to enjoy her religion freely: for the King, being informed by the Pope's Nuncio, and ſeveral others, of the great reſort of all manner of perſons to hear *Hugonot* ſermons at her apartments, and knowing the *Pariſians* were much offended at it, ſent his * Provoſt of the houſhold to ſeize upon her miniſter: and though he was not taken (for that officer had given him ſecret notice to get away) yet ſhe took it as ſo high an affront, that ſhe made heavy complaints to the Queen Mother, and gave it as the motive of her departure. But the reſt of the court was altogether taken up in feaſting and other rejoicings, upon the marriage of the Duke of *Nemours* and Madam *de Guiſe*. Many other weddings, that were celebrated during the carnival, made the time paſs away in perpetual diverſions and entertainments: for the governors of the kingdom well knew, from the nature of the *French*, that pleaſure and diſſipation were the moſt likely to ſoften and allay the fury of the times.

Theſe feſtivities were continued with great magnificence, for the nuptials of Prince *Lewis Gonzaga*, which had been contracted ſome time before, and were now ſolemnized. This ſecond ſon of *Frederick*, Duke of

* Now called *Le Grand Prevôt de l'Hôtel*, who is the ordinary judge of the King's houſhold. His power extends to all unprivileged places within ſix leagues of the court.

1566. *Mantua*, coming to the court of *France* when he was but a youth, ſoon acquired a great reputation (upon the account of his high birth and noble appearance, but much more for the ſprightlineſs of his genius and courteſy of manners) which he had ſo increaſed by giving the cleareſt proofs of his valour, upon all occaſions, that there was not any one who ſtood higher in the King's favour, or the general eſteem of the court.

As moſt of the young cavaliers in *France* pay their court to ſome lady or other, this Prince modeſtly and prudently made his addreſſes to *Henrietta de Cleves*, ſiſter to the Duke of *Nevers*, a lady of a diſcreet and commendable behaviour, though not equal to ſeveral that were then at court either in beauty or fortune, who were much followed and admired by others. This preference ſo gained upon her affections, that after her brother was killed at the battle of *Dreux*, and ſhe, as eldeſt daughter, became heir to the eſtate, ſhe ſhewed an uncommon example of gratitude, and freely declared, ſhe would not chuſe a huſband out of thoſe that had lately pretended to her, but would marry Prince *Gonzaga*, whatever might be the event: as ſhe was ſufficiently convinced he loved her perſon, having been her humble ſervant when ſhe had neither fortune nor friends; whereas all the reſt could not deny but they courted her at preſent for the ſake of her riches. So great a piece of generoſity being highly approved of by the King and Queen, they were inſtantly married, and at this time celebrated their wedding. Immediately after followed the marriage of Prince *Dauphin*, ſon to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who eſpouſed the only daughter and heir of the Marquis *De Meziere*, which was indeed an unequal match in point of birth, but ſhe had a fortune of forty thouſand franks a year. As ſhe had been promiſed before to the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſecond ſon to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, the *Hugonot* faction were in hopes this alliance would create diſcord betwixt the houſes of *Montpenſier* and *Lorrain*. But the Cardinal, and the Duke of *Aumale*, and the reſt of that family, who knew how much it concerned them not to break friendſhip with a Prince of the blood, and one of the richeſt of them too, wiſely diſſembled this affront, conſidering it was not poſſible to prevent a match that was already concluded. After theſe principal ones, there followed many others of leſs note. So that the court ſeemed totally diſſolved in pleaſure and diverſions, whilſt it inwardly cheriſhed the baneful ſeeds of long diſcords and bloody wars.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK IV.

ARGUMENT.

The occaſion of the ſecond civil war. The ſudden riſing of the Hugonots, with an intention to take the King and Queen priſoners, at Monceaux, a palace of pleaſure in Brie; their conſternation, flight, and retreat: firſt to Meaux, and afterwards to Paris. The reſolution of the Hugonots to beſiege that city and famiſh it: for this purpoſe they take the towns about it, burn the mills, march cloſe under the gates, and make themſelves maſters of the bridge at Charenton. The Queen promotes a treaty of agreement, which is ſpun out by both parties, but has no effect. Horſe and foot come to the King from all parts in great nnmbers, with which the Conſtable marches out of the city to oblige the enemy to retire. The battle of St. Dennis enſues, in which the Hugonots are routed and the Conſtable is killed. They march towards

Champagne, to meet the ſuccours ſent them out of Germany. The King makes the Duke of Anjou, his brother, general of the army, in the Conſtable's room. Supplies arrive out of Flanders, ſent by his Catholick Majeſty, and from Piedmont, and ſeveral other places. The Duke of Anjou purſues the Hugonots, with an intention to fight them before they are joined by the Germans: he overtakes them near Chalons: but a battle is prevented by diſſenſions in his council. The Hugonots paſs the Meuſe, and are joined by Prince Caſimir and the other German ſuccours. They return with new courage and force into Champagne. The Queen Mother goes to the army, to remedy the diſorders there. It is determined not to fight the Hugonots, who were grown ſo powerful, but to protract the war. Both armies retire by the ſame rout, but with great caution. This perplexes the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, who could not keep his army long together for want of money. They reſolve to beſiege Chartres, in order to provoke the Catholicks to a battle. The danger that Chartres is in occaſions a new treaty of peace, which is at laſt concluded. The armies are diſbanded; but the Hugonots refuſe to deliver up all the places they were in poſſeſſion of; and the King will neither ſend back the Swiſs, nor the Italians: upon which new differences ariſe. The King, ſeeing the conditions ill performed upon which he promiſed pardon, gives orders to have the Prince of Condé and the Admiral apprehended, who had retired with a good guard to Noyon in Burgundy: upon advice of this, they fly and ſave themſelves in Rochelle, raiſe an army, and make themſelves maſters of Xantoigne, Poictou, and Touraine. The King ſends the Duke of Anjou with all the army againſt them. The two armies draw near to each other at Jaſenëuil, but don't come to an engagement: they march towards Loudun, but the badneſs of the ſeaſon ſtill prevents their fighting. The inclemency of the winter obliges both armies to retire. A great ſickneſs and mortality amongſt them enſues. They take the field again in March. The Hugonots paſs the river Charente, break down the bridges, and block up the paſſages: the Duke of Anjou finds means to paſs the river by a ſtratagem. The battle of Jarnac follows, in which the Prince of Condé is ſlain, and the Hugonots are defeated. The Admiral gets the Prince of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, ſon to him that was killed, to be declared heads of the Hugonot faction. The conduct of the war continues in him, upon the account of their youth. He divides his forces, to defend the towns that belong to his party. The Duke of Anjou purſues his victory, and lays ſiege to Cognac: but finding it ſtrongly defended, he raiſes his camp and takes ſeveral other towns. A new army of Germans comes into France, in favour of the Hugonots, under the command of the Duke of Deux Ponts. He marches towards the Loire: takes La Charité, and there paſſes the river. He dies of a fever, and is ſucceeded in his command by Count Mansfield. The Prince and the Admiral go to meet the Germans. The Duke of Anjou retires into Limoſin,

Limoſin, to avoid being ſurrounded by them. The Hugonots forces join, and follow the King's army. There are ſeveral hot ſkirmiſhes at Rochabeille. The Hugonot's forces are obliged to retire, upon account of the barrenneſs of the country. The Queen Mother comes to the camp: it is reſolved to ſeparate the King's army, and let the enemy's forces dwindle away with time. The army diſbands, and the Duke of Anjou retires to Loches in Touraine.

WHILST things were in this ſituation at court, every other part of the kingdom was harraſſed by various diſturbances and frequent inſurrections. For the *Hugonots*, aſſuming to themſelves a much greater liberty than was granted them by the edict of pacification, endeavoured in many places to extend it to the uttermoſt, by tumults and violence, and without any regard to the magiſtrates. On the other hand, the Catholicks, being deſirous to have the liberty of conſcience that had been granted them, in ſome meaſure limited and reſtrained, tried every way, ſometimes by remonſtrances to the government, and ſometimes by force of arms, to prejudice and moleſt them. So that, in the midſt of peace, the war was kindled up again in every quarter. 1566.

Theſe diſtractions in the provinces not only perplexed the parliaments, which were wholly employed in remedying the diſorders that proceeded from matters of religion, but the whole court, and in the privy council, where all affairs of importance are ultimately determined, there aroſe many obſtinate diſputes betwixt the favourers and protectors of both factions: the Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, and the adherents of the Admiral, labouring to obtain an enlargement, or at leaſt a confirmation, of the liberty granted to the *Hugonots*; and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and much more the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, ſtrenuouſly inſiſting that the Catholicks ſhould be gratified in their demands, and the liberty of the others ſuppreſſed. The conteſts at laſt run ſo high, and the paſſions of the different partiſans were ſo enflamed, when any thing of this kind came to be debated, that it was thought neceſſary to appoint the Duke of *Anjou*, ſecond brother to the King, Preſident of the council, though he was yet but a youth, and to make an order, that nothing relating to religion ſhould be propoſed there, except the King and Queen were preſent. But even this was not ſufficient; for the perſons engaged on both ſides were now ſo accuſtomed to freedom in their words as well as actions, that, laying aſide all reverence due to royal majeſty, they daily became more furious in their diſputes; from whence it plainly appeared, that they were much more inclined to the private intereſts of the factions, than the good of the publick or the peace of the kingdom.

The Queen, however, continued ſteddy to her old maxims, and the King

1566. King ſtill perſiſted in the reſolution he had taken of diſſembling and bearing theſe things with all poſſible patience; and tried to put an end to the preſent diſtractions rather by policy than force or violence. They endeavoured therefore ſo far to appeaſe both parties, by plauſible declarations, ſometimes in favour of one, and ſometimes of the other, that they might not come to a downright rupture; and to heal thoſe wounds by length of time which were yet open and bleeding. Upon this account, the King heaped many favours upon the Admiral, and his dependants and followers, who were more taken notice of than the courtiers themſelves. For the Prince of *Condé* was indulged with ſo abſolute a command in *Picardy*, that, upon expreſſing a diſlike of having that province viſited by the Marſhals of *France*, in their uſual circuit round the frontiers, the King gave the Marſhal *D'Anville* particular orders not to go thither: and upon this conſideration likewiſe, the complaints that were daily made againſt the *Hugonots* were diſregarded, and the remonſtrances of the Catholicks taken no notice of, in order to ſooth theſe diſcords, and, if poſſible, to let them ſubſide of themſelves.

At the ſame time the Conſtable, who now grew very old and infirm, and was deſirous of retiring, begged leave of the King to reſign his office to his ſon *Montmorancy*: which the Queen abſolutely diſliking, upon account of his temper and principles, the King was perſuaded to return for anſwer, that as he had always deſigned to make the Duke of *Anjou*, his brother, lieutenant general, whenever the Conſtable thought of retiring, or could no longer do his duty, there was no occaſion to recommend any body elſe to ſupply his place. But, that he might not diſoblige the Conſtable, nor abſolutely loſe his ſon by this denial, they at laſt admitted *Montmorancy* into the privy council, which he had ſollicited before, but could never obtain it till this time, and gave him thirty thouſand franks beſides, to pay his debts, though money was then exceeding ſcarce. The Conſtable was indeed much mortified at this repulſe, and not at all ſatisfied with the other conſideration; but his reſentment was in ſome meaſure abated, by what happened to the Prince of *Condé*; who, being guided more by ambition than prudence, was ſo inconſiderate, that, without any regard to the *Montmorancies*, his allies, he made open pretenſions to the Conſtable's office himſelf, as ſoon as he heard it was likely to become vacant: which made a denial excuſeable in the King, who, being ſollicited by two ſuch powerful competitors, ſeemed to make choice of his brother to avoid diſobliging either of them: and at the ſame time not only occaſioned an abſolute breach betwixt the Prince and the Conſtable, but in a great meaſure cooled *Montmorancy*, who was before ſo well inclined to favour and promote his intereſts.

The Queen thought to improve this favourable event by a reconcilia-

tion with the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*. For as he was manifeſtly a *Hugenot*, the Pope ſollicited the Queen, by the Biſhop of *Ceneda*, his Nuntio at the court of *France*, to command him to lay aſide the habit of a Cardinal, and quit the eccleſiaſtical preferments that he held. But the Queen deferred it from time to time, upon one pretence or other, and, offering the Cardinal a liberal recompence in temporal revenues and emoluments, endeavoured to accompliſh that by fair means, which could not be done by force. But theſe delays, which ſtill increaſed as the demands from *Rome* grew more peremptory, together with the favour that was ſhewn at court to the Biſhops of *Uſez* and *Valence*, whom the Pope had degraded as hereticks, and many other circumſtances, made *Pius* the fifth, who had lately ſucceeded *Pius* the fourth in the apoſtolick ſee, entertain a very hard opinion of the Queen: which was confirmed by a report, ſpread abroad by her enemies, that ſhe had ſent a gentleman to *Conſtantinople*, on purpoſe to perſuade the Grand Signior to ſend a fleet againſt the *Chriſtians*; that ſo, being obliged to attend to their own ſafety, they might have no leiſure to think of interfering in the affairs of *France*. And though this opinion was not founded upon any reaſon, yet, it being generally believed that there was indeed a gentleman ſent to the Porte, his Holineſs, not very well pleaſed with her other proceedings, was exceedingly offended at this: as were the *Venetians* alſo, who thought ſuch a ſtep not only likely to be attended with great danger to the Chriſtian Princes, but very contrary to what they had reaſon to expect from the Queen, in gratitude for their counſels, and much more for the ſupplies of money with which they had ſo chearfully aſſiſted her in her greateſt extremities. Upon which account the Nuncio made frequent complaints of it at court: and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, by an order from the Senate, demanded and had an audience both of the King and Queen, in which he modeſtly deſired, as the kingdom was now at peace, that the hundred thouſand ducats might be repaid, which were kindly lent by the ſtate for the ſervice of the crown in the late diſturbances: alledging, that as, according to report, the *Turk* was making warlike preparations ſo near them, they had occaſion for their money to arm themſelves for their own ſecurity. 1566.

The Queen, being nettled at theſe rumours, and the ill opinion that was conceived of her, and earneſtly deſiring to preſerve the friendſhip of the Princes that were in alliance with *France*, but eſpecially the Pope and the ſtate of *Venice*, becauſe ſhe had founded great hopes upon their aſſiſtance, thought it neceſſary to ſend the Chevalier *de Seurre* to *Rome*, on purpoſe to clear her of theſe ſuſpicions: which he managed ſo well, by acquainting the Pope with all thoſe reaſons which *Ludovico Antinori* had formerly laid before his predeceſſor, that his Holineſs, though naturally peeviſh

1566. peeviſh and ſcrupulous, was fully ſatisfied and contented. She likewiſe took care to obſerve the ſame ceremony with the *Venetians*, whoſe friendſhip and wiſdom ſhe had always held in great eſteem, having diſpatched one of her gentlemen for that purpoſe, who was to tranſact this affair, in concert with the *French* Ambaſſador that reſided at *Venice:* but he falling ſick upon the road, and afterwards dying at *Milan*, the Ambaſſador took the whole of it upon himſelf; and at an audience which he had of the Doge, in the preſence of the Signiory, commonly called *the College*, ſaid, "That the King his maſter had ſent a gentleman on purpoſe to ſet "things in a right light to the republick, which he was now obliged "himſelf to undertake, as that gentleman had fallen ſick and died at "*Milan:* that his Majeſty commanded him to ſay, that the amity and "affection which King *Francis* his grandfather, and King *Henry* his father, had always borne to the republick were indeed very great, but "that his alone exceeded that of them both, upon account of the great "benefits he had received from their ſtate, and eſpecially the ſupplies "of money which it had ſent him in his greateſt neceſſity: that he would "not only diſcharge the debt, but return the like or greater courteſy: "that a long war had obliged his father to leave him many debts, which "he could very well have paid, and have laid up great ſums in his treaſury, if he had not been prevented by civil diſſenſions in his kingdom: that if they were now over, yet the expence could not at preſent be diminiſhed, as the jealouſies that continued would force him "ſtill to keep up a large army: that the apprehenſion of a war was worſe "than war itſelf, becauſe in one caſe a perſon is obliged to be upon his "guard only in certain places, but in the other he muſt be fortified on "every ſide: not to mention the great ſcarcity that equally afflicted his "kingdom, and the tumults in *Flanders*, which lay ſo near, that common policy neceſſitated him to be at a great expence in making preparations for his own ſecurity: for which reaſons he hoped they would "excuſe him if he did not immediately clear off the whole debt; that "he would inſtantly diſcharge a third part of it, and, if the republick "had occaſion, he would ſoon after not only pay the remainder, but "furniſh them with as much more, ſo that they might look upon that "money as in their own treaſury: that the more his Majeſty grew in "years, the more ſenſible he grew of the friendſhip and affection of "the republick, and the obligations he had to it, both upon his own "account and that of his whole kingdom." To this the Doge made anſwer, "That the King might pay the money at his own convenience, "for it was lent to do him a ſervice."

The Ambaſſador then, continuing his diſcourſe, ſaid, "That the "ſecond thing he had in charge, was concerning a report ſpread abroad, "that

" that his Majeſty had ſollicited the Grand Signior to ſend his fleet againſt 1566.
" the *Chriſtians*, which, it ſeemed, proceeded from a letter written by
" a perſon at *Raguſa*, which was afterwards publiſhed, with additions, by
" the Emperor's miniſters and the *Spaniards* that were in that city: it
" being interpreted by them, that the gentleman, whom the King had
" ſent to *Conſtantinople* the *May* before, was diſpatched for that purpoſe;
" though in reality the occaſion of ſending him was to ſollicit the releaſe
" of ſome Provençal ſlaves; for the gentleman who reſided there be-
" fore having petitioned to be recalled, the King had granted his re-
" queſt, and eſtabliſhed this perſon in his place, who was deſirous of
" the employment: that his Majeſty would continue his ancient correſ-
" pondence with the *Turks* juſt upon the ſame terms that his father and
" grandfather had done before him, without making any alteration in
" them whatſoever; that if he had any affairs to tranſact with the *Turk*,
" or a new treaty to make with any Prince upon earth, he would never
" do it without the privity, advice, and conſent of the Republick: for
" he ſo well knew the amity and good diſpoſition of that ſtate to him,
" and its prudence and wiſdom to be ſuch, as would never approve of any
" thing that ſhould not be beneficial to *France* and all Chriſtendom. That
" if the Republick deſigned to continue upon the ſame footing with the
" *Turk* it had done hitherto, he would do the ſame; and if it changed
" its reſolution, he would follow their example; as he was determined
" never to ſeparate himſelf from it, but always concur with it in every
" thing that concerned their common intereſts."

The Senate was very well contented with ſo ample a declaration, and deſired the Ambaſſador to inform the King and Queen of their ſatisfaction in this matter: ſo that all miſunderſtandings being ſet right at *Rome* and *Venice*, and the correſpondence renewed with both thoſe ſtates, their whole care and attention were now directed to the particular affairs of the kingdom.

But all the pains and endeavours that were uſed to ſoften the Prince, and gain the *Chaſtillons*, were in vain: he could not alter his natural diſpoſition, nor would they by any means truſt to the artifices of the court; and the *Hugonots* inſiſting upon liberty of conſcience, in the ample manner that was ſpecified in the edict of *January*, could not contain themſelves within the limits of the articles agreed upon at the pacification: ſo that, following the example of the Catholicks, who had ſollicited the publication of the council of *Trent*, by a joint embaſſy from the Pope and other Princes; they likewiſe prevailed upon the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* to ſend an embaſſy of ſome eminent perſons, who ſhould complain, that thoſe of their religion were ill treated in *France*, and deſire the King, out

1566. of regard to thoſe Princes and for the quiet of the kingdom, to grant the *Hugonots* full liberty to aſſemble in all places.

This embaſſy, ſent by the Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Wittemberg*, the Duke of *Deux-ponts*, one of the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Pomerania*, and the Marquis of *Baden*, was thought by many to be at the expence of the *Hugonots*; for the intereſts of thoſe Princes did not by any means make it neceſſary at that particular time. However that might be, the Ambaſſadors, having firſt conferred with the Admiral and the reſt of that faction, went afterwards to the King, who was returned to *Paris*; and being admitted to an audience, they, in a tedious and formal diſcourſe, ſet forth the good-will of their Princes, and their inclinations to continue their ancient friendſhip with the crown of *France*: after which preamble, they firſt inſiſted upon the obſervation of the edict of pacification, and afterwards, by little and little, expreſſing themſelves more at large, demanded that the miniſters of the reformed religion might preach both in *Paris* and in all parts of the kingdom, and that the people might go freely, in what numbers they pleaſed, to hear them.

The King, who was naturally very cholerick, and of a blunt behaviour, from his being ſo much uſed to the camp, being now of an age to diſtinguiſh good from evil, was exceedingly offended before, as he knew they had firſt treated with others ſince they came into the kingdom: but afterwards, when he heard their demands, he was ſo enraged, that he could hardly give them this ſhort anſwer, "That he ſhould preſerve a friend-"ſhip and eſteem for thoſe Princes ſo long as they did not interpoſe in "the affairs of his kingdom, as he did not offer to meddle in their ſtates:" and, after he had compoſed himſelf a little, ſaid, with manifeſt ſigns of diſpleaſure, "That he might with equal reaſon ſollicit their Princes to "ſuffer the Catholicks to ſay maſs and preach in their cities and towns;" and with theſe words finally diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors. However, that they might not be altogether diſſatisfied, and return with diſguſt to their maſters, the Queen not only treated them with great reſpect, but ordered them large and magnificent preſents, to make them ſome ſort of amends for the liberty that her ſon had taken with them.

But the King's anger was inflamed to the higheſt degree by the behaviour of the Admiral, who came to court at this juncture; and, being either afraid of loſing credit with his party, or aſhamed not to make his appearance, whilſt foreign Princes were ſolliciting the intereſts of the *Hugonots*, went into the King's apartment the next morning, and happening to ſee there a proclamation, which had been iſſued a little before, "That none but thoſe of the family ſhould be preſent at the preachings "that were tolerated in private houſes," he took occaſion to complain bitterly of it, and ſaid, "In this manner we are deprived of the liberty

"of

" of admitting a friend, that comes by chance on a viſit, to hear the word " of God: whilſt, on the other ſide, the Catholicks are permitted to aſ- " ſemble whereſoever they pleaſe, without preſcribing their number, " manner, or any other circumſtance of their meetings." The Conſtable, being preſent, ſharply rebuked his nephew for this ſpeech, and anſwered, " That it was not at all a parallel caſe; for the King did not " grant toleration to the Catholicks, but that their religion was profeſſed " by himſelf, and derived to him by long ſucceſſion from his anceſtors: " whereas the exerciſe of the new religion was an act of ſpecial favour " in his Majeſty, and lay entirely in his own breaſt to aſcertain the time, " number, or place, which he was pleaſed, or ſhould be pleaſed, to give " them leave to aſſemble in." The King added, in a very angry manner, " At firſt you was contented with a little liberty, now you want an " equal one with us, and in a ſhort time we ſuppoſe you will endeavour " to ingroſs the whole, and drive us out of our kingdom." The Admiral made no reply, but was much diſturbed in his countenance; and the King went in a great heat to the Queen Mother's apartment, where he ſpoke of it in terms of the higheſt reſentment, and ſaid, in the preſence of the Chancellor, " That he much approved of the Duke of *Alva's* opi- " nion, that theſe heads were too high in the ſtate; that all arts and " gentle proceedings were thrown away upon ſuch experienced prac- " titioners, and therefore it was neceſſary to have recourſe to rigour and " compulſion." And though the Queen endeavoured to pacify him, he was from that time ever afterwards ſo fixed in his reſolution, that it was not poſſible by any means to alter it. 1566.

Something or other happened every day to increaſe the King's diſpleaſure; for the Queen of *Navarre*, ſhewing her reſentment upon all occaſions, had raiſed an inſurrection a little before at *Pamiers*, a city in the county of *Foix*; where the *Hugonots*, being offended at a proceſſion on the feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*, took to their arms, and falling upon thoſe that were unarmed, made a great ſlaughter amongſt the eccleſiaſticks, and with the ſame fury plundered and burnt their houſes. By her inſtigation likewiſe, and that of the heads of their party, ſtrange tumults were raiſed at *Montauban*, *Cahors*, *Rodez*, *Perigueux*, *Valence*, and other places in *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné:* in which, though there was no great miſchief done, nor much blood ſhed, yet either the Catholicks or the *Hugonots* were daily driven out of their countries by turns, according as one party or the other was predominant in the place, to the infinite concern and diſquiet of the King and Queen, who were, for many days, in great apprehenſion of a revolt in *Lyons*; where the *Hugonots* raiſed ſuch commotions, and were ſo increaſed by the great numbers of people that fled thither upon the account of religion, from all parts, but eſpecially from

1566. *Savoy*, that the city had certainly fallen into the hands of that party, if *René de Birague*, Preſident, afterwards Chancellor, and at laſt Cardinal, had not, with great courage and addreſs, ſuppreſſed thoſe tumults. After this, though the firſt fury was over, yet the factions did not ceaſe to perſecute each other continually: the *Hugonots* in particular were accuſed with having wrought a mine of a thouſand paces long under the bulwarks, with a deſign to ſet fire to it, and ſurpriſe the city, whilſt the people were in theſe diſtractions: and though they excuſed themſelves, by ſhewing that the cave found underground was the remains of an ancient aqueduct, yet the King, not being able to get the better of his ſuſpicions, ordered the Preſident to reinforce the garriſon, and uſe all poſſible means to ſecure the town; who took ſo much care, and proceeded with ſuch rigour, to prevent the aſſemblies of the *Hugonots*, that they were exceedingly enraged, and made loud complaints of it in all parts.

They were no leſs diffident of *Avignon*, which the Kings of *France* have ever defended and protected with as much care as their own dominions, out of regard to the common intereſts of both ſovereigns. For all thoſe that diſſented from the *Roman* Catholick faith being expelled that city, by an order from the Pope, retired to the adjacent places in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, where they ſtill kept up a correſpondence in the town, with a view to ſeize upon it at a proper opportunity: and their deſign was ſo far advanced, that they had already intelligence how to make themſelves maſters of one of the gates: but this being diſcovered, by the vigilance of the citizens, the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, who was governor, made ſuch diligent ſearch after the accomplices, that he apprehended ſome of them, and immediately diſpatched *Scipio Vimercato* to give an account of it to the King, who ſent to the Count *De Tende*, Governor of *Provence*, to Monſieur *De Gordes*, and the Viſcount *De Joyeuſe*, one of them Lieutenant of *Dauphine*, the other of *Languedoc*, with poſitive orders to furniſh ſuch forces as were neceſſary for the ſecuring of it: by which means the attempt of the *Hugonots* proved vain in the end. But they were ſo far from being daunted at the ill ſucceſs of this undertaking, that they were ſtill ready to lay hold of any new opportunity, and had likewiſe, at the ſame time, formed a deſign upon *Narbonne*. So that their practices kept all the provinces and fortreſſes of the kingdom in continual apprehenſion: but particularly the King and Queen, who ſeeing the fire kindled in ſo many parts, had great reaſon to fear, that it would at laſt burſt out with greater fury in ſome place or other, and make dreadful havock and deſolation.

The *Hugonots* were no leſs daring with their pens than their ſwords; for about this time a miniſter, who was born at *Orleans*, not only went about preaching in a ſeditious manner againſt the King's authority, but publiſhed

published a book also, in which he asserted, that the people of *France* were no longer under any obligation to obey the King, because he was turned idolater; for which reason he affirmed it was lawful to kill him. From this impious and diabolical seed, that pernicious doctrine afterwards sprung up, at different times, and in other persons, which, with a horrible perversion of all human and divine laws, taught men, under a pretence of piety and religion, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their lawful sovereigns, who were appointed to rule over them by God, as his vicegerents. And it is not improbable that it was owing to this doctrine, which was wonderfully relished by them, as agreeable to their designs, that the Admiral, and others of his party, had entered into a plot, not only against the Queen Mother, but even against the person of the King himself, as it was reported, whether truly or falsely is not certain: he was accused, however, by a gentleman, who, being imprisoned for another great offence, was in hopes of obtaining his pardon by discovering that he, and two other gentlemen, were seduced and suborned, by promises of a reward from the Admiral, to kill the King when they could find a convenient opportunity: and though there was but little credit given at first to what he said, yet, being confronted with those whom he named as his accomplices, he so confounded and silenced them, with unexpected questions, that it raised a violent suspicion in the King. But as there was not proof sufficient to verify so grievous an accusation, the matter was passed over in silence, and the gentleman condemned to die for his other offences. 1566.

This suspicion was increased by another circumstance; for the Queen Mother, going out of her apartment one morning to mass, found a long letter upon the ground, directed to herself, in which she was threatened, if she did not alter her behaviour, and suffer those of the reformed religion to enjoy full liberty of conscience, to be murdered, as the Duke of *Guise* was formerly, and *Maynard*, President of the parliament of *Paris*, who was shot at noon day by a person that was never discovered, for having passed a severe vote against the *Hugonots*, in the beginning of the tumults about religion. Upon which account she was exhorted to beware of the wrath of God, and the attempts of desperate men.

All these things, and others of the same sort, which happened every day, exceedingly incensed and exasperated the King, who, as he grew in years, still conceived a more inveterate hatred against those that so obstinately opposed his will: so that, the counsel which the Duke of *Alva* had given, being very conformable to his own disposition, and the *Hugonots* never ceasing to offend and provoke him, he had frequent and secret consultations with his mother about an immediate and efficacious remedy for this evil. The Queen seemed to be in doubt which course to take, but rather inclined to different measures. So did the Chancellor

1566. *De l'Hoſpital*, both of them averſe to dangerous and violent proceedings, as highly diſagreeable to the diſpoſition of the *French*: for which reaſon they jointly and ſeparately adviſed and intreated the King to be patient, and diſſemble his reſentment. Even the Cardinal of *Lorrain* himſelf, with his brothers and nephews, though they were not a little pleaſed to ſee ſuch a ſpirit raiſed in him, could not help hinting, that they wiſhed he would wait till a more proper opportunity occurred of exerting it. But there was no end of the complaints of the people, nor of the jealouſies and diſturbances that were continually fomented by the chiefs of the *Hugonots*: all places abounded with lamentable and bloody diſſenſions. The Prince and the Admiral, ſometimes left the court, and ſometimes returned, but always with new remonſtrances and pretenſions, which gave great occaſion both of ſuſpicion and offence: and, the King being now become furious and determined, it was at laſt reſolved to make uſe of force as well as policy, and to curb the exceſſive licentiouſneſs of that faction. It happened that the King of *Spain* was going at that time to ſend the Duke of *Alva* governor into *Flanders*, to reſtrain the inſolence of a people, that, under the pretence of religion, but really out of hatred to the *Spaniſh* government, had at once withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to the Catholick church, and the temporal juriſdiction. The King therefore took this opportunity of renewing the treaty of *Bayonne* with his Catholick Majeſty, in conſequence of which, it was agreed, by conſent of both Princes, that they ſhould aſſiſt each other in endeavouring to ſuppreſs the principal incendiaries of rebellion in their ſeveral dominions.

The Duke of *Alva* marched accordingly with a great army towards the *Low Countries*, which in many parts border upon *France*. This furniſhed the King and Queen with a ſufficient pretence to arm; for, pretending to be under great apprehenſions of the *Spaniards*, they immediately gave orders to hire a conſiderable number of *Swiſs*, commanded all the provinces to have their forces in readineſs, levied ſoldiers in *Lyonnois*, under the the colour of ſending ſome companies of *French* infantry into the ſtates beyond the mountains, raiſed money in ſeveral parts, contracted with certain *Italian* merchants to advance them eight hundred thouſand crowns; being now fully determined to employ all theſe means to humble and reſtrain thoſe inſolent ſpirits, who, they were certain, from repeated proofs, would never continue in peace, nor ſuffer the kingdom to be at reſt.

But the very ſame reaſons that obliged the King to take this reſolution, likewiſe obliged the chiefs of the *Hugonots* to be vigilant for their own preſervation. They were convinced of the King's averſion to them, by many inſtances; that the Queen, being reconciled to the Pope, had deceived them in pretending to favour their party; that the Princes of *Lorrain* had all the

the power at court; in a word, that all the measures of the government manifestly tended to their suppression: so that, if the turbulency of their dispositions only occasioned them to take up arms before, they now thought themselves under an unavoidable necessity to do so. And though the march of the Duke of *Alva* afforded them a plausible excuse for such a proceeding, yet they saw, quite contrary to what was reported, that the King and Queen Mother, even against the advice of the High Chancellor, were resolved not only to furnish the *Spaniards* with victuals, and other conveniencies, in their passage through some part of *France* into *Flanders*, but also to send provisions into *Bresse* and *Savoy*, which were in great want of them, and could not otherwise support such a number of forces as were to march that way. Besides this, they had advice that the Count *De Brissac*, colonel of the *French* infantry beyond the mountains, had raised five companies of foot, every one consisting of two hundred men; and though it was given out that he was to go into the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, to secure the fortresses in that state, yet he left the greatest part of them at *Lyons*, and the rest staid, upon various pretences, in *Dauphiné*, as places suspected to be at the devotion of the *Hugonots*. And to be at a certainty in this matter, they perswaded *Andelot*, as General of the foot, to ask for the command of those levies, which was flatly denied him. They observed, that no occasion was omitted of restraining liberty of conscience, and that the most insignificant of their actions were more unfavourably interpreted than all the injuries that were done them by the Catholicks. They remembered the repulse of *Montmorancy*, when he sollicited the office of Constable, only because he was inclined to favour them: and that, when the Marquis *D'Elbeuf*, General of the gallies, died, his command was immediately given to the Baron *De la Garde*; that Monsieur *Maru*, *Montmorency's* brother, a man who had spent all his life in the sea service, but of the same principles with his brother, might not have time to apply for it. They took notice likewise, that when the Marshal *De Bourdillon* died, Monsieur *Gonnor*, Brother to the deceased Marshal *De Brissac*, was put into his place the very same night, to hinder the pretensions of *Andelot* and *May*, who had a promise of it.

1566.

All these things being considered, they apprehended that the King of *France* kept up a secret correspondence with his Catholick Majesty, in order to chastise them for their late behaviour, and oblige them to conform to the Catholick religion. And though the King had sent the Viscount *De Joyeuse* to besiege *Pamiers*, a town that had openly revolted, and was abandoned by the rebels (who immediately fled, upon the first sight of the cannon, to save themselves in the mountains) yet, by the advice of his mother, he still made a show of great regard to the authority of the *Hugonot* Lords, excusing and palliating their former proceedings; and,

1566. and, to keep them in their duty till the arrival of the *Swiſs* and the other forces were got together, continued a ſeeming affection to the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, aſſuring them, it was his deſire that they ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience, according to the articles of pacification, and left no other artifice unpractiſed that might in any wiſe conduce to amuſe and lull them aſleep. The Queen Mother acted in the ſame manner; and, being aware that the ſubtileſt and moſt penetrating of the *Hugonots* had their eyes chiefly upon her, ſhe endeavoured to conceal her ſecret deſigns with the moſt profound diſſimulation, and to take away the ſuſpicions that any haſty action or inconſiderate ſpeech of the King's might have occaſioned in them. For which purpoſe ſhe took the advantage of the common report, that King *Philip* had reſolved to go in perſon into *Flanders*, and, whilſt ſhe induſtriouſly ſpread it abroad, with many additional circumſtances, ſeemed to be very anxious herſelf, and apprehenſive that this journey of his was with ſome farther view than merely to ſuppreſs the *Guex* *, for which the forces of the Duke of *Alva* were more than ſufficient: ſo that by this appearance of concern and perplexity ſhe made moſt people indeed believe, that all theſe preparations of men and money were only upon that account.

To gain the more credit to theſe appearances, ſeveral of the Lords were ſent for to court, where they held a ſort of an aſſembly, at which many of the *Hugonots* were preſent, and entered into a conſultation, not only how to defend the frontiers, but to make an offenſive war upon the *Spaniards*, if they found his Catholick Majeſty came with any ſiniſter intention.

It was likewiſe reſolved, by common advice, to ſend young *L'Aubeſpine*, the Secretary, into *Spain*, who, it was pretended, went for no other purpoſe but either to diſſuade the King from coming in perſon, or to penetrate into the end and deſign of his journey, but in reality to confirm the former agreement. To carry on this ſcene of diſſimulation, the Queen likewiſe immediately diſpatched father *Hugo*, a *Franciſcan* friar, to the ſame court, who having communicated the intention of theſe proceedings to his Catholick Majeſty, it was ſo managed, that, to heighten the ſuſpicions in *France*, his Majeſty ſhould receive *L'Aubeſpine* with great coolneſs, and not only delay admitting him to an audience, but ſeem to make ſmall account of him, and in all other circumſtances ſhew very little confidence or ſatisfaction in the proceedings of either the King or Queen Mother; who, on the other hand, never ceaſed making publick complaints of the *Spaniards*, pretending they would very ſoon declare war againſt them. All which was ſo well diſſembled, that not only common people, and thoſe that were not converſant in affairs, but even

* *Hugonots.*

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the Pope himſelf believed them in earneſt, and ordered his Nuncio to aſſure the Queen in the moſt ſolemn manner, that his Catholick Majeſty intended nothing at all againſt the King her ſon, and therefore it was unneceſſary to make ſuch preparations, or raiſe ſo great a number of ſoldiers, who, if they were marched to the confines of both kingdoms, might occaſion ſome diſturbance that was not thought of before. The Queen anſwered the Nuncio in artful and ambiguous terms, neither denying nor affirming that ſhe had any deſign of war; but ſaid ſhe could not help entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his Catholick Majeſty's intentions; and complained, that he had by no means anſwered the confidence ſhe had repoſed in his integrity, and the care ſhe had taken that the inſurrections in *France* might not foment the rebellion amongſt his own ſubjects; declaring, however, at the ſame time, that the King her ſon would not reſolve upon a war, except he was neceſſitated and provoked firſt by the *Spaniards*. This indeterminate manner of expreſſing herſelf rather increaſed his doubts than gave him any inſight into her intentions. 1566.

The Pope was not the only one that was impoſed upon by her diſſimulation; for the Prince of *Condé*, who was of a diſpoſition apt enough to receive any new impreſſions, adviſed the King to take this occaſion of declaring war againſt the *Spaniards*, offering to raiſe him a great number of men of the *Hugonot* faction: which ſerved only to exaſperate the King, who was not well pleaſed that any body ſhould preſume to have greater credit and authority than himſelf in his own kingdom, and over his own ſubjects: and though the Queen and the Catholick Lords were perpetually exhorting him to diſſemble his reſentment, yet he could not forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the Prince, and reproving him in private; though he afterwards excuſed himſelf to the Queen, by ſaying, that he treated him in that manner on purpoſe to make him deſiſt from his pretenſions to the office of Conſtable, which he ſtill ſollicited, and expected to obtain. But the Prince at laſt aſking the King for it himſelf, the Duke of *Anjou*, who had been inſtructed beforehand by his mother how to behave on that occaſion, immediately replied, in a diſdainful manner, and without waiting for the King's anſwer, "That his Majeſty "having promiſed to make him his Lieutenant-General, he was deter-"mined not to ſuffer any other perſon to pretend to the command of the "army but himſelf." The Prince, being mortified at this repulſe, ſoon after left the court. The Admiral and *Andelot* did the ſame, but in much greater diſguſt: for the Colonels *Briſac* and *Strozzi*, having refuſed to ſerve under *Andelot* as General of the *French* infantry, the council, out of hatred to him, determined it, though contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, in their favour.

The Queen, however, continuing her uſual artifices, ſtill endeavoured

1566. to amuſe the *Hugonots* with much ſhew of kindneſs and reſpect, often expreſſing her diffidence of *Spain*, her ſuſpicion of the Duke of *Alva*, and ſometimes introducing the affairs of *Scotland*, where there were then commotions of great conſequence, at which ſhe ſeemed to be much concerned, upon account of the good underſtanding that had ever been kept up with that crown. She likewiſe pretended to miſtruſt ſome deſign in the *Engliſh*, as the court of *France* had refuſed to reſtore *Calais* at the inſtance of Queen *Elizabeth:* and made uſe of many other ſuch arts to divert the attention of the *Hugonots* and lay their ſuſpicions aſleep. But as it is a difficult matter to deceive thoſe that are full of jealouſy, and narrowly obſerve every little circumſtance, the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral, being conſcious of their own guilt, and not at all confiding in the profeſſions of the court, but calling to mind paſt occurrences, and maturely conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs, reſolved to be beforehand with their enemies, and take the advantage of being firſt in arms.

1567. For which purpoſe, upon the arrival of ſix thouſand *Swiſs* in the iſle of *France*, at the beginning of the ſummer 1567, under the conduct of Colonel *Fifer*, a man of high reputation in his own country, the chiefs of the *Hugonots* being come to *Vallery*, informed their adherents they had ſecret intelligence, from a perſon of very great diſtinction at court, by which they were adviſed to be upon their guard: for that it was the intention of the government to ſeize upon the Prince and Admiral, with a deſign to keep the former in perpetual impriſonment, and immediately put the latter to death, and then, by the aſſiſtance of the *Swiſs* and other forces, to throw garriſons on a ſudden into all thoſe cities which they thought inclinable to the reformed religion, and not only revoke the edict of pacification, but prohibit a liberty of conſcience in all parts of the kingdom.

This occaſioned variety of opinions amongſt them at firſt; for ſome gave no credit to the intelligence, others were diffident of their own ſtrength, and moſt of them very averſe to a war. So that they left *Vallery* with a reſolution not to proceed any further till they were better aſſured of the truth of their information. But the *Swiſs* being now come into the iſle of *France*, though it was ſaid at firſt they ſhould be quartered upon the confines of *Flanders*, and the Cardinal *De St. Croix* arrived at court from his biſhoprick of *Arles*, who, the *Hugonots* ſuſpected, came as Legate from the Pope, by the King's conſent, to enforce the obſervation of the council of *Trent*, the chiefs of that faction aſſembled again at *Chaſtillon*; where the Prince, the Admiral, and *Andelot* perſuaded them to take up arms without any further delay: which being at laſt reſolved upon, though with ſome oppoſition, they immediately entered into a conſultation about proper means to carry on the war.

Some

Some thought it beſt to make themſelves maſters of as many towns and fortreſſes as they could in all parts of the kingdom, in order to divide the King's forces. Others, from the example of the laſt war, thought this would not only be very difficult but of no ſervice, and were of opinion, that it would be better firſt to get poſſeſſion of two or three places at a moderate diſtance from each other, where their forces might aſſemble, and then come to an engagement as ſoon as poſſible, ſince they could not expect to bring their affairs to a proſperous concluſion without ſome great and deciſive victory. 1567.

But the Admiral, after having long and maturely weighed theſe opinions, ſeemed to place all his hope in expedition and prevention, and propoſed a more deſperate, indeed, but far more ſpeedy method; which was, to make a ſudden and unexpected attempt to ſeize upon the perſons of the King and Queen, who, either imagining they had lulled the *Hugonots* into a ſtupid ſecurity by their artifices, or that they could not ſo ſoon and readily bring their forces together, then paſſed their time, without any apprehenſion of preſent danger, at *Monceaux*, a palace of the Queen's, and ſome other places of recreation in *Brie*, where they might eaſily be ſurpriſed and carried away. He repreſented to them, that by this ſudden change of affairs they ſhould gain that power, that appearance of reaſon, and thoſe very forces that their enemies had in the laſt war, and by which they had at laſt got the better of them; and concluded with ſaying, that though the King and Queen, for their ſecurity, kept the *Swiſs* in the ſame province where they themſelves reſided, and in places not far from court, yet if they came ſuddenly upon them, they could not receive any aſſiſtance in time; ſo that when the King was taken they might immediately attack the *Swiſs*, who being in ſeparate quarters, might eaſily be defeated, and then there would be no body of men together in any part of the kingdom that was able to oppoſe them, or prevent the progreſs of their arms. All the reſt exceedingly applauded this ſcheme; ſo that without further diſpute they agreed to meet armed, with as many horſe as they could raiſe, on the 27th of *September*; and appointed *Roſoy*, a town in the province of *Brie*, very near *Monceaux*, where the court reſided, for their general rendezvous.

Many have reported, and ſome who were taken at ſeveral times in *Gaſcony* by Monſieur *Montluc*, and put to torture, confeſſed, that the chief deſign of this enterpriſe was to kill the King, the Queen Mother, and all her other children, that the crown might devolve upon the Prince of *Condé*; but their intention was not generally believed to be ſo wicked and barbarous.

Whilſt the *Hugonots* were making preparations, and getting their confederates and dependants together in ſeveral parts, they conducted their

1567. enterprise with the utmost secrecy: but when they began to move towards the place appointed, the Queen had intelligence of it, though very late, and just upon the point of execution. For as she never imagined the *Hugonots* could join so soon, or with such privacy, or occasion any insurrection that she should not have notice of long before, and thought herself secure, upon the account of the *Swiss* who lay so near, she was at this time surprised with danger when she least expected it, having trusted too much, perhaps, to the artifices she had made use of to deceive them. However, being not at all dismayed at so imminent a danger, and knowing her preservation entirely depended upon expedition, as soon as ever she received this news she immediately took horse, with her son and very few attendants, and leaving all their train and equipage behind, rode with great haste to *Meaux*, which was the neareſt town, not having time to reach any place that was stronger or better defended. From thence they dispatched one messenger after another for the *Swisses*, who quartered but a few leagues off, in the same province, and the Marshal of *Montmorancy* was sent to the *Hugonots*, in the King's name, to demand the reason of their taking arms.

Montmorancy, as has been said before, favoured the Prince's and Admiral's faction; but the slowness of his disposition, the respect he bore to his father, together with his natural modesty, made him still continue with the Catholick party: for which reason the Queen thought him a proper person to be employed upon this occasion, as it was her design to amuse the *Hugonot* forces till the *Swiss* could come up. And it had its intended effect; for meeting the Prince and the Admiral upon the road, whilst he informed himself of the motives of this rising, and endeavoured to dissuade them from the violence they intended to the King's person; and whilst they were consulting and debating, and could not agree what answer to return, there was so much time spent, that the *Swiss*, who had immediately set out upon the first order, and marched with the utmost expedition, arrived at the place where the King was, and the *Hugonots* lost the opportunity of accomplishing so great a design.

Upon this, as it was apprehended that the enemy would be there also in a few hours, the members of the Privy Council were in doubt whether they should continue in the town and suffer a siege, or endeavour to retreat to *Paris*, which was ten leagues off, and hazard an engagement with the enemy upon the road. The Constable, taking it for granted that the *Hugonots* would certainly attack them in their march, and thought it very imprudent to run the risque of a battle in such an open country, as they had but few horse, advised them by all means not to expose the persons of the King and Queen to so evident and certain a danger.

The

The Duke of *Nemours*, on the other hand, thought it not only dis- 1567.
honourable, but much more dangerous alſo, to ſtand a ſiege in a ſmall town that had no fortifications but an old ruinous wall, without any proviſions or military ſtores. This contrariety of opinions kept them long in ſuſpence, and the Conſtable's advice would have prevailed at laſt, if Colonel *Fifer*, who deſired to be introduced into the King's preſence whilſt he was in council, had not humbly and earneſtly exhorted his Majeſty not to ſuffer himſelf to be beſieged in ſo paultry a place by a pack of rebels, but that he would be pleaſed to truſt his perſon, and that of the Queen his mother, to the courage and fidelity of the *Swiſs*, who, being ſix thouſand ſtrong, would open a way for him through any army of his enemies, how numerous ſoever, with the point of their pikes. This ſpeech being ſeconded by the urgent intreaties of the *Swiſs* Captains, who waited at the door of the council chamber, the Queen got up, and graciouſly commending their valour and generoſity, ordered them to refreſh themſelves the remainder of the night, for in the morning ſhe would freely commit the majeſty and welfare of the crown of *France* to the bravery of their arms: at which reſolution the air reſounded with the ſhouts of the *Swiſs*, who immediately went to prepare themſelves for the next day, whilſt the Lords of the court uſed all poſſible diligence to put the archers of the King's guard and their own attendants in good order.

A little after midnight the *Swiſs* marched, with their drums beating, about a mile out of the town, to draw up: the King likewiſe and the whole court, taking a nearer road, came to the ſame place at day-break, where the *Swiſs*, having received his Majeſty and the Queen, with the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, and all the Ladies of the court, into the midſt of their battallion, began their march with ſo much ſpirit and bravery, that a more remarkable ſpectacle had not been ſeen in *France* for many years.

The Duke of *Nemours* went before with the horſe of the King's guard, and the Conſtable followed the battallion with the gentlemen of the court. They had not proceeded in this order above two miles, when they ſaw ſome troops of the *Hugonots* horſe advancing pretty faſt to attack them. Upon which the *Swiſs* cloſed their ranks, and prepared to receive them upon their pikes, with ſuch undaunted courage, that the Prince and the Admiral being come up to the rear, with a party of ſix hundred horſe, wheeled about and durſt not charge their battallion, which ſtood very firm and compact, whilſt the men ſhook their pikes with great ardour, and ſeemed not at all to regard the fury of the horſe. But the Count *De la Rochfoucaut* with a troop of three hundred horſe, and *Andelot* with another of two hundred, having joined the *Hugonots*, they furiouſly returned to attack them in the rear. At the ſame time the *Swiſs* faced

about

1567. about with wonderful dexterity, and the King courageouſly ſpurred on his horſe to the front of the battle, being followed by the chief Lords of the court, who for the moſt part had no other weapons but their ſwords, few of them having had time to provide themſelves either with piſtols, or armour of any kind, fit for ſuch an occaſion. The *Hugonots* fired ſome ſhot as if they had a mind to have come to an engagement, but ſeeing the reſolution of the *Swiſs*, they wheeled off again and kept at a diſtance. Thus ſometimes advancing and ſometimes halting to receive the enemy, who followed them in the rear ſeven leagues together, they kept on their march with admirable ſteddineſs, till the *Hugonot* commanders, being wearied out, and finding they could gain no advantage, partly through the bravery of the *Swiſs*, partly becauſe all their forces did not arrive ſoon enough at the place appointed, left off their purſuit, as the night drew on, and retired to quarter themſelves in the neighbouring villages. When the Catholick Lords were informed of this, they reſolved that the King and Queen ſhould leave the Conſtable and the Duke of *Nemours* with the *Swiſs* and go on towards *Paris*, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves the next day to the ſame, or perhaps greater hazard: which reſolution they complied with, and rode forwards in great haſte, and not without a good deal of danger; for if the enemy had been aware of it, and ſent but two hundred horſe before to lie in their way, they might very eaſily have taken them. Thoſe that were preſent were exceedingly moved, to ſee the Queen with all her ſons ſurrounded in ſuch a manner by the enemy, that the whole royal family might have been loſt in an inſtant; and it was a very great chance that it happened otherwiſe, and no leſs fortunate that there was ſuch a ſpirit in the *Swiſs*; for without them it would have been impoſſible to eſcape the hands of the enemy.

When the King came to *Paris* he was received with great joy by the people, who even ſhed tears, out of tenderneſs; and the Duke of *Aumale*, who was there before, immediately went, with three hundred horſe that he had got together, to meet the *Swiſs*, who did not arrive in the ſuburbs till after midnight. The next morning they entered the city with the ſame order and gallantry, and were received by the King himſelf at *St. Martin's Gate*, who highly commended their bravery, and ordered them a donative, as is uſual after victories: after which they were ſent back to the ſuburbs, where quarters were provided for them.

At the ſame time that the King and Queen left the army, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, whom the *Hugonots* were very deſirous to have taken, went off with a ſmall train, and through private roads, towards his archbiſhoprick of *Rheims* in *Champagne*; and falling in by chance with ſome *Hugonot* troops that were gathering together in thoſe parts, he with much difficulty eſcaped from them, though with the loſs of all his baggage and equipage.

But

But the Prince and the Admiral, though they perceived they had loſt this fair opportunity, and their enterprize had miſcarried merely for want of diſpatch and expedition, yet reſolved to beſiege *Paris*, imagining that a place ſo full of people, and very ill furniſhed with proviſions, would be obliged to ſurrender in a few days, as there was no army at hand that was able to ſuccour or relieve it. For this purpoſe, they began to poſſeſs themſelves of all the paſſages of the rivers, by which proviſions are conveyed to *Paris*, fortifying and placing guards in the little towns round the city, which, being but weak and unprovided with any means of defence, in this ſudden commotion, were very ſoon and eaſily reduced into their power. So that having made themſelves maſters of *Montereau*, *Lagny*, *St. Dennis*, the Bridge of *St. Cloud*, *Dammartin*, and all the places thereabout, they advanced, on the 5th of *October*, up to the very walls of *Paris*, and burnt the windmills that lay on the outſide of the ramparts, betwixt the gate of *St. Honorè*, and that of the temple, with great terror to the *Pariſians*, and extreme offence to the King, who, in the height of his paſſion could not forbear uttering ſome expreſſions full of threats and revenge. 1567.

In the mean time, the Queen, upon whoſe care and prudence the welfare of the whole ſtate entirely depended, uſed all her endeavours to get an army together ſoon enough to raiſe the ſiege. For which purpoſe, beſides the poſitive order that was diſtributed all over the kingdom for the Catholicks to take arms, the colonels *De Briſac* and *Strozzi* with the old *French* infantry, the Sieurs *De Sanſac*, *Savigny*, *Tavannes*, and *Martigeuz*, with their troops, the Duke of *Guiſe* from his government of *Champagne*, the Grand Prior from that of *Auvergne*, and the Marſhal *D'Anville* with what forces they had, were ſent for in great haſte, and particular orders and letters directed to all the catholick lords and gentlemen in the kingdom to come away with the utmoſt expedition; who inſtantly aſſembled at the firſt report of the King's danger; ſo that, although the occaſion was preſſing, it was hoped theſe ſuccours would arrive before the city could be reduced to extreme neceſſity, which, by the help of the *Swiſs*, and the alacrity of the *Pariſians*, was able to hold out many days. But the thing that diſtreſſed the Queen moſt was the great ſcarcity of money; upon which account ſhe aſſembled the catholick Prince's Ambaſſadors that were then reſident at court; and earneſtly recommended the preſent neceſſities of the ſtate to them, deſiring every one of them to procure her ſupplies from their reſpective maſters. She likewiſe diſpatched *Hannibal Rucellai* poſt into *Italy*, to ſollicit a conſiderable ſum from the Pope and the Duke of *Tuſcany*: and treated privately with *John Corraro*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, in whom ſhe ſeemingly repoſed great confidence, to prevail upon the Senate to lend her two hundred thouſand ducats. To the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſhe wrote in the

1567. the moſt preſſing terms, deſiring that he would give her leave to make uſe of a hundred thouſand franks that were lodged in *France* to diſcharge ſome debts that he had contracted there, and ſent Monſieur *De Malaſſiſe* into *Spain* for the ſame purpoſe. But as the preſent occaſion was very urgent, and the King foreſaw it would be ſome time before theſe ſupplies could be raiſed, he called the principal citizens of *Paris* together, who advanced him four hundred thouſand franks. And it happened very opportunely, that the Prelates, being aſſembled at that time in *Paris* to conſult of eccleſiaſtical affairs, agreed amongſt themſelves to make the King a preſent of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns for the preſent ſubſiſtence of the army. Beſides theſe ſupplies, which were immediately paid in, the King being informed, that certain merchants were going to ſend ſixty thouſand reals into *Flanders*, and exceedingly offended that they would not furniſh him with any part of it, ordered the money to be ſtopt, which was of no little ſervice in that exigency.

The Queen, however, being obliged to have recourſe to her uſual artifices, that ſhe might protract the time till more forces and other neceſſary proviſions ſhould arrive, and in ſome meaſure abate the fury of the enemy, artfully diſſembled not only her reſentment of ſo recent injuries, but of the danger ſhe had juſt eſcaped, and made an overture of a treaty of accommodation, by Monſieur *De St. Sulpice*, a perſon in whom ſhe much confided, and not diſagreeable to the *Hugonots*. And as that faction did not ſeem to be altogether averſe to peace, the High Chancellor, the Marſhals of *Montmorancy*, *La Vieux Ville*, and *Morvilliers*, with the Biſhop of *Limoges*, went to meet their deputies, at a place equally diſtant from both armies; and though the *Hugonots* propoſed very inſolent and exorbitant conditions, and ſuch as conquerors uſe to impoſe upon the conquered; yet the other ſide, in order to gain time, artfully ſpun out the treaty, ſtill amuſing them with hopes, that their deſires would be complied with.

The demands of the *Hugonots* were, That the Queen Mother ſhould no longer have any concern in the government: that thoſe who had till then had the management and direction of affairs, ſhould give an account to them of their proceedings: that the King ſhould diſband all his forces: that all ſtrangers ſhould be ſent out of the kingdom, and eſpecially the *Italians*, to whom they imputed the invention of their new gabels and impoſts: that the edict of *January* ſhould be republiſhed, and punctually obſerved, with a free exerciſe of the *Hugonot* religion in all places, particularly in *Paris*: that *Metz*, *Calais*, and *Havre de Grace* ſhould be conſigned to them for their ſecurity: that all taxes ſhould be aboliſhed: that a general aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould be called: that they ſhould have ſatisfaction made them by the Lords of *Guiſe*, who, they ſaid, had ſlandered and perſecuted

ſecuted them: with other ſuch conditions; which ſeeming ridiculous, rather than worthy of notice, eſpecially that article in which it was demanded that the King ſhould immediately diſband his forces, whilſt they had an army on foot at the very gates of *Paris*, put an end to all hopes of accommodation. But the Queen ſtill continued ſending different perſons every day, with a deſign to ſpin out the treaty and gain time to deliver herſelf out of theſe difficulties. Nor were the *Hugonots* diſpleaſed at theſe delays, who, thinking a ſiege was more likely to ſucceed than an immediate aſſault, endeavoured to block up all avenues to the city, hoping to reduce it rather by famine than force, and that in the mean time the ſupplies would arrive, which their friends were raiſing, with great aſſiduity, in all parts of the kingdom. But the ſuccours thus expected on both ſides were much delayed by grievous and dangerous inſurrections in the provinces. For in *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, which lie neareſt to *Paris*, and ſurround it on all ſides, the *Hugonots* had aſſembled great numbers, with a reſolution to aſſiſt their party; and as the governors did the ſame for the King, they were ſo employed there, that they could not go to join the army before *Paris:* by which commotions, the towns and villages were harraſſed with ſoldiers, and the roads ſo broken up, that all intercourſe and commerce were prevented and deſtroyed. 1567.

The *Hugonots*, at the ſame time, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Orleans* and the new fortreſs, which, being hardly finiſhed and ill guarded, was eaſily reduced. The taking of this place was of very great importance; for, beſides the advantage of being in poſſeſſion of ſuch a conſiderable city, and ſo near *Paris*, they found there three cannon and five culverins, which were of no ſmall ſervice to their army, as they had not ſo much as one piece of artillery before. In *Burgundy*, they took *Auxerre* and *Maſcon*, but the laſt not without ſome bloodſhed, as the Catholicks made a vigorous defence. In *Dauphine*, they made themſelves maſters of *Valence*; *Lyons* was full of tumults; the Sieur *De Ponſenac*, taking up arms in their favour, broke up the high roads, and fomented the commotions within the city. The Count of *Montgomery* ſurprized *Eſtampes*, which was of ſo much more conſequence, as it was near *Paris*. In *Languedoc*, *Niſmes* and *Montpelier* had revolted to the *Hugonots*, and *Metz*, a ſtrong place upon the frontiers of *Lorrain*, was upon the point of revolting: Monſieur *De Diſans*, who commanded the garriſon, having declared for the *Hugonots*. Upon which, not only the Marſhal *De Vieuxville*, governor of that place, was obliged to leave the court, but the Duke of *Guiſe* alſo took a reſolution to march that way. On the ſea coaſt they had taken *Dieppe*; and in *Gaſcony*, they were ſo ſtrong, that Monſieur *De Montluc*, having ſuch an enemy to deal with, could not ſend the aids that he intended to *Paris*.

1567. These inſurrections, which were attended with much bloodſhed, rapine, and frequent encounters, for ſome days retarded both the King's ſupplies and the recruiting of the *Hugonot's* army. But the firſt that arrived were the King's forces: for *Timoleon*, Count *De Briſac*, who jointly commanded the infantry, taking a circuit round the country, through woods and vineyards, and having carriages to flank them, arrived ſafe at *Paris* with four regiments of foot: though *Andelot* and *Muy*, who left the camp on purpoſe, lay in the road to hinder their march; and the catholick nobility came together, from all parts, with great expedition to court, at the news of the King's being beſieged.

The King, having now no longer any occaſion to diſſemble, ſent a herald to ſummon the Prince of *Condé*, and the reſt of his confederates, aſſembled at *St. Dennis*, to lay down their arms, and return to their obedience within the ſpace of four and twenty hours, on pain of being declared rebels and traitors. At the appearance of the herald, who brought the ſummons in writing, the Prince of *Condé* proteſted, in a great rage, "That if "he ſaid any thing reflecting upon his honour, he would immediately "order him to be hanged:" to which the Herald, knowing himſelf ſupported by the royal authority, boldly anſwered, "I am ſent by your "maſter and mine, and am not to be terrified by any threats from exe-"cuting my commiſſion," delivering the writing to him at the ſame time: which being read, the Prince ſaid he would return an anſwer in three days: but the herald replied, with the ſame boldneſs as before, that "he "muſt come to a reſolution in four and twenty hours." The next day, when he came again for it, the chiefs of the *Hugonots* returned an anſwer in milder terms than uſual, profeſſing, "That they were ſtill reſolved to "continue his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and deſired nothing but the pre-"ſervation of their property, their religion, their lives, and ſuch condi-"tions only, as they thought were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the ſame: "which they would ever acknowledge as inſtances of his royal favour "and goodneſs."

This renewed the hopes of an accommodation: upon which account it was reſolved, that the Conſtable ſhould have a conference, the next day, with ſome of the principal perſons of that party. With this intention he marched out of the city with two thouſand horſe, and having got about half way to *St. Dennis*, he ordered them to halt, whilſt he himſelf advanced, attended only by the Marſhal *De Coſſe*, his ſon *Montmorancy*, and *L'Aubeſpine*, ſecretary of ſtate. The ſame was done by the other ſide; for the Prince, the Admiral, the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, the Count *De la Rochfoucaut*, and *Andelot*, having left the reſt of their company behind, came forwards to meet them. The Prince ſpoke very modeſtly, though he did not at all recede from the terms already propoſed. But the Cardinal

dinal of *Chaſtillon* told the Conſtable, who perſuaded him to rely upon the King's honour, without inſiſting upon any other ſecurity for their lives and properties, " That they could not truſt to the King, and much leſs " to him, who had broken his word, and was the occaſion of all the preſent " calamities, by having adviſed his majeſty to violate the edict of pacifi- " cation." Upon which the Conſtable gave him the *lie*, and other ill language paſſing on both ſides, they parted without leaving any further room to hope for an accommodation. 1567.

The King therefore having aſſembled the Princes, the knights of the order, the commanders of the army, with many of the nobility and others, made a ſpirited and reſolute ſpeech to them, in which he ſaid, " There " was nothing that he had ſo much at heart as the peace and quiet of his " ſubjects, which had prevailed upon him to make many conceſſions to " the *Hugonots*, very repugnant to his own diſpoſition and inclinations: " that ſome of them, abuſing his kindneſs, notwithſtanding ſo many fa- " vours and privileges which had been granted to them, endeavoured to " raiſe a rebellion in the kingdom, by divers ſcandalous imputations, and " were grown ſo audacious as to conſpire againſt his own perſon, the " Queen, and his brothers: which enormities, would have fully juſtified " him, if he had not only chaſtiſed but endeavoured wholly to ſuppreſs " them: that however he had not in the leaſt departed from his firſt reſo- " lution, but, on the contrary, had ſent ſome of the principal perſons in " the kingdom to treat with them, even to the prejudice of his own au- " thority, and the diminution of the royal dignity, to whom they were not " aſhamed to make thoſe propoſals, which were already well known to " every body: that he was therefore at laſt determined to oblige them by " force to what they would not comply with of themſelves: that he " truſted he ſhould eaſily accompliſh his deſigns by the aſſiſtance of thoſe " lords that he then ſaw preſent, who, having been ever faithful to the " Kings his predeceſſors, he hoped would not now abandon him in ſo " urgent a neceſſity, and in ſo lawful and juſt a cauſe: that he therefore " exhorted them couragiouſly to embrace this opportunity of meriting " both from their King and country, and not to regard thoſe dangers to " which he would firſt expoſe his own perſon for the publick good."

The Conſtable, who took upon him to anſwer in the name of them all, ſaid, " That exhortations were not neceſſary, for every one there was " ready to lay down his life and fortune in his majeſty's ſervice." And then, addreſſing himſelf to the reſt, told them, " That the only true no- " bility was that which was acquired by virtue: that, as they were nobly " born, they could not, without degenerating from their anceſtors, more " worthily employ themſelves than in the defence of their ſovereign, " againſt ſuch as endeavoured to extinguiſh his family, and ſet up a

1567. " King fit for their own purpoſes: that, as they then encompaſſed the " throne with reſolution and unanimity in that place, ſo it was likewiſe " their duty to prepare themſelves, to ſurround his perſon with courage " and alacrity in the day of battle; that for his part, as he had the com- " mand of his majeſty's army, he would be the firſt, though an old man, " to attack his enemies." This ſpeech was univerſally applauded, and ſeemed to excite an eagerneſs in them all to come to an engagement; though many were of opinion that the Conſtable and his family made larger profeſſions of duty to the King, than they were inclined to perform, and lent too favourable an ear to the *Hugonots*, who were juſtly become odious to the nobility, and deteſted by the *Pariſians*.

The city now began to ſuffer extremely, and was in great want of victuals. For the Admiral had, in defiance of the King's army, and at noon day, taken poſſeſſion of the bridge at *Charenton*, about a league from the walls, and cut off the paſſage of the river, ſo that proviſions were ſold at a moſt exorbitant price. But the greateſt difficulty was how to ſupport ſuch a number of horſe as were then in the town. Upon which account the Conſtable, being provoked at the clamours of the people, who could not bear to ſee the city ſo blocked up and diſtreſſed, to the great diſgrace of his majeſty's arms, whilſt he had a force much ſuperior to that of the enemy, marched out of *Paris*, on the 9th of *November*, and quartered his vanguard at *La Chapelle*, a place upon the highway betwixt the city and the enemy's camp; which ſtep obliging the *Hugonots* to draw cloſe together in a body, for fear of being attacked whilſt they were divided, they quitted the adjacent villages: ſo that many of the paſſages were clear again, and the roads open to carry all manner of proviſions into *Paris*. They likewiſe ſent to call back *Andelot*, who had paſſed the river with eight hundred horſe, and about two thouſand foot, to ſtraiten the ſiege on that ſide. Apprehending that the Conſtable, who was ſo much ſtronger than they, would advance (as indeed it happened) and either immediately ſhut them up in *St. Dennis*, or oblige them to fight at a great diſadvantage upon the plain.

The Prince of *Condé* lay with the main body of the army cloſe under the walls of *St. Dennis*, keeping that town behind him for his ſecurity: the Admiral with the van was encamped on the right hand at *St. Ouyn*, a village near the bank of the river, which ſerved him at the ſame time, both for a ditch and a breaſt-work: *Genlis* and *Muy* with the rear lay at *Aubervilliers*, a town on the left hand: and becauſe there was a very large and open plain on one ſide of them, they made a ditch and threw up a tolerable intrenchment, to ſecure them from being attacked in the flank, and placed a guard there of ſix hundred harquebuſiers. But the *Hugonots*, entering into a conſultation what was to be done, as they were ſo much inferior

inferior in number to the King's army, in which there were ſixteen thouſand foot and more than three thouſand horſe, many were of opinion that it would be adviſeable to retreat till the ſupplies ſhould arrive, which they expected from different parts. The Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral thought that impoſſible, without running the riſque of an abſolute defeat. For the King's army lying ſo near, they could not by any means decamp without being diſcovered, and conſequently purſued and attacked. For which reaſon they thought it would be better to give them battle, not only to maintain their reputation, which is ever of great conſequence to the heads of a popular faction, eſpecially at the beginning of a war, but alſo that they might make a better retreat: for the days being now very ſhort, the darkneſs would ſoon come on and put an end to the fury of the battle, in which they hoped their horſe (being in very good order) would ſo annoy the enemy, that they would not be able to follow them that night, by the favour of which they might retire and ſecure themſelves by joining *Andelot*. 1567.

Whilſt the *Hugonots* were buſied in this debate, the Conſtable was not idle: for being aſſured they would either make a retreat, or be totally routed if they came to an engagement, he drew up his army in good order, and marched with great reſolution to attack the enemy the next morning, which was *St. Martin's* day, who is one of the tutelar ſaints of the crown of *France*. The Duke of *Aumale* and the Marſhal *D'Anville* led the van, which was placed over-againſt the Admiral: the Duke of *Nemours*, with a large body of horſe that were ranged along the plain, formed the rear; and the main battle, commanded by the Conſtable, was drawn up with its front towards the Prince of *Condé*, and ſupported by the *Swiſs*, who were flanked by the Count *De Briſac* and *Strozzi's* infantry. It was now pretty near noon, when the Conſtable, perceiving the *Hugonots* were reſolved to give him battle, immediately advanced with his ſquadrons in ſuch haſte to attack them, that the infantry, who marched forwards in good order, were left a long way behind and could not come up to engage. This happening juſt as the enemy could wiſh, their cavalry (in which they had much the advantage) wheeled round the Conſtable's diviſion, and attacking it furiouſly in the rear, charged quite through, with great ſlaughter of his men. The Duke of *Nemours* endeavoured to ſtop the fury of the enemy, by throwing himſelf upon their flank, but finding the ditch in his way, and the intrenchment there ſo bravely defended by the harquebuſiers, that it was not poſſible to force it without the loſs of much time, he could not come up ſoon enough to aſſiſt the Conſtable. The Duke of *Aumale* and the Marſhal *D'Anville* likewiſe attempted it, but were prevented by the Admiral's vanguard, who, having moved from his ſtation, and retired al-

1567. moſt to the bank of the river that he might not be ſurrounded, bravely entered into the battle: ſo that the Conſtable's ſquadron, being attacked on all ſides by the enemy's horſe, and particularly by the Prince, who was in the centre, could not poſſibly receive any aſſiſtance, and was ſo overpowered by the enemy, that it was ſoon entirely broken and defeated.

Though the Conſtable had received four ſlight wounds in the face, and a very large one upon his head by a battle-axe, yet he ſtill continued valiantly fighting, and endeavoured to rally his troops, when *Robert Stuart*, a *Scotchman*, rode up to him with a piſtol levelled at his face: upon which the Conſtable ſaid, "Doſt thou not know me? I am the "High Conſtable of *France*." "Yes, replied he, I know thee very "well, for which reaſon I make thee a preſent of this," and immediately fired upon him. The balls taking place in his ſhoulder, he inſtantly fell from his horſe; but as he was falling he daſhed the hilt of his ſword (which he ſtill kept faſt in his hand, though the blade was broke) with ſuch force at *Stuart's* face, that he beat out three of his teeth, broke his jaw-bone, and laid him for dead by him upon the ground. The Conſtable lay ſome time abandoned by his men, who ran away and left him in the enemy's power; but the Duke of *Aumale* and Monſieur *D'Anville*, having routed the Admiral's van, left off purſuing them and came up to ſuccour and ſupport the main body, by which means he was reſcued out of the hands of the *Hugonots*, who were carrying him away priſoner, and with much difficulty conducted by his ſon, though almoſt dead, to *Paris*. In the mean time the Duke of *Nemours* having paſſed the ditch, and driven the *Hugonots* out of their intrenchment with great ſlaughter, broke in upon their rear with the ſame fury, and having purſued thoſe that ran away to their camp, drew up his horſe again, and returned with great courage into the heat of the battle. The Catholick van and rear which had defeated thoſe of the *Hugonots*, thus advancing cloſe to the Prince's ſquadrons, charged them ſo warmly, both in the front and in the flank, that many of his troops being diſordered, the victory manifeſtly inclined to the Catholicks. The Prince of *Condé*, therefore, who had his horſe killed under him, and with much difficulty recovered another, and the Admiral, who by the fierceneſs of a *Turkiſh* horſe, which he rode that day, was ſo far engaged amongſt the enemy that he had like to have fallen into their hands, took the advantage of a very dark and rainy night, which was now come on, and having loſt one third of their army, retired in haſte to *St. Dennis*, leaving the field and the poſſeſſion of their dead, an evident mark of a compleat victory, to the enemy. The Catholicks, though victorious, left off purſuing them, upon the account of the loſs of their General and the darkneſs of the night: and the foot, who had not had time to engage, returned intire into their quarters.

The

The ſlaughter on both ſides was much more conſiderable in regard to the quality than number of the dead. For as in the King's army none were engaged but the horſe, and in the other, thoſe foot only that defended the intrenchment which flanked the rear, they that were killed were for the moſt part gentlemen, and perſons of note: amongſt whom, thoſe on the *Hugonots* ſide were the Count *De Suze*, the Vidame of *Amiens*, the Count *De Saut*, the Sieurs *De Peguigny*, *Caniſy*, *St. Andrew*, and *Garenne*. There were few killed on the King's ſide, but many wounded, particularly Monſieur *De Sanſac*, a cavalier of great courage and experience. The Conſtable died the day after the battle, in which he had fought bravely, and with the courage of a young man, in the eightieth year of his age, and ſhewn no leſs ardour of mind than vigour of body. He was not at all diſturbed at the approach of death, but behaved himſelf with exceeding conſtancy; and when a confeſſor came to his bed-ſide to comfort him, he turned round to him with a ſerene and compoſed countenance, and deſired "he would not trouble him, for "it would be a ſhameful thing if, when he had lived fourſcore years, he "did not know how to die a quarter of an hour." He was a man of great parts, mature wiſdom, and long experience in the changes of the world, by which he had happily acquired vaſt riches, and the chief dignities in the kingdom for himſelf and his family; but he had always ſuch ill fortune in his military undertakings, that in every battle, where he had the command, he was either defeated, or grievouſly wounded, or taken priſoner: which misfortunes were the occaſion that his fidelity was often ſuſpected; and even in the laſt action, where he fought bravely till he was mortally wounded, there were ſome malicious enough to ſay, "That "the reaſon of his attacking the enemy ſo late in the day, and leaving "the foot behind, was, becauſe he fought for the King's ſervice againſt "his own nephews, and was not willing to give them a total overthrow, "though he had it in his power." 1567.

It was generally ſaid of him, by ſuch as ſpoke without paſſion, that he was a good ſoldier, a dutiful ſervant, but a bad friend, for he was always governed in all his actions by the conſideration of his own intereſt. The ſame day died *Claude de l'Aubeſpine*, principal Secretary of ſtate, a man of very great eſteem, and a faithful miniſter to the Queen Mother. He was ſucceeded by his ſon-in-law, *Nicholas de Neufville* Sieur *de Villeroy*, who, following the ſteps of his predeceſſor with great prudence and reputation, continued in that office to an extreme old age.

The ſame night *Andelot* joined the *Hugonots* at *St. Dennis*, having paſſed the river with much difficulty; for the Catholicks had either taken or ſunk all the boats, ſo that he could not come ſoon enough for the battle. The next morning, however, which was the 11th of *November*, the

1567. the *Hugonots* imagining, as indeed it happened, that the Catholicks would not appear again immediately in the field now they had loſt their General, preſented themſelves in a body, by his advice, on the outſide of the trenches, ready to engage again, endeavouring, by this bravado, to maintain the reputation rather of conquerors than otherwiſe. They continued there in that manner a quarter of an hour, and in their retreat carried off ſome of their dead: but having loſt the greateſt part of their foot, and moſt of the principal gentlemen amongſt them being either killed or grievouſly wounded, they reſolved not to ſtay any longer, leſt the King's army, being provided again with a General, ſhould be provoked to pay them another viſit: ſo that after they had ſent advice to their friends, who were advancing from all parts to their aſſiſtance, they began to march, on the 14th, with great expedition towards *Champagne*, intending to paſs that way to the confines of *Lorrain*.

The Prince and the Admiral had ſent the Sieurs *De Francourt* and *Chaſtelliere* into *Germany*, when the *Swiſs* that were hired by his Majeſty firſt entered the kingdom, and perſuaded Prince *Caſimir*, ſon to the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, to raiſe an army in their favour: for which purpoſe they had already ſent him a ſmall ſum of money, with a promiſe, that when he arrived upon the borders, they would advance him a hundred thouſand crowns for the payment of his men: which promiſe, together with the hopes of plunder and booty, ſo tempted Prince *Caſimir*, and ſeveral other commanders, accuſtomed to live by ſuch methods as are practiſed in time of war, that they preſently took arms, and having raiſed ſeven thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot, ſent the *Hugonots* word they were ready with theſe forces to enter the confines of *Lorrain*. For this reaſon they were determined to march that way, that they might join the *Germans* as ſoon as poſſible, and be enabled, by this increaſe of ſtrength, to carry on the war in ſuch a manner as time and occaſion ſhould point out. The army kept ſo cloſe together, as they were to paſs all the way through the enemy's country, that not ſo much as one man departed from the diviſion that he belonged to, neceſſity having taught them diſcipline. *Andelot* only with the harquebuſiers ſcoured the country on all ſides, cleared the paſſes, reconnoitred the ſituation of places, and brought in proviſions: and though they made all the haſte they could to reach the confines, yet they were obliged to attack ſeveral weak towns in the way, to refreſh their ſoldiers with the plunder, and furniſh them with proviſions, of which they were in very great want. They proceeded however with ſo much care and expedition, that they did not loſe much time, nor ſuffered any of their men to leave their ranks or ſtraggle from their company. In this manner, without making any uſe of their artillery, they ſcaled and took *Brie-comt-Robert*, *Nogeant* upon the

the *Seine*, and *Pontyonne*, large towns and well peopled, in which, and the adjacent villages, they found horſes enough to mount all their foot, and continued their march with leſs difficulty and more expedition. 1567.

In the mean time the Queen, being now quite freed from the power and authority of the Grandees by the death of *Montmorancy*, and left ſole moderatrix and arbitreſs of the Catholick party, was determined not to ſubject herſelf any more to the danger of being over-awed by chuſing another Conſtable or General of the army, but to keep the ſovereign authority abſolutely in herſelf and her ſon. Upon which account ſhe earneſtly perſuaded him to give the command of the army to his brother *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, a youth of excellent parts and great expectation, but ſcarce ſixteen years of age: and the rather, becauſe the council did not think it became the dignity of the crown for his Majeſty to command the army in perſon, or take up arms againſt his ſubjects, as it would make them too conſiderable. So that, to prevent all emulations and pretenſions amongſt the nobility, and to avoid raiſing any body to ſo great a degree of power, *Henry* was declared Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's armies in the Privy Council: and, as he was ſo young, *Francis de Carnavalet*, under whoſe inſtructions he had been educated from his infancy, and *Arthur de Coſſé*, Marſhal *de Gonor*, a man in very great eſteem for his wiſdom and courage, were appointed to aſſiſt him.

Beſides theſe, there were then in the army the Dukes of *Montpenſier*, *Nemours*, and *Longueville*, *Sebaſtian de Luxembourg*, Seigneur *de Martigues*, now made General of the *French* infantry, *Jaſper* Viſcount *de Tavannes*, *Timoleon* Count *de Briſac*, and *Armand de Biron* Field-Marſhal, who for his gallant actions will be often hereafter mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory. Neither the Marſhal *De Montmorancy* nor *D'Anville* attended the camp. For the Duke of *Montpenſier* being appointed to lead the van as Prince of the blood, they pretended that dignity belonged to *Montmorancy* as firſt Marſhal of *France*, who, next to the General, is to have the chief rank in the army. But the King not caring to retract what was already done, not only to avoid diſobliging the Duke, but becauſe he put no confidence in *Montmorancy*, and thought it dangerous to truſt him with that part of the army which was firſt to engage the enemy, the two brothers were diſguſted, and choſe rather to ſtay at court, though diſcontented, than to prejudice their right. The Duke of *Aumale* likewiſe left the army, having the ſame pretenſions with the Marſhals, as he was the oldeſt commander in *France*. He did not declare himſelf diſcontented, however, becauſe he was not willing to quarrel with the Duke of *Montpenſier*; but, under pretence of going to aſſiſt his nephew the young Duke of *Guiſe*, with his advice (in whoſe province it was expected the chief ſcene of action would lie when the *Germans* came) he

1567. went, with the approbation of the King and Queen, to employ himſelf where his care and aſſiſtance were moſt neceſſary.

In this conjuncture Count *D'Aremberg* arrived, who was ſent out of *Flanders* by the Duke of *Alva*, according to the agreement formerly made at *Bayonne*, with twelve hundred lances and three hundred harquebuſiers; a ſupply that was not only very conſiderable in itſelf, but had a great effect, as it ſhewed the two crowns were firmly united in the ſame deſign. Under theſe commanders the Duke of *Anjou* marched in purſuit of the *Hugonots*, with his whole army, and eighteen pieces of cannon, hoping to overtake and engage them before they could be joined by the *Germans*: which he certainly had done, if his Counſellors had been as prudent and unanimous as he was deſirous of glory and eager to come to an action.

The Prince of *Condé* with his army drew near to *Sens*, the capital city in *Sennois*, but very little fortified either by nature or art, ſo that he thought to take it by ſcalado, as he had done ſeveral other towns in his march. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had already reduced *Mets* into the King's power, by his Provincial forces, and left the Marſhal *de la Vieuxville* Governor there, taking the rout to the part where he was informed the enemy bent their courſe, entered very opportunely into that city and prepared for a vigorous defence, which put the Prince out of all hopes of taking it. However, that he might not be diverted from his main and neceſſary attempt, he turned off another way with his uſual expedition, and having received a recruit of ſome troops of horſe from *Gaſcony* at *Montereau*, together with three field-pieces that were taken at *Orleans*, which they brought with them, continued his march; in which, though he took all poſſible care, he was unexpectedly interrupted by a very dangerous and important event. For, being now advanced as far as *Châlons*, the principal city in *Champagne*, he was there met by the Marchioneſs of of *Rottelin*, his mother-in-law, who was ſent from the court to make a new overture of peace, but with an intention, as many ſaid, only to hinder the Prince's march, and amuſe him till the King's army could come up. And indeed the event confirmed this ſuſpicion. For ſhe, having imprudently propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms for three days, in which the King's deputies were to come to a place appointed, and the Prince having no leſs imprudently accepted it, with a deſign to refreſh his army after ſo hard a march, the deputies did not appear. But the Duke of *Anjou*, preſſing forwards his march with great eagerneſs, arrived ſo near the camp at the expiration of the truce, that it was thought adviſeable to attack them without further delay. For he knew the *Hugonots* were not only weakened and fatigued with their ſpeedy march, but obliged to encamp upon the plains of that province in ſuch an open and diſadvantageous

vantageous ſituation, that they could neither defend themſelves nor avoid a battle; and if they came to engage, he made no doubt of gaining a compleat victory, being ſo much ſuperior to them in number. 1567.

The Count *De Briſac*, who led the firſt troops of the army, imagining that all the reſt followed, as it had been before determined, and according to which reſolution they had marched with great expedition, furiouſly attacked the laſt ſquadrons of the enemy, commanded by the three captains *Boſſet*, *Du Bois*, and *Clery*, and having put them to flight without much reſiſtance, purſued the reſt, who ran away as faſt as they could to ſave themſelves. Monſieur *De Martigues* followed the Count *De Briſac's* example with part of the van, and having overtaken three hundred horſe, that brought up the enemy's rear, and were retreating, began a hot ſkirmiſh, to keep them in play till all the army came up. But whilſt the Marſhal of *Gonor* and *Carnavalet*, who were the Duke's chief counſellors, were too formal and exact in drawing up the army, or elſe, as it was ſaid, contrived delays on purpoſe to prevent the deſtruction of ſo many of the nobility, to whom they were nearly related, they gave the *Hugonots* time to make their eſcape. For the Prince and the Admiral, having given order, that the three hundred horſe, which were in the rear, ſhould ſupport the charge of *Martigues* as long as they could, retreated with ſo much ſpeed, that they marched more than twenty *French* leagues in three days, and did not ſtop till they had paſſed the *Meuſe*, a river upon the confines of *France*, and got out of the kingdom into a place of ſecurity: where, though freed from the danger of being overtaken and defeated by the enemy, they laboured under the apprehenſion of a much greater misfortune. For being arrived at *Pont à Mouſſon*, a place in the territories of *Lorrain*, where they expected to have met the *Germans*; and neither finding them there, nor hearing any news in the country of their approach, the ſoldiers ſeeing themſelves diſappointed in that hope, which had enabled them to undergo ſo many hardſhips, and that they were out of their own country, in a ſtrange place, and, which was worſt of all, without any manner of victuals or proviſions, were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they reſolved to diſband, and make the beſt ſhift they could, by going ſeparately through *Flanders* or *Lorrain*, to return to their own houſes; and many, being apprehenſive they could not eſcape the hands of the Catholicks, through whoſe country they were obliged to paſs, reſolved upon a voluntary exile, and to take ſhelter in the cities of *Germany*, till more peaceable times. But the Prince and the other commanders prevailed upon them, by their intreaties, exhortations, arguments, and authority, to defer this deſperate reſolution for a few hours, till they ſhould be altogether deſtitute of any means of ſubſiſtance.

They continued two whole days in this diſtreſs and anxiety, till on the

1567. morning of the third, when deſpair began to renew their former reſolution, they unexpectedly received the welcome news that Prince *Caſimir* was upon his march, and not far from them. Every private ſoldier then tenderly embraced his comrade with the utmoſt joy, congratulating each other, as if they had been reſcued from deſtruction, and marched forwards, with great ſpirit and alacrity, to meet the *Germans*, as their benefactors and deliverers. But the commanders were now in greater trouble and perplexity than ever: for, having promiſed to pay Prince *Caſimir* and his troops, a hundred thouſand crowns at their arrival upon the confines, and being unable to diſcharge not only the whole ſum but the leaſt part of it, they took it for granted that the *Germans* would advance no further, and ſaw all their hopes, which had ſupported them in ſo many perils, entirely vaniſh. The Prince of *Conde*, however, having called all the army together, laid before them the diſtreſs they were in, telling them, that as the general welfare depended upon their being chearfully joined by the *Germans*, it was neceſſary to provide for the publick occaſions, though to their private loſs at preſent, and ſtrip themſelves of what little they had left to maintain their liberty and common ſafety. Thus exhorting them all to contribute whatever was in their power, and two miniſters being deputed to receive the money, or whatever elſe was brought in, he was the firſt that gave not only all his money and plate, but the very ring from his finger, and every thing elſe that he had of any value for the ſatisfaction of the *Germans*. This example being followed with the ſame chearfulneſs, not only by the Admiral and all the chief officers and gentlemen, but by the common ſoldiers, and even the footmen and boys in the camp, they raiſed the ſum of thirty thouſand crowns: with which, and the addition of infinite promiſes, the *Germans* were pretty well contented, and the two armies joined upon the 11th of *January* in the year 1568.

1568. The armies being thus united, when the men had repoſed themſelves a few days, they reſolved to return the ſame way through *Champagne* to *Beauſſe*, not only to refreſh the ſoldiers in a plentiful country, and full of towns, where they might be ſheltered from the inclemency of the winter, but once more to diſtreſs the city of *Paris* and the country round about it; that being the principal ſeat of the catholick party, and on the poſſeſſion of which the proſperity of either party was ever thought to depend, during the whole courſe of the civil wars. They were likewiſe ſpurred up to this reſolution by the deſire of ſuccouring *Orleans*, as they knew it was much ſtraitened, and to gain an opportunity of joining the forces of *Provence* and *Dauphinè*, which, they had intelligence, were marching in great numbers that way.

Francis, Seigneur *de la Noüe*, a man of great wiſdom and courage, who, in his time, was a principal leader in the *Hugonot* faction, had poſſeſſed himſelf

himſelf of *Orleans* at the late breaking out of theſe diſturbances, and taken the fortreſs, which was then building by the King's order, but not ſo thoroughly finiſhed that it could make any great defence. Into this place, as the ſtrongeſt they were maſters of, all the wives and children of the principal lords of that faction had retired for ſafety, but not with proviſions ſufficient to hold out long againſt a powerful enemy. This being known to Monſieur *De la Valette*, a colonel in the light horſe, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo*, a *Breſcian* in the King's ſervice, they got together ſeven hundred horſe and four thouſand foot, and came before that city; which being but poorly garriſoned, and ill provided with other things neceſſary to maintain a ſiege, was ſo diſtreſſed, that it muſt either be given up to the Catholicks, or taken by force in a few days, if it was not relieved. 1568.

Upon this conſideration, the *Hugonot* army made great haſte into thoſe parts, the commanders imagining they might very likely have an opportunity of coming to an engagement upon their march, which they would not have declined: for, as they had not ſufficient to ſupport themſelves long, neceſſity obliged them to try the event of a battle as ſoon as poſſible. The Duke of *Anjou* likewiſe wiſhed for it; for being very young and deſirous of glory, he was in hopes of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, by his courage and eagerneſs to fight, and to make his name known and reſpectable to other nations, at the very beginning of his life: but the Queen, who had other deſigns, ſoon diſſuaded him from this reſolution. She determined, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies of the ſeaſon, to go in perſon to the Duke of *Anjou's* army: for, not relying upon any body ſo much as herſelf, ſhe intended to make a ſtrict enquiry into the foundation of the report that was ſpread abroad, and to remedy thoſe diſorders which, it was ſaid, had lately prevented them from gaining a victory. For theſe reaſons, ſhe ſet out, and arrived at *Chalons*, with ſuch expedition as ladies ſeldom uſe to make upon the road. From thence ſhe proceeded to the camp, where ſhe called a council of the chief commanders, and deſired to be particularly informed of the reaſons, why they neglected an opportunity of engaging and deſtroying the enemy. The Duke of *Montpenſier*, who was a man of great addreſs, and cautious of giving offence to any one, ſpoke ambiguouſly of the late tranſactions, commending the Duke of *Anjou*, and imputing the miſcarriage to ill fortune. The Duke of *Nemours* excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that he marched forwards to ſupport *Martigues*, and did not know what was done or determined in the camp. But Monſieur *De Tavannes* ſpoke more freely, though he named no particular perſon, and blamed the irreſolution, the demurs, the idle delays and difficulties that had been raiſed: intimating, that the differences which ſubſiſted in the council, and the tenderneſs that ſome people had ſhewn for the *Hugonots*, were the occaſion of ſo much coolneſs in the army.

After

1568. After this, they entered into a conſultation what courſe it was beſt to take for the future; in which, many, out of complaiſance to the General, gave it as their opinion, that they ought to come to an engagement with the enemy. But the Queen repreſented to them, in a very pathetick manner, that the event of a battle would be very different to the two parties, for if the King loſt the day, it would throw the kingdom into the utmoſt confuſion, and oblige him in a great meaſure to leave it a prey to the *Hugonots:* whereas if the other ſide happened to be defeated, they would loſe nothing but ſome pitiful baggage that they had with them, and the remains of their deſperate fortunes, which, it was plain, would be entirely conſumed in a little time. She likewiſe laid before them the difference that there was in the means to maintain a war, as the King was able to keep his army a long time, and ſupply it with proviſions and neceſſaries from different parts: but the *Hugonots*, being deprived of all ſupplies, and reduced to ſuch extreme miſery that they had nothing to live upon, except what little they got by pillaging the country, could not long ſupport the greedineſs and rapacity of the *Germans*; ſo that they would be obliged to diſperſe of themſelves, and the King might ſecure a victory, which, if they came to an engagement, would depend much upon chance: there were many other ways, ſhe ſaid, to diſſipate this army, and, if all ſhould fail, they ought rather to endeavour, by an accommodation, to ſeparate and divide the enemy's forces, than to expoſe his majeſty's ſubjects to be devoured and eaten up by foreigners, in the courſe of a miſerable and deſtructive war: and for the Duke of *Anjou*, it was no leſs worthy of a Prince and a great commander to overcome by policy and conduct, than by violence and force of arms; and that at his firſt entrance upon action, he ought to be careful to ſhew himſelf prudent and moderate, as well as reſolute and courageous.

The General being prevailed upon by theſe arguments, it was determined that he ſhould keep at a little diſtance always from the enemy, and near ſome ſtrong town, to avoid being forced to a battle, and endeavour to ruin them entirely by prolonging the war, which muſt ſoon happen, as they were already ſo weak. And becauſe both *Carnavalet* and the Marſhal *De Gonor* were no leſs ſuſpected in the camp, than at court, of favouring and holding a ſecret correſpondence with the *Hugonots*, they were removed from about the Duke's perſon, and the Count *De Briſac* and *Martigues* put into their places, one for courage and the other for conduct, eſteemed the fitteſt men by the Queen for that purpoſe. But ſhe made the Duke of *Aumale* chief over them, who came back again to the army after the enemy had repaſſed the *Meuſe*, and publickly recommended the care and direction of her ſon to him, as the oldeſt commander in the kingdom.

Whilſt

Whilſt the war was thus carried on in *Champagne*, by the main armies and principal officers, the other parts of the kingdom were very far from being at peace: all places were full of tumult and ſlaughter, by the continual inſurrections of the *Hugonots*. For, as they had made themſelves maſters of many towns in different parts at the beginning of theſe commotions, the provinces were ſo divided, that a dangerous war was kindled in every, even the moſt obſcure and remote corner of *France*, with infinite inveteracy in both factions. In *Languedoc*, Monſieur *D'Acher* carried every thing before him: the Viſcount *De Joyeuſe*, who commanded there for the King, not having force ſufficient to ſuppreſs the numbers of the *Hugonots*, or to oppoſe the boldneſs and activity of their leader. In *Provence*, *Mouvans* and *Montbrun*, men that had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the violence of their proceedings, grievouſly harraſſed the catholick party, that was under the command of the Count *De Sommerive*. *Gaſcony* was full of diſturbances, and all in arms. But Monſieur *De Monluc*, an old experienced officer, had damped the fury of the *Hugonots* in ſo many encounters there, that they thought it the beſt way to quit the country, and fled, though with much difficulty, to their main army. In *Dauphinè*, *Des Gordes*, the King's lieutenant, and the Sieurs *De Monſalez* and *Terride*, who were upon their march towards *Paris*, had often ſkirmiſhed with the *Hugonots* forces and got the better of them, and at laſt obliged Monſieur *De Ponſenac* to leave thoſe parts, by which means, the roads to *Lions* became open again: but he being afterwards joined by the Counts *De Montclair*, *De Paulin*, and *Bourniquet*, bravely engaged the forces of *Auvergne* and *Dauphine*; and though the battle was obſtinate and bloody, the King's party got the advantage at laſt, to the great prejudice of the enemy, eſpecially as *Ponſenac*, who gave life to the war more by his fierceneſs and reſolution than any thing elſe, was killed in the retreat, with many others. 1568.

At the ſame time *Lewis Gonzague*, Duke of *Nevers*, who conducted four troops of horſe out of *Piedmont*, that were raiſed in *Italy* by the Pope, with ſix companies of *Italian* foot, two *French* regiments, and four thouſand *Swiſs*, lately taken into pay to join the Duke of *Anjou's* army, arrived opportunely in *Burgundy* to ſuppreſs the remainder of the *Hugonots* in thoſe parts: for, after he had ſeveral times engaged and defeated them, he at laſt laid ſiege to *Maſcon* and took it, by which the rebels there had now no place of ſtrength left, where they could retire to. From *Burgundy*, he marched to join the Duke of *Anjou*; but returning, not many days after, with a few horſe to viſit his own eſtate, he was attacked by the enemy, and, though he repulſed them with his uſual valour, yet he received ſo grievous a wound in the knee, that he was lame all his life after.

But the King's party ſuſtained a greater and more conſiderable loſs in

1568. *Xaintoigne.* For by the negligence or connivance of Monſieur *De Jarnac* the Governor, and the practices of *Trucarez*, the principal deputy, or *Eſchevin*, as they call it, of *Rochelle*, that city revolted to the *Hugonots*, which being ſtrongly ſituated upon the ſea coaſt, and not very far from *England*, encompaſſed on all ſides either by the ſea or moraſſes, rich and populous by commerce, abounding in proviſions, and convenient for the reception of ſuccours from other parts, was ever after a ſanctuary and ſafe reſort for all thoſe who adhered to that faction.

In the mean time, both armies continued their march through *Champagne*, taking the direct road that leads to *Paris*. The *Hugonots* kept cloſe together, and durſt not attempt the taking of any towns by the way, for fear of giving the Catholicks an opportunity of fighting them at an advantage. The King's encamped in ſtrong and ſecure places, and had no other deſign but to prevent the enemy from executing any important enterpriſe. With this circumſpection they both kept on their march, till the *Hugonots* forces arrived in *Beauſſe*, at the end of *February*, and the King's not far from *Paris*. But the Prince of *Condé* having raiſed the ſiege at *Orleans* (for at the news of his approach *La Valette* and *Martinengo*, not being able to reſiſt him, were obliged to retire) was reduced to great difficulties by this manner of proceeding in the Duke of *Anjou*, who, he perceived, was determined to avoid all occaſions of coming to an engagement, and to prolong the war: by which he knew his army would ſoon be deſtroyed, as he had neither money nor proviſions to ſupport or keep his men together, that were all voluntiers, nor was able to ſatisfy the importunities of the *Germans*, who were continually mutinying; ſo that he was in much perplexity, and daily held councils of war, to conſult what was beſt to be done in ſo urgent a neceſſity. At laſt, to try whether he could force the Catholicks to that, which they did not ſeem inclined to of themſelves, he reſolved to beſiege *Chartres*, which, for extent and number of inhabitants, is one of the principal cities in *France*, and ſo near *Paris*, that (with its adjacent country) it furniſhes a great part of the proviſions that are carried thither; imagining that the Duke of *Anjou*, for his own credit, and the reputation of the King's army, would never ſuffer that place to be taken for want of relief. For which reaſon, and that he might not give them time to reinforce the garriſon or fortify the town, he marched twenty leagues with his horſe in two days, and ſat down before it on the 2d of *March*.

Monſieur *De Lignieres*, a cavalier in high repute, was ſent to command in the town, with fifteen veteran companies of foot, and about two hundred horſe, who greatly annoyed the enemy at the beginning of the ſiege, and kept them at ſome diſtance for a while, by frequent ſallies and ſkirmiſhes, but was at laſt obliged to confine himſelf to the defence

of

of the walls: for the *Hugonots*, having taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and placed guards in the avenues, battered that part of the wall which joins to *Dreux* gate ſo furiouſly with four pieces of cannon, that on the ſixth day they deſigned to have made an aſſault, if the beſieged had not, with much labour and diligence, thrown up a rampart on the inſide, with caſemates and other works, which prevented them from entering at the breach. 1568.

The ſiege of *Chartres*, however, changed the face of affairs, and put the Catholicks to great difficulties. For, to relieve the town with all their forces, was contrary to the former reſolution: and to let it be taken, would not only be a very conſiderable loſs, but of much prejudice to their reputation: and that which then happened to *Chartres*, they apprehended would ſoon be the fate of many other principal towns, by ſuccouring which, they ſhould be obliged to hazard the uncertain event of a battle: and if they did not ſuccour them, they would be taken before their eyes. For theſe reaſons, after many fruitleſs attempts to throw men and ammunition into the town, the Queen, in this exigency, had recourſe to her old expedient, which had ſo often ſucceeded, and propoſed a treaty of accommodation.

She had begun to make new overtures of peace, when ſhe left the camp; for ſeeing foreigners already entered into the kingdom, and the crown in danger again amongſt ſo many deſperate enemies, ſhe thought it neceſſary to keep the treaty ſtill on foot, that, having ſeveral ſtrings to her bow, ſhe might make uſe of them as occaſion ſhould require. For this purpoſe, after ſhe had conferred with ſome perſons that were ſent by the Prince to treat with her at *Châlons*, ſhe returned to *Paris*, and took with her *Odette*, ſome time Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, *Teligny*, who was deſtined to be the Admiral's ſon-in-law, and Monſieur *De Bouchavannes*, a man in great eſteem amongſt the *Hugonots*. But not being willing that they ſhould enter into the city, for fear of ſome tumult amongſt the people, who were furiouſly incenſed, and abhorred the name of peace, they ſtaid at *Bois de Vincennes*, and at laſt came to a convent of the order of *St. Francis de Paul*, about a mile out of the town; where they had ſeveral conferences about a treaty, which went on very ſlowly at firſt; after *Chartres* was beſieged, however, it was preſſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, that the *Hugonots*, without much difficulty, obtained very advantageous conditions.

But when the deputies returned with the propoſals, the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, the Vidame of *Chartres*, and ſome others of the chiefs, imagining they could never be ſecured by a peace, choſe rather to maintain a hazardous war than come to a reaſonable agreement, and refuſed to accept them, alledging, that the better and more ſpecious the

1568. terms appeared, the more they were to be ſuſpected; and that if ſome ſtrong places were not ſuffered to remain in their hands, where they might ſtand upon their defence, they ought not by any means to come to an accommodation, but to purſue the war, and leave the event to God's will and pleaſure. The Queen, being informed of this, and knowing that the generality of the *Hugonots* were tired of the expence and danger of the war, and deſired a peace, provided they might enjoy liberty of conſcience, and come off with ſome ſhew of reputation, ſent *Lewis de Lanſac*, *Robert de Combaut*, and *Henry de Meſmes*, Sieur *De Malaſſiſe*, men of popularity and addreſs, to their camp: who, under pretence of treating with the chiefs, began, as is natural, to talk of the affair amongſt ſome of their relations, in the company of the nobility, and in the meetings of private perſons, expatiating upon the honour and advantage of the conditions that the King was willing to grant, in order to prevent the deſtruction of his ſubjects; and ſaid, that all grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and a free exerciſe of their religion allowed them as before; that every one ſhould be put in poſſeſſion again of the dignities and eſtates which they enjoyed before the war; that their lives ſhould be ſafe, and they ſhould not only be exempt from thoſe expences, which had ruined and impoveriſhed their families, but reſtored to their country, their honours, the comfort of their wives and children; that, from living like exiles and vagabonds, they ſhould be permitted to return to their former quiet and felicity; ſo that the reaſons and ſuſpicions now ceaſing, for which they had taken arms, there was no longer any occaſion to continue the war: from whence it manifeſtly appeared, how little they intended the peace and advantage of the publick, who were averſe to an accommodation, and that, under a pretence of religion, they only endeavoured to uſurp an unjuſt authority and a dangerous power.

By theſe inſinuations, which were reported again, and inſtilled into the people, under the ſoft and plauſible name of peace, there was ſuch a tumult ſuddenly raiſed in the army, that the nobility and private ſoldiers unanimouſly cried out (as in publick concerns every body pretends to meddle and direct) and threatned to abandon the Prince, if he did not accept of the conditions that were propoſed; and, as the King had offered, in a great meaſure, to ſatisfy the *Germans*, even Prince *Caſimir* himſelf favoured and approved the opinion of thoſe that demanded a peace, either from the apparent equity and moderation of the terms, or becauſe he did not think himſelf ſufficiently recompenced and paid as he expected; whereas he ſhould be ſure to receive his arrears immediately upon concluſion of a peace. But the chief commanders ſtill perſevering in their opinions, the Admiral anſwered, in the name of the reſt, and endeavoured to make it appear, that this was downright artifice in the enemy,

enemy, who, perceiving they could not ſuppreſs them whilſt they continued armed and united for their common defence, now tried to divide and diſarm them, that they might with more eaſe deſtroy them ſeparately: that things were almoſt brought to a criſis, and if they would have patience but a few days, they ſhould ſee the final event: for if the Catholicks advanced to fight them, they ſtill had God's providence and the ſtrength of their own arms to rely upon: and if they let them take *Chartres*, without offering to relieve it, their fear would be manifeſt to all the world, and give them an opportunity of diſtreſſing *Paris*, which was chiefly furniſhed with proviſions from thence: that they had had ſufficient experience of their inſincerity, and how little confidence was to be put in their promiſes; for, though the King might always intend to keep his word, yet ſuch was the power and ſubtilty of the Queen Mother, and the authority of the *Guiſes*, that they perverted all his reſolutions, and turned that into poiſon which they perſuaded many was only adminiſtered as wholſome phyſick: that they ought, therefore, to wait a few days longer, and not ruin thoſe deſigns by impatience and precipitation, which had been judged by every body to be moſt conducive to their common ſafety. But theſe arguments were ſo obſtinately oppoſed by the general inclination of the army, and there appeared ſuch a diſpoſition in the nobility to abandon the enterpriſe, and return immediately to their own houſes and families, which ſuffered much in their abſence, by the horrible outrages that were committed in all parts of the kingdom, that the principal commanders were abſolutely forced to conſent to a peace. 1568.

The miniſters inveighed bitterly againſt the Prince of *Condé*, and accuſed him with inconſtancy, in deſiring to return to the pleaſures and diverſions of the court, and ſuffering himſelf to be ſo eaſily overcome by popular clamour. The *Pariſians* blamed the Queen with no leſs freedom, and did not ſcruple to ſay, "That ſhe had no deſire to put an end to "the preſent diſtractions, but rather to have them continue, that ſhe "might maintain her own power; and for that reaſon had forced the "King to come to an accommodation." And not only the *Pariſians*, but the Pope alſo, and many other Catholick Princes, were aſtoniſhed and diſſatisfied at this agreement, as the iſſue appeared to them very unlike the beginning, and this reſolution much contrary to that earneſtneſtneſs with which ſhe had ſollicited them to ſend her ſupplies of men and money. When this came to her knowledge, as ſhe was very inquiſitive to learn what was ſaid, ſhe began to make excuſes to their miniſters: but had a long conference with the *Venetian* Ambaſſador in private, who, being leſs intereſted and more moderate than the reſt, was likelieſt to put a favourable conſtruction upon her proceedings.

1568. She therefore related every particular circumſtance to him at large, from the very beginning, and ſaid, that King *Francis* the ſecond, her eldeſt ſon, being very young when he came to the crown, and of a diſpoſition rather to be governed than to exerciſe the regal authority himſelf, was obliged by neceſſity to refer the chief management of affairs to her, that it might neither devolve upon the Princes of *Bourbon*, as they not only aſpired to the crown, but were infected with hereſy, and inclined to favour it, nor yet upon the *Guiſes*, men of vaſt ambition and high pretenſions, who nevertheleſs had ſuch an influence over the King, upon the account of his marriage with their niece, that ſhe was forced to admit them to a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration, and give way to them in many things, for fear they ſhould drive her from court, and perhaps out of the kingdom too, to the prejudice of the publick and her own particular diſgrace: that, however, ſhe had conſtantly endeavoured to manage in ſuch a manner, that the kingdom might have continued in quiet, and enjoyed the bleſſings of peace, under a King, truly religious, and tender of the welfare of his ſubjects, if the violence of the Prince of *Condé*, and the ſpiteful ſubtlety of the Admiral, had not diſturbed the courſe of things, by raiſing an oppoſition not only againſt the *Guiſes*, to whom they profeſſed an open hatred, but even againſt herſelf, conſpiring, by malicious and wicked practices, to deprive her of her life: that when all the council had concurred in a reſolution to proceed with extreme ſeverity, upon the diſcovery of the conſpiracy at *Amboiſe*, ſhe uſed her utmoſt endeavours to appeaſe her enemies by lenity and moderation, forgetting her own private injuries and dangers, out of regard to the publick good: that the Prince, having continued to raiſe inſurrections in the cities and provinces, and to plot even againſt the King himſelf, had at laſt fallen into her hands; on which occaſions ſhe always adviſed meaſures that were very far from cruelty and revenge, and ſkreened the King of *Navarre*, with many others that were accomplices in the Prince's attempts; all which was very plain to be ſeen when the King's diſtemper was judged to be mortal: for though the Princes of *Guiſe* vehemently inſiſted, that the ſentence of death ſhould be put in execution upon thoſe of *Bourbon*, ſhe reſolutely oppoſed it, and approved of gentle methods rather than ſharp and violent remedies: that when ſhe was afterwards left with the King, who was but a youth without authority, and her other children hardly yet out of their cradle, and herſelf a ſtranger, with very few faithful friends, but a number of intereſted perſons about her; though ſhe had more occaſion than ever to guard herſelf againſt thoſe, who by various means plotted the ruin or diviſion of the kingdom, together with her death and that of her children, yet ſhe had often borne not only with the fury of the Prince, but the inſolence of

of the *Hugonots*, and given way to ſo great and urgent a neceſſity, in order to preſerve the peace, maintain the crown, ſecure her children's patrimony, and gain time till the King came of age: but that the impatience, the diſcords and enmities of great men, the ambition of the Princes of *Lorrain*, and the contumacy of the *Hugonots*, had at laſt kindled up a war, to avoid which, God was her witneſs how much ſhe had done and ſuffered: that when ſhe ſaw the flame of hereſy raging through the kingdom, and even the *Engliſh* and *Germans* called in to invade it, ſhe reſolved to try whether ſhe could extinguiſh and eradicate the evil by a reſolute war: and, not to be wanting in any thing that might be judged neceſſary for the preſervation of the Catholick religion, ſhe had poſitively determined to hazard the event of a battle, which a letter that ſhe wrote to the Conſtable, and ſtill to be found amongſt his papers (for ſhe knew he preſerved it) would evidently prove: that in the ſame battle the Conſtable was taken priſoner, and the Marſhal of *St. Andrew* killed, and though the victory inclined to the King's party, and the Prince of *Condé* was taken, yet the Admiral ſtill continued at the head of a conſiderable force, which was increaſed by ſuccours ſent out of *England*, and a freſh and powerful ſupply out of *Germany*: that by the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, which happened ſoon after, the King's party was deprived of a General, becauſe it was neither agreeable to her ſex nor dignity to take the command of the army herſelf; and there was no body elſe proper to be truſted with ſo important a charge: upon which account, being prevailed upon by the perſuaſions of many, and particularly by the advice that was given her by the Duke of *Guiſe*, when he lay upon his death-bed; to which ſhe paid the more regard, becauſe at that time people generally forget private intereſts, and ſpeak their real ſentiments, ſhe concluded a peace, and granted the *Hugonots* liberty of conſcience, though with no other view than to put a ſtop to that ſlaughter, extortion, rapine, ſacrilege, and other ſuch violent uſurpations and enormities, which depopulated the whole kingdom: hoping that time would diſpel a humour, that, ſhe was very well aſſured, proceeded more from private enmities and a deſire of power than any regard to religion: that ſhe knew this treaty was ſo diſagreeable to ſeveral Princes, that ſome of them began to entertain ſuſpicions of her faith; but, as ſhe was conſcious of her own ſincerity, ſhe had placed her hopes in God, and expected her juſtification from him alone: that every body muſt be long ago convinced, that the peace had not only delivered the kingdom from the ſpoil and devaſtation of the reiters, but driven the *Engliſh* out of *Havre de Grace*, where they had ſettled themſelves, and given the poor people time to breathe, after the many troubles and calamities by which they had been harraſſed and undone: that it had produced one great advantage

1568.

1568. advantage in particular, as it had taken away all pretences from the *Hugonots* of rebelling: that many things were done and ſuffered for no other purpoſe but to reduce great men to reaſon, and abate the fury of hereſy; whilſt ſhe was trying, by various means, to accompliſh that juſt and pious intention, to maintain the union of the kingdom, ſo neceſſary to *Chriſtendom*, and to eſtabliſh peace, ſo dear to all mankind: but that all remedies and treaties of accommodation having proved ineffectual, the *Hugonots* had again taken arms: that ſhe had uſed all poſſible endeavours to aſſemble the King's forces before the enemy could receive any ſupplies from abroad: that ſhe had earneſtly exhorted them to come to an engagement, which happened at *St. Dennis*, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that it was well known to all men things were in a much worſe ſituation than ever: that ſince ſhe had prevailed upon the King to make the Duke of *Anjou* General of the army, in order to prevent any private intereſts from interfering with the publick good, ſhe hoped there would have been an abſolute deciſion of all differences, and peace reſtored to the kingdom on *Chriſtmas* eve laſt: that her ſon had not failed on his part; for, though he was but very young and not inured to hardſhips, he had marched all night with a reſolution to fight, but that which ſhe had apprehended in the general had happened in his council; for the enemy had time given them, ſhe knew not how, to paſs the *Meuſe* and join with their confederates the *Germans*: that this event was attended with thoſe horrid devaſtations which ſhe had always dreaded, as ſhe plainly ſaw the body of *France*, by loſing ſo much blood at every vein, muſt ſoon inevitably periſh: that the ſiege of *Chartres* had occaſioned an abſolute neceſſity either of riſking the whole kingdom upon a throw of the dice, againſt an army of deſperate gameſters, or of endeavouring to put an end to theſe calamities by a peace: that by ſuch a manner of proceeding the *Germans* would be again diſmiſſed, time given to take breath, the enemy ſeparated, the danger removed for the preſent, and the care of the future left to Divine Providence: that it was now to be hoped, and with great reaſon, they ſhould obtain their deſired end, and that one day or other the candour and uprightneſs of her intentions would appear to all the world.

Though the Ambaſſador communicated theſe reaſons to ſuch as he thought proper, and the Senate, which always inclined to peaceable meaſures, did not diſapprove of her proceedings, yet thoſe of a more turbulent diſpoſition could not forbear finding fault with the accommodation, and putting ſiniſter conſtructions upon the Queen's intentions. Thoſe, however, who had the direction of affairs, agreed to it, and, the articles being ſigned, peace was proclaimed the 20th of *March*, on theſe conditions; that thoſe of the pretended reformed religion ſhould have

have free exerciſe of their worſhip in all parts of the kingdom, according to the former act of pacification; and that all edicts ſince publiſhed to the prejudice of it ſhould be deemed as void: that the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, and the reſt, ſhould not be liable to the ſentence that had been paſſed upon them, the King declaring he was ſatisfied that whatever had been done was with a very good intention, and for the benefit of the publick: that the *Hugonot* Lords ſhould reſtore the towns in their poſſeſſion, and diſmiſs Prince *Caſimir* with his army, upon the King's advancing a certain ſum of money for their payment: but before they left the confines of the kingdom, his Majeſty ſhould ſend back all the *Swiſs*, the *Italian* forces, both horſe and foot, and thoſe which had been ſent by the King of *Spain* into *France*: that part of the money diſburſed to *Caſimir* ſhould be looked upon as a free gift from his Majeſty, and the reſt repaid, in a limited time, by the Prince of *Condé* and the *Hugonots*. Laſtly, that all the commanders and gentlemen of that religion might retire whither they pleaſed, and enjoy their offices and eſtates without moleſtation. This agreement being publiſhed in the parliaments, they began to put the articles in execution: but neither one ſide nor the other proceeded in it with ſuch readineſs and ſincerity as the quiet of the kingdom required. On the contrary, they both endeavoured to prevent it, by raiſing difficulties and impediments upon every trifling occaſion. For though the *Hugonot* Lords, who conſented to the agreement, againſt their inclination, had diſmiſſed Prince *Caſimir*, with the pay that was promiſed him by the King, and he had marched towards *Lorrain*, and from thence, after much ravage and devaſtation, retired into his father's dominions, yet they would not conſent to an entire reſtitution of the places that were in their hands, but ſtill kept *Sanſerre*, *Montauban*, *Albi*, *Millaud*, and *Caſtres*. The citizens of *Rochelle* likewiſe ſaid, they were not obliged to ſubmit to an agreement that was made without their approbation; and not only refuſed to admit the Governor and garriſon ſent them by the King, but made great preparations to fortify and defend themſelves. 1568.

The Prince and the Admiral, not daring to lay down their arms, much leſs to go to court, had retired, the one to *Noyers*, the other to *Chaſtillon*, where they continued with a conſiderable guard, ready to take any advantage or opportunity that offered, ſtill keeping up a negotiation with the proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and endeavouring to engage them in new attempts, and to raiſe freſh forces. Many of the common ſoldiers, who knew they could not live ſafely in their own houſes, and had not ſufficient to maintain themſelves, aſſembled upon the confines of *Picardy*, under a pretence of going into *Flanders* to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that were in arms there, which the King had expreſsly prohibited by many ſevere edicts.

But,

1568. But, having put themſelves under the command of Monſieur *De Coque Ville*, they ſeized upon the caſtle of *St. Valery*, in the county of *Caux*, a place very conveniently ſituated not only for a paſſage into the *Low Countries*, but to hold a correſpondence with *England:* which, it was imagined, they durſt not have done without the approbation and encouragement of the Prince of *Condé*, and the reſt of the *Hugonot* lords. On the other hand, the King complained that all the towns had not yet returned to their duty, and, for that reaſon, would neither diſmiſs the *Italians* nor *Swiſs*, but took the advantage of exceptions, and made uſe of various pretences, to reſtrain the liberty in ſeveral reſpects, that had been granted to the *Hugonots*, many of whom were ill treated by the populace, and numbers puniſhed and driven out of the cities by the magiſtrates, but upon other accounts, as it was pretended.

In the mean time, the King and Queen Mother had frequent conſultations how to put an end to theſe diſturbances; and, for this purpoſe, the *cabinet council* was then firſt eſtabliſhed, which did not conſiſt of ſuch perſons as are uſually admitted, on account of their birth, or in right of their places, but of a few ſelect members, that were choſe and thoroughly confided in by the King, with whom he privately conferred in his own apartment, and communicated his moſt ſecret reſolutions to them. The firſt that were honoured with this confidence, next to the Queen Mother, who had the principal ſhare in all their deliberations, were the Duke of *Anjou* the King's brother, the High Chancellor *De l'Hoſpital*, *Lewis de Lanſac*, *John de Morvilliers* Biſhop of *Orleans*, *Sebaſtian de l'Aubeſpine* Biſhop of *Limoges*, *Henry de Meſmes*, Seigneur *de Malaſſiſe*, the Preſident *Renè de Birague*, and *Villeroy* Secretary of ſtate, who immediately entered into a conſultation upon the preſent ſtate of affairs, but found it a very difficult matter to determine upon any thing, as there was ſuch a manifeſt inconſiſtency in the different meaſures that were propoſed: for, if they took up arms again, the ſame difficulties would recur that had obliged them to deſire and conclude a peace. And on the other hand, it was not poſſible to execute their former deſigns by dint of policy; for the chiefs of the *Hugonot* faction did not ſeem at all diſpoſed to return to their obedience: and to ſecure their perſons was very far from an eaſy matter; for neither the Prince, nor the Admiral, nor *Andelot*, nor any of their leaders, would be prevailed upon to come near the court, but were full of ſuſpicion, and kept themſelves armed in ſeveral places at a diſtance, narrowly obſerving all proceedings againſt them.

Theſe difficulties held the council many days in ſuſpence. In the mean time complaints arrived from all parts of new inſurrections and tumults, which were raiſed either by the impatience of the Catholicks, or the arrogance of the *Hugonots*, and always attended with danger and

bloodſhed. They concluded therefore at laſt, that it was neceſſary to proceed with more reſolution and leſs regard, in order to take away the cauſes of theſe obſtinate and continual tumults. For which purpoſe the King took occaſion to acquaint the Prince of *Condé*, that he muſt repay the money that had been diſburſed to Prince *Caſimir*, which the *Hugonot* Lords had obliged themſelves to diſcharge in a certain time, then expired: deſiring him likewiſe to take notice, that he did not intend that the money ſhould be raiſed by way of contribution upon the commonalty of the *Hugonots*, for he would not ſuffer any other perſon to take the liberty and power of laying taxes upon his people: but that he expected the chiefs of them, who had been the authors of the late wars and commotions, ſhould ſatisfy this debt out of their own eſtates, according to their promiſe, as it had been contracted without the advice or conſent of particular perſons, when they had called *Caſimir*, with an army of *Germans*, into the kingdom, only to ſerve their own intereſts. 1568.

The Prince was not a little ſhocked at this demand of a debt, which amounted to the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns, as he ſaw the King was reſolved to ruin him and the Admiral, and all the principal perſons of the faction by it: for, none of them being able to raiſe ready money enough to perform their promiſe, he knew their goods and eſtate; would be confiſcated and ſold at a very low value, which he was determined not to ſubmit to; and having ſent for the Admiral, they had a long conſultation about it; after which he boldly anſwered the King, "That "this not being his own private or particular debt, but contracted for "the ſervice of thoſe who had put themſelves under his protection, to "preſerve their lives and religion; and the articles of the peace import-"ing, that he and all the reſt of his party ſhould be engaged for the "diſcharge of it, it was not reaſonable that the payment ſhould now be "required of him only, and ſome few other Lords, to their utter ruin, "as they were already ſo much diſtreſſed, by reſiſting the perſecutions of "their enemies: but that, if his Majeſty was poſitively reſolved to be "paid immediately, it was neceſſary to give them leave to raiſe the mo-"ney upon the reformed churches, which, he was ſatisfied, would wil-"lingly ſubmit to the burden: and, if he did not give them leave, his "Majeſty might eaſily foreſee, that deſpair would oblige many to have "recourſe to new and dangerous remedies, contrary to his deſire and in-"tentions; that he well knew this proceeded from his enemies, who "were offended at the peace, and adviſed ſuch precipitate meaſures in "order to renew the war: that this was not their firſt attempt; for they "had already, in many places, cruelly murdered thoſe that were aſ-"ſembled at their devotions, by his Majeſty's permiſſion, and put arms "into the hands of the moſt ſeditious people in *France*: that he prayed

1568. " his Majeſty to inform himſelf of what had happened at *Rouen*, *Amiens*,
" *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Troyes*, *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, *Ligny*, and many
" other places, that he might do juſtice to the oppreſſed, and cauſe his
" own promiſes to be obſerved: and concluded with deſiring his Majeſty
" to conſider in his own breaſt what was juſt and poſſible, and not ſuffer
" himſelf to be impoſed upon or miſguided by the inſinuations of others,
" nor endeavour to force him to what he could not by any means per-
" form."

This letter abſolutely confirmed the King and cabinet council in their reſolution to proceed without any regard, as it looked more like a threatning proteſt than an apology: and they were convinced, that whilſt the Prince and the Admiral had any power left, the peace would never be ſecure, nor the kingdom free from the danger of another viſit from the *Germans*. So that, being now at a certainty, they determined to ſurpriſe the Prince and the Admiral on a ſudden, if they could, who, contrary to their firſt reſolution of reſiding in different places, that they might not both be taken at one time, were now together at *Noyers*, upon the confines of *Burgundy*, a town not very ſtrong, nor ſo well guarded that it could make any long reſiſtance. But as it was an affair that required more ſecreſy than force in the execution, *Jaſper* Count *de Tavanes*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Aumale* in the government of that province, where he had fourteen troops of Gens d'armes, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo*, who was quartered likewiſe in thoſe parts with the *Italians*, had orders to come upon that place ſo ſuddenly, and ſecure all the paſſes in ſuch manner, that neither of them might find any means to eſcape. The King thought himſelf juſtified in this ſtep: for beſides their paſt actions, the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs with which they had incited the people to rebellion, the *Hugonot* Lords had not, in many reſpects, perſormed the articles of the peace, upon which, and no other conſideration, he was obliged to pardon them. And he hoped to ſucceed in the attempt without much difficulty, becauſe when *Noyers* was blocked up, he might ſend ſuch a number of forces thither that it muſt of neceſſity be reduced before they could receive any aſſiſtance; and imagined, that neither *Andelot*, nor any of the reſt, had either credit or authority ſufficient to renew the war, if the Prince and the Admiral were once ſecured.

This attempt, however, was no ſooner reſolved upon than known to thoſe very perſons againſt whom it was intended. But they ſaw themſelves encompaſſed by the King's forces: for *Martinengo*, having ſent two companies of foot into *Orleans*, ſtill continued advancing, under pretence of changing his quarters, and was now pretty near them. The Duke of *Montpenſier* and Monſieur *De Martigues* guarded the paſſes of the *Loire*; the Duke of *Guiſe* lay upon the confines of *Champagne* with

ſeven

ſeven troops of lances; and the Marſhal *De Coſſé* was under arms in *Picardy*, having ſollicited a commiſſion to ſuppreſs thoſe that had ſeized upon *St. Valery*, to wipe off the ſuſpicion which the King had conceived of his fidelity; but the Count *De Tavanes* had advanced the neareſt, and was but a little diſtance from them; ſo that they were ſurrounded on every ſide as it were with a net. Neceſſity, therefore, obliged them to take ſome ſpeedy reſolution before the King's forces arrived, who ſtill kept advancing, and ſeeing their ruin inevitable if they ſtaid to be beſieged in *Noyers*, they determined to ſave themſelves by flight, and retire into ſome place, where they might not only be ſecure, but raiſe an army, and aſſemble their followers and dependants. 1568.

Agreeable to this reſolution, which they kept concealed from their own domeſticks, they ſecretly took horſe on the 1ſt of *September* in the night, with their wives and children, attended only by two hundred horſe, that they might make the more haſte and not be ſo eaſily diſcovered, and marched with great expedition towards *Rochelle*, leaving Captain *Du Bois* behind, with the ſame number of horſe, to delay the approach of the enemy as much as poſſible, if they offered to purſue them, that ſo they might have time to make their eſcape: and it happened luckily for them that the water was ſo very low, by the unuſual drought of the ſeaſon, that they might ford the *Loire*, a great and rapid river, without any danger, near the town of *Rouen*; which otherwiſe they could not poſſibly have paſſed, as all the bridges were in the poſſeſſion of the King's forces. Captain *Du Bois* had not the ſame good fortune: for being purſued by *Martinengo*, and overtaken near the river, his men were totally broke and defeated, and he was obliged to fly to a caſtle not far off, where he ſurrendered himſelf to *Martinengo*, who ſent him priſoner to court. But the Prince and the Admiral, who had happily forded the river long before, marched with incredible expedition, and arrived in a few days at *Rochelle*, without being overtaken; a town, upon all accounts very proper to make the principal ſeat of their party, their place of arms and a magazine in time of war. For the Princes having loſt the two great and ſtrong towns of *Orleans* and *Rouen*, which were ſo conveniently ſituated for the reception and maintenance of their faction, it was neceſſary for them to provide ſome other place that lay in a rich, fertile country, and had likewiſe the advantage of a ſea port. They could not therefore fix upon any one more commodious for them than *Rochelle:* for if they were in poſſeſſion of that port, and the neighbouring iſlands, which were very fruitful and populous, they might eaſily receive aſſiſtance out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Bretagne*, and *Normandy*, all countries that were full of their partiſans, and eſtabliſh themſelves in a town very difficult to be taken from them: ſo that in the

1568. diſtreſs they were then in, there was not much doubt to be made of the place whither they ſhould retire. Being received then with great joy by the citizens of *Rochelle*, and by many of their principal miniſters, who had retired thither before for ſafety, they began to diſpatch couriers and letters into all parts, ſummoning their friends and adherents to come in to them without delay, not only to ſecure their own perſons, but to unite with them, and form ſuch a body as might be able to reſiſt thoſe forces which they knew were deſigned to attack them.

There was no need of many invitations; for at the report only of the flight and danger of the Prince of *Condé*, all thoſe of his faction began to riſe, and immediately took arms, that they might be ready as ſoon as ever they were called upon: even thoſe very perſons that were ſo violent for the concluſion of a peace, being now tired of lying idle a few months, already longed for a war, and were more eager to enter into it than any of the reſt, according to the voluble and inconſtant diſpoſition of that nation.

Notice being thus given for their forces to aſſemble, they in a few days came in from all parts of the kingdom to *Rochelle*: thoſe of *Poictou*, under the conduct of *D'Ivoy* and *Boſſet*; thoſe of *Perigort*, under *Soubiſe* and *De Puviaut*; thoſe of *Cahors*, under *Piles* and *Clermont*; thoſe of *Normandy* under the Count of *Montgomery* and *Columbiere*; and thoſe of *Bretagne*, under the Vidame of *Chartres* and *Lavardine*. *Andelot* and *La Noüe*, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Duke of *Montpenſier* and Monſieur *De Martigues* in their paſſage over the *Loire*, arrived ſafe at the ſame place, with a conſiderable number of horſe, though they had loſt many in ſome of the encounters. At laſt the Queen of *Navarre*, who was no leſs ſollicitous than the reſt for her own ſafety, and deſirous not only to animate and ſtrengthen her own party, but to advance the fortune of her ſon, now fifteen years of age, raiſed a large body of horſe and foot in *Bearn*, and came in perſon to the general rendezvous at *Rochelle*. *Odet*, ſome time Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, who lived at *Beauvais* near *Paris*, was the only one that durſt not venture to come thither; for as he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the King's forces, and thought it impoſſible, upon account of the length of the journey, to get ſafe to his friends, he put on the dreſs of a ſailor and went to the ſea-ſide, from whence he made his eſcape, after many dangers, into *England*, where he was received with great reſpect by the Queen, and afterwards did his party much ſervice, by continuing at that court as their agent.

When the *Hugonot* Lords had thus ſpeedily raiſed a great army about *Rochelle*, they in the firſt place, according to cuſtom, publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify their proceedings, and give a plauſible reaſon for the ſudden reſolution they had taken of renewing the war; in which, after a long recital

recital of all the injuries that had been done to thoſe of the reformed religion at different times and places, they ſet forth at large the imminent danger they daily lived in of being abuſed and oppreſſed by the perſecution of their enemies, whilſt they continued unarmed; and concluded with proteſting, that they had taken up arms only for the defence of their liberties, their lives, and the religion which, under God, they profeſſed, without any other end or deſign whatſoever, and were ſtill deſirous of living as ſubjects in obedience to his Majeſty, provided they might have ſecurity for their lives and conſciences. At the ſame time Queen *Jane* likewiſe publiſhed ſome letters, directed to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, in which ſhe repeated the ſame things that had been ſet forth by the *Hugonots* in their manifeſto; declaring, that ſhe could do no leſs than join the Prince of *Condé*, and the reſt of that religion, as well for the maintenance of the faith which ſhe profeſſed, as to ſecure herſelf from the treacherous deſigns which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* on one ſide, and the *Spaniards* on the other, continually had upon her life, and that of her ſon, and the miſerable remains of the kingdom of *Navarre*. But it plainly appeared, that theſe pretences, though ſet off with much eloquence, were either wholly invented, or greatly exaggerated by herſelf; and that the chief conſideration that moved her to it was the vehement deſire ſhe had to ſee *Calvin's* religion flouriſh and increaſe, and her ſon at the head of that faction, as the Prince of *Condé* then was, and her huſband, the King of *Navarre*, formerly had been. 1568.

But his Majeſty and the Queen Mother, ſeeing all the *Hugonot* commanders in a moment retired into a place of ſecurity and advantage, an army ſuddenly raiſed, and a war kindled, which they had endeavoured to prevent with ſo much art and diſſimulation, plainly perceived the ſecrets of the cabinet-council muſt have been betrayed, and could not tell whom to ſuſpect of it, except the High Chancellor: for, beſides his being averſe to every thing that had been reſolved upon againſt the Prince and the Admiral, it was known, that his wife, his ſon-in-law, and his daughter, were all three of the *Hugonot* religion, and that he himſelf held a ſtrict correſpondence with *Teligny*, who was deſigned for the Admiral's ſon-in-law, a young man of great ſubtlety and diſſimulation, and therefore fixed upon by him to marry his daughter, as he was acquainted with thoſe maxims and principles by which he generally governed his actions. This ſuſpicion of the High Chancellor's fidelity, founded only on common report and ſurmiſe, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the King, that though there was no proof againſt him ſufficient to deprive him of his office, yet he not only turned him out, but forbid him the court, and gave the ſeals to Monſieur *Morvillieres*, a man of great experience and wiſdom,

1568. wiſdom, who, as an eccleſiaſtick, was not only very averſe to the *Hugonot* faction, but had not the leaſt connection with any of them, and was beſides a dependant upon the houſe of *Guiſe*, to which he lay under very great obligations.

Michael de l'Hoſpital being thus removed from the court and cabinet-council, the King and Queen were deſirous to take away all matter that might adminiſter fuel to the fire that was now ready to break out again; and for that purpoſe cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, in which they promiſed to obſerve the articles of the peace, and grant liberty of conſcience to all ſuch as continued peaceably at home, and did not take up arms or join thoſe that went about inciting the people to rebellion by falſe pretences, and for their own private intereſts. But not many days after, being either prevailed upon by the reaſons which the Catholicks alledged againſt this edict, as a means to encourage the practices and deſigns of the enemy, or elſe perceiving that the *Hugonots* were neither reſtrained by fear, nor pacified by the King's clemency, but had all unanimouſly aſſembled at *Rochelle* with the ſame intention, and could not be withheld by any promiſes whatſoever from running tumultuouſly into arms, being willing alſo to comply with the requeſts, and confirm the fidelity of the Catholick party, which at that time was the main ſupport of the royal authority, and deſirous to ſecure the amity of Pope *Pius* the fifth, who ſometimes by the moſt preſſing inſtances, ſometimes by granting particular favours to his Majeſty, was perpetually ſolliciting a prohibition of the *Hugonot* religion: and being reſolved at the ſame time to make known the ſincerity of their intentions in that reſpect, till then much ſuſpected by all *Chriſtendom*, they iſſued out another edict, in which, after a long and circumſtantial narrative of all the kindneſſes and indulgence that the King had ſhewn to the *Hugonots*, in order to reduce them to a right underſtanding, and after a particular enumeration of the various inſurrections and conſpiracies with which, in contempt of his Majeſty's grace and favour, they had continually diſturbed and laid waſte his kingdom, by bringing in foreigners and mortal enemies to the *French* nation, to invade and poſſeſs the ſtrongeſt places and moſt flouriſhing parts in his dominions, they at laſt revoked all edicts that had been publiſhed concerning religion, and annulled the late treaty of peace which had been made only for a time, and, by way of proviſion, expreſſly ordaining and commanding, that the exerciſe of any religion whatſoever, except the *Roman* Catholick, which had been conſtantly obſerved by his Majeſty and the Kings his predeceſſors, ſhould be abſolutely prohibited in all parts of the kingdom: baniſhing the *Calviniſt* miniſters and preachers out of every town and place under his dominion, and enjoining them, upon pain of death, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days; pardoning all things paſt in matters

matters of religion, out of his ſpecial grace; requiring, for the future, a general conformity to the rites of the Catholick church, on pain of capital puniſhment: finally declaring, that no perſon ſhould be admitted to any office, employment, dignity, or magiſtracy whatſoever till he had firſt made a profeſſion of his faith, and that he would in all reſpects conform himſelf to the worſhip and ceremonies of the *Roman* religion. 1568.

This conſtitution being publiſhed amidſt an incredible concourſe of the *Pariſians*, and received with exceeding joy by all the parliaments, plainly ſhewed that it had ever been the intention of the King and Queen to ſuppreſs and deſtroy the *Hugonot* party, but that they were deſirous to do it without the noiſe of war, and with as little prejudice to the people, or danger of diſmembering the kingdom, as poſſible. But as all the art, and patience, and diſſimulation which they had ſo long practiſed did not meet with the deſired ſucceſs, they now at laſt laid aſide the maſk, and declared an implacable war againſt the *Hugonot* faction.

They were not leſs active in making preparations for the field, than reſolute and ſevere in their decrees: for the Duke of *Anjou* being declared Lieutenant-General of all the provinces, ſoon aſſembled an army, with a reſolution immediately to advance into *Xaintoigne*, to ſuppreſs the *Hugonot* forces before they received any aſſiſtance, either from the Queen of *England*, or the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*. On the other hand, the Prince and the Admiral, remembering the cauſe of the late accommodation, had obliged themſelves and all their party, by a ſolemn oath, at *Rochelle*, to perſevere, even to death, in the defence of their religion, and never to accept of any terms without the conſent of all the commanders, and ſufficient ſecurity for the preſervation of their lives, and full liberty of conſcience. After this covenant, thus ſworn to and eſtabliſhed amongſt themſelves, they ſent directly into *England* and *Germany* to procure ſupplies from thence. The Admiral likewiſe, who had learnt, by long diſcipline and experience, that food and other neceſſary proviſions are the only means to ſecure ſucceſs, by keeping an army together, and uſed to ſay, that "an army is a monſter that begins to be "formed by the belly;" conſidering they were ſhut up in a corner, which, though fruitful, was confined on one ſide by the river *Loire*, and on the other by the mountains, which extend themſelves from *Languedoc* and *Gaſcony* to the *Pyrenees*, adviſed the Prince to take all poſſible care to lay in corn, money, and ammunition ſufficient to ſupply their preſent occaſion, and the neceſſities of the approaching winter. For which purpoſe they got together thirty veſſels, of different kinds and ſizes, to ſcour the ſea and run up rivers, to plunder the merchant-ſhips and little towns upon the coaſts, and not only bring in what corn they could from other parts to *Rochelle*, but take all the money likewiſe that they met with, and

other

1568. other merchandizes that could be converted into money, to ſupply them in the diſtreſs to which they were reduced. This advice had ſo good an effect, that in the ſpace of a few months they took many veſſels which had put to ſea without any apprehenſion of ſuch an accident, and raiſed a ſum ſufficient to defray the expences of the army for ſome time. But they had much more aſſiſtance from the application of the Queen of *Navarre*, who ſo earneſtly ſollicited the Queen of *England*, by frequent letters and meſſages, that ſhe prevailed upon her, notwithſtanding the peace lately concluded with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, not only to accommodate them with ſhips, corn, and ammunition, but with a hundred thouſand ducats alſo for the payment of their army, in which ſhe pretended not to have broke the conditions of the peace, as the forces raiſed by the *Hugonots* were for the King's ſervice, ſhe ſaid, and the aſſiſtance of the crown, againſt the oppreſſors of the royal liberty, and the perſecutors of the true worſhip of God.

In the mean time the Prince and the Admiral, marching out with their army, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the neighbouring towns without oppoſition, and had ſuch ſucceſs, that in a few weeks they made themſelves maſters not only of all the country of *Xaintoigne*, but of moſt of the cities in *Poictou* and *Tourain*, which either voluntarily, or by force, joined the confederates, and received *Hugonot* garriſons. Theſe proceedings were not oppoſed at firſt by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who being ſent into that province with an inconſiderable number of men, could not make head againſt ſo ſtrong and numerous an army: ſo that the *Hugonots*, being maſters of the field without diſpute, over-run the whole country, burning and pillaging every place, whilſt they daily multiplied in ſtrength and numbers: for thoſe in the adminiſtration had not been careful enough to ſend a ſufficient force to ſuppreſs them in the beginning, or at leaſt to prevent their augmentation; and now they were obliged to ſpend much time in getting men together from other parts, and making them march ſo far from their own country.

But *Henry* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, the Count of *Briſac*, and the Sieurs *De Biron*, *Martigues*, and *La Valette*, having at laſt joined the Duke of *Montpenſier*, they unanimouſly agreed to keep the field, in order to check the fury and incurſions of the enemy, and defend thoſe towns that were not yet in the power of the *Hugonots*: and it ſo happened that at the ſame time that the Duke of *Montpenſier* left *Angiers* and came to lie upon the banks of the *Vienne*, the Sieurs *De Movans* and *D'Acier*, who had raiſed all the *Hugonot* forces of *Dauphinè*, *Provence*, *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*, and were going to join the army, arrived at the ſame place. They were about eighteen thouſand horſe and foot, but for the moſt part a ſort of tumultuary people, and not accuſtomed to war, who,

partly to ſecure themſelves from the ſeverity of the magiſtrates, and partly in hope of the booty that was propoſed to them, had voluntarily joined with certain of the nobility. But yet they were ſtrictly obedient to their officers, and marched in exceeding good order, divided into two columns, the firſt led by *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde*, the other by *D'Acier* himſelf, and generally encamped ſo near, that they could ſpeedily ſuccour each other: with which kind of diſcipline they overcame all impediments, and arrived, laden with plunder, from the remoteſt parts of *Lyonnois* and *Dauphinè*, upon the borders of *Xaintoigne*. 1568.

The Duke of *Montpenſier*, having intelligence of their coming, reſolved to fight them, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the diſcipline being relaxed in ſo long a march, or for ſome other reaſon, the van had, contrary to cuſtom, advanced a good way before the main body. Upon which account he departed from *Veſun* the 30th of *October*, two hours before day, and diſpoſed the order of the attack in ſuch a manner, that, whilſt he by frequent ſkirmiſhes kept the main body in play, which was with *D'Acier* in the ſecond diviſion, the Count of *Briſac* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with all their cavalry, ſhould ſurround *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde*, who led the van, and attack them as they marched into the plain, where the foot, of which they had a great number, but no pikes, would have ſo much the diſadvantage, that he thought it a very eaſy matter to defeat them. But the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Count of *Briſac*, having mounted twelve hundred of their foot behind them, made ſo much haſte, that, contrary to their inſtructions, they came upon the enemy whilſt they were yet lodged in the village of *Meſſignac*, and had not begun to march; ſo that they loſt the advantage by which they hoped to have routed them, with a force that was much inferior in number. But as they ſaw the *Hugonots* were afraid of their horſe, and ſtood upon their defence in the village, that they might not ſeem to have come to no purpoſe, they attacked them with great fury, and the victory was obſtinately diſputed on both ſides for two hours, till the Catholick commanders, perceiving they laboured in vain, and expoſed their men to evident danger, from the ſtrong ſituation of the place, reſolved to retreat, and, returning the ſame way that they came, placed themſelves in an ambuſh in a wood, not far from *Meſſignac*, which extends itſelf a long way behind a hill, and there waited to ſee what courſe the enemy would take,

Mouvans and *Pierregourde*, imagining the King's forces were gone to meet their foot, with an intent to come back and attack them again in the ſame place, and hoping to reach *Riberac* before their return (a ſtrong place in the poſſeſſion of the *Hugonots*, and but five leagues diſtant) took no care to reconnoitre the country round about, and began their march

1568. in great haſte, to prevent their being viſited again by the Catholicks, who, they imagined, were now a good way off. But when they had advanced into the middle of a plain that lies near *Meſſignac*, and were purſuing their march with the utmoſt expedition, to recover a wood which reaches from thence to *Riberac*, they were furiouſly attacked on all ſides by the Catholicks, who came upon them with their horſe, divided into ſeveral ſquadrons; and though they were not very well able to defend themſelves in a plain open place, without pikes, as all their foot were harquebuſiers, yet they fought with exceeding bravery, and made it a bloody victory to the enemy. *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde* were killed upon the ſpot, with about two thouſand foot and more than four hundred horſe, the Catholick ſoldiers having inſtructions from their officers not to trouble themſelves about taking priſoners, who would afterwards redeem themſelves for a ſmall ranſom, and perverſely return into the ſervice of the *Hugonots*.

The Duke of *Montpenſier* having, in the mean time, overtaken the enemy's main body at *St. Chatier*, which was very numerous, and flanked with ſome good horſe out of *Provence* and *Daupkinè*, did not think it adviſeable to attack them with all his force, but that it would be ſufficient to keep them at bay, and prevent them from ſuccouring their van; for which purpoſe he kept them in motion by frequent and warm ſkirmiſhes till the night came on, and then retreating towards *Veſun*, the *Hugonots* took the advantage of the darkneſs, and marched all night, without ever ſtopping till about break of day, when they arrived at *Riberac*, and the day following, which was the 1ſt of *November*, joined the Prince and the Admiral at *Aubeterre*.

But the Duke of *Anjou* and his army, making very long marches, was now come to *Amboiſe*. Upon which account the Duke of *Montpenſier* and the other commanders, after the victory at *Meſſignac*, left off harraſſing the enemy, and went away with all their forces to join him; and on the 10th of *November* both the armies met at *Chaſtelraut*, a town in the confines of *Poictou*, upon the river *Vienne*.

Great was the expectation which every body had conceived of the valour and generoſity of this Prince, who, being adorned with the moſt noble endowments in the firſt flower of his age, ſeemed as if he was born on purpoſe to ſuſtain the weight of the greateſt empires in *Europe*; for with an excellent form of body he had ſo perfect a conſtitution, that the delicacy of his complexion did not hinder him from ſupporting the hardſhips that are incident to a ſoldier's life. His mind was no leſs accompliſhed, for he ſhewed ſuch ſigns of courage, magnanimity, prudence, and a generous ſpirit, that his virtues were thought much beyond his years. Theſe ornaments being accompanied with a natural eloquence,

and

and the knowledge of ſuch letters as become a Prince, gained him not only wonderful love, but reverence likewiſe from the army, the nobility, and the whole nation. And though indeed there appeared in his manners ſome few ſpots, from which human frailty is never totally exempt, yet his inclination to pleaſure was imputed to the greenneſs of his youth, and his profuſe liberality to his domeſticks and acquaintance, was looked upon rather as a greatneſs of mind, not yet matured, than a vicious extravagance. In this great eſteem was the Duke of *Anjou* with all men, and being deſirous to ſupport it by his actions, he was eager to face the enemy in the field, without further delay, leſt he ſhould be prevented by the rigour of the winter, which was now approaching. For this purpoſe he immediately reviewed his army, which conſiſted of ſeven thouſand horſe, ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, two thouſand *Italians*, and twelve thouſand *French* foot, and moved with all his forces through the ſame fruitful country of *Poictou*, towards the place where the *Hugonots* were. 1568.

At the ſame time the Prince of *Condé*, being maſter of all the country round, and hearing that ſuch a powerful enemy was advancing againſt him, had begun his march with twenty-four thouſand foot, and little leſs than four thouſand horſe, intending to approach as near as he could to the King's army, without abandoning the towns that were in poſſeſſion of his party, and take the advantage of any convenient opportunity that good fortune ſhould preſent. Both the Generals had the ſame deſign; though it very rarely happens that two enemies concur in opinion concerning the conduct of a war. For the Duke of *Anjou*, who thought himſelf ſuperior not only in number, but in the courage and diſcipline of his ſoldiers, was deſirous to come to an engagement, in hopes of ſuppreſſing the *Hugonots* before their ſuccours come out of *Germany*; and the Prince of *Condé*, whoſe army conſiſted of voluntiers, who ſerved for the moſt part without pay, knew that the union and ardour of his men would not continue long, and for that reaſon thought it much better to avail himſelf of their preſent eagerneſs and bring them immediately to an action, than to plunge himſelf into thoſe difficulties which he had ſufficiently experienced upon other occaſions by prolonging the war.

But the deſire and intention of the Generals was thwarted by the inclemency of the ſeaſon. It was then about the end of *November*, and the ſevere froſts and ſnow that had fallen in great quantities, retarded the progreſs both of one and the other: for, the days being ſhort and the nights exceſſively cold, they could hardly either bring in proviſions, or advance with their army and cannon through roads that were ſo rough and covered with ſnow; ſo that they were forced to make but ſhort marches, and lodge in convenient quarters, to refreſh the ſoldiers after

1568. their grievous fatigues and ſufferings; for neither the men nor horſes could poſſibly continue in tents; which obſtacles were the occaſion that the two armies advanced very ſlowly. But they overcame all difficulties at laſt, with wonderful reſolution on both ſides, and came ſo near to each other, betwixt *Poictiers*, *Chaſtelraut*, and *Luſignan*, that they were not above four *French* leagues aſunder, which anſwer to twelve *Italian* miles.

The Duke of *Anjou*, with the groſs of the army, lay at *Jaſeneuil*, a town upon the main road, which leads directly from *Poictiers* to the place where the enemy was; and part of the cavalry, with ſome few foot, for the greater convenience, were lodged at *Sanſe*, a village but a league diſtant from *Jaſeneuil*. The Prince of *Condé*, on the other hand, marching with all his forces towards the Catholicks, was arrived at *Colombiere*, two leagues from *Luſignan*, at which town all his army was very commodiouſly quartered. In the midway betwixt both camps was a village, called *Pamprou*, upon which each General had a deſign, with an intent to lodge his van there, that he might be the nearer to harraſs and moleſt the enemy: and it happened that *Martigues* on the Catholick ſide, and *Andelot* on the *Hugonots*, both advanced at the ſame time with the firſt troops of their armies, to make themſelves maſters of it. At their meeting there was a fierce and bloody ſkirmiſh betwixt them, which was gallantly maintained for many hours with various ſucceſs to both parties. But, whatever was the occaſion, the Catholicks began to give ground, and the village at laſt fell into the hands of the *Hugonots*, who purſued their victory, and advanced to follow the light horſe, which retreated fighting.

In the mean time the Duke of *Montpenſier* arrived to ſupport the Catholicks with ſix hundred lances; upon which *Andelot*, being much inferior in ſtrength, retired to the deſcent of a hill, which was betwixt him and the village, where he extended the front of his horſe, and covered each flank with his foot in ſuch a manner, that the enemy could neither take a view of his flanks nor rear, but thought the whole army had been drawn out, and thus loſt an opportunity of totally defeating him. But the face of things was ſoon changed: for within a little while the Prince and the Admiral appeared with all their forces, by which they became much too ſtrong for the Catholicks, who only had their van with them, all the reſt of the army being left behind at *Jaſeneuil*. *Montpenſier*, therefore, and *Martigues*, being ſenſible of their weakneſs, and apprehenſive they ſhould be purſued if the enemy perceived it, left off ſkirmiſhing by degrees, and retired to the ſide of a great thick wood that was behind them, and there drew up their men with as large a front as they could, and placed their harquebuſiers amongſt the trees to make the greater ſhew.

But

But as it grew late, the *Hugonot* commanders, being deceived in their turn, imagined all the Catholick army was there, as well as theirs, and, thinking they had done ſufficient in driving them from *Pamprou*, ſtaid there for the ſake of lodging under cover, without any intention of attacking the enemy that night. So that *Montpenſier* and *Martigues*, having ordered the *Swiſs* to beat their drums till midnight, to make the *Hugonots* believe all the King's forces were there, eſpecially the *Swiſs*, whom they were much afraid of; and having cauſed lighted matches to be hung upon the hedges and in the wood to confirm the enemy in their miſtake, retired, in the dead of the night, with the utmoſt ſilence, to *Jaſeneuil*, and by this means avoided the imminent danger they had been in of a defeat. 1568.

In the morning the Prince and the Admiral, perceiving the error by which they had miſſed ſo fair an opportunity, reſolved to loſe no more time, but to go directly and attack that part of the Catholick army which was quartered at *Sanſé*, with an intention, if the Duke of *Anjou* did not move, to break and diſperſe it, and, if he did, to try the fortune of a battle in the open field. But the Duke had, the ſame morning, upon the enemy's approach, ſent for all his forces to the head quarters, and, quitting the village, removed his whole camp to *Jaſeneuil*; which being unknown to the *Hugonots*, they ſet out early in the morning, and under the favour of a thick miſt, marched in great ſilence with their whole army towards *Sanſé*. But when they came to a place where the main road branches out into two, one of which leads to *Sanſé*, and the other to *Jaſeneuil*, the Admiral, taking the left-hand, marched on, as he intended, towards the village; and the Prince, through miſtake, turning to the right-hand, took the road which led directly to the Catholick camp at *Jaſeneuil*, being prevented by the miſt from perceiving that he was out of the way, till he was ſo near the King's quarters, that he came to front the enemy in a plain open place, and was ſo far advanced that he could not ſafely retreat. The Duke of *Anjou*, ſeeing the enemy's approach, and not knowing their miſtake, thought they came with a reſolution to attack him, and for that reaſon drew up his men on a riſing ground, and advantageouſly ſituated, but rather too much confined for his cavalry, and courageouſly expected the onſet. But the Prince of *Condé*, being ſenſible of his error at laſt, and not knowing what was become of the Admiral with the van, went himſelf to reconnoitre the field, and preſently reſolved to make himſelf maſter of two little hills on each ſide of the road, where he placed his foot, that were formed into two diviſions, behind ſome trees and props of vines, making uſe of the ditches and banks, with which that country abounded, as a breaſt-work and defence for himſelf. The foot being thus poſted in an advantage-

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1568. ous manner, and in a great meaſure out of danger, his next care was, how to ſecure the horſe, which, being ranged along the highway, could not decline an engagement whenever the Catholicks ſhould advance to charge them; ſo that, to avoid all appearance of fear, the Prince ſtill kept moving gently forwards, as if he was determined to fight them in the plain, which extended itſelf betwixt the two hills and the King's camp.

As ſoon as the Duke of *Anjou* ſaw the enemy's horſe in the plain, he took it for granted that the Prince deſigned to give him battle, and ordered all his artillery to fire upon them, of which he had a large train planted on each flank, hoping by that means to terrify them, and at the ſame time to diſorder two great ſquadrons of light horſe, which were placed in the front, and advanced towards him before the reſt of the army. But the Prince, taking his opportunity whilſt the plain was covered by the ſmoak of the artillery, prudently retired with his horſe beyond the hills, and immediately began to throw up an intrenchment croſs the highway, from one hill to the other; ſo that being covered on each flank by the hills, and having cut off the enemy's paſſage along the plain, he placed there four field-pieces, which he had brought with him, and ſix hundred *Gaſcon* harquebuſiers, to defend that poſt. When the ſmoke was vaniſhed, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Count *De Lude* advanced to the attack with two ſquadrons of horſe, but finding the field evacuated by the *Hugonots*, they marched up as far as the hills without any oppoſition, and then returned to the main body with intelligence, that the Prince was beginning to intrench upon the plain. The Duke of *Anjou*, being perplexed with theſe uncertain proceedings of the *Hugonots*, immediately ſent the Count *De Briſac* towards the hills with the *French* muſquetiers, ſupported by four troops of horſe, under the command of Monſieur *De Valette*, to try if they could bring on an engagement by ſkirmiſhing with them; but the enemy not ſtirring from their place, and ſcouring the plain under them with furious vollies of ſmall arms, the reſt of the day was ſpent in light ſkirmiſhes; for the Prince would not leave his ſituation upon the hills, but on the contrary went on with his intrenchments; and the Duke of *Anjou* did not care to attack the *Hugonots* in their works at ſo great a diſadvantage.

In this interval the Admiral, concluding what had happened, from the report of the artillery, was returned with great expedition to join the Prince, without attempting any thing at *Sanſé*, lamenting that fortune had heaped error upon error, and wantonly diſappointed his well-laid deſigns. The armies ſtood to their arms, and guarded their poſts with great vigilance all the following night; but the next morning, both ſides being overcome by the extremity of the cold, and the exceeding fatigue

of continuing two whole nights under arms, the Generals reſolved to retreat, and, as if it had been by mutual conſent, the Duke of *Anjou* marched away to *Poictiers*, and the *Hugonots* to *Mirebeau*. 1568.

The Duke thought, by retiring into a plain open country, either to invite the enemy to fight upon equal terms, or elſe by often moving and changing his quarters to keep ſo near at hand, that he might find ſome opportunity of gaining an advantage. But the *Hugonot* commanders took another courſe, to avoid giving the enemy any ſuch opportunity as they ſought for, and marched away from the Catholicks with a reſolution to make a ſudden attempt upon *Saumur*, a city upon the *Loire*, where there is a very large bridge, which is one of the principal paſſes over that river, and by that means to open themſelves a way into the other provinces of *France*, ſo that they might not only receive ſupplies from them, but be better enabled to join ſuch forces as ſhould come out of *Germany* to their aſſiſtance: for the *Loire* in a manner dividing the whole kingdom of *France* into two parts, ſeparates that country, that was anciently called *Aquitania*, from *Gallia Celtica* and *Belgica*, a great part of which is ſtill ſubject to that crown. They likewiſe hoped, by beſieging and diſtreſſing a town of ſo much conſequence, that the Duke of *Anjou* would be induced to fight even upon unequal terms, rather than ſuffer it to be taken before his eyes; for though both ſides were deſirous of coming to an engagement, yet each endeavoured to take the other at a diſadvantage. But this ſcheme proved abortive: for the Duke knew that *Saumur* was a ſtrong place, and, being pretty well garriſoned, might eaſily ſuſtain any attack that the *Hugonots* could make upon it; ſo that he determined to raiſe them by a diverſion, without laying himſelf under a neceſſity of fighting at their pleaſure. For this purpoſe he let the Prince march towards *Saumur*, and departed himſelf two days after with plenty of proviſions for his men, from *Poictiers*, and went directly to attack *Mirebeau*, which he forced and took, to the great prejudice of the *Hugonots*, for the remainder of their army, with a great part of their carriages, were left there, and, without loſing any time, advanced further into the enemy's country to beſiege *Loudun*.

Monſieur *D'Acier* commanded in the town, where there were twelve companies of foot, with which he prepared to make a vigorous defence, truſting chiefly to the rigour of the ſeaſon, which was ſuch, that the Catholicks found great difficulties in raiſing their batteries and advancing their trenches. But when he ſaw ſuch a powerful army ſat down before it, he earneſtly ſollicited the chief commanders to conſider his danger and come to his relief: who, being moved by his intreaties, and much more to ſee the Duke ſo far advanced into a country from whence they had all their proviſions and ſupport, immediately abandoned their enterpriſe at

Saumur,

1568. *Saumur*, without having been able to effect any thing, and marched towards the Catholick army, being reduced to that neceſſity of fighting at a diſadvantage, to which they thought to have forced the enemy. They advanced, however, with great circumſpection, in ſuch order as became experienced commanders, and arrived at the ſuburbs of *Loudun* on the 20th of *December*, where they immediately encamped, on the ſide of the town that was oppoſite to the quarter which was battered and aſſaulted by the Catholicks.

The town lay betwixt the two armies, ſurrounded by a vaſt plain, without banks or ditches, or any other impediments, and afforded a very convenient opportunity for the armies either to ſkirmiſh, or come to a general engagement, with equal advantage. But the ſurface of the ground, which at another time would have been exceedingly proper for that purpoſe, was much altered by the inclemency of the ſeaſon; for the cold was ſo extreme, that the ſoldiers were half dead and benumbed, and the earth ſo hard and ſlippery, by the abundance of ice and frozen ſnow, that an infinite number of ſoldiers, who had fallen down and hurt themſelves to ſuch a degree that they could not do their duty, were continually carried out of the ſkirmiſhes into the tents. But the cavalry laboured under ſtill greater inconveniencies; for the ground being very flat and full of water, was covered all over with ſuch hard ice, that the horſes, having no foothold, fell one upon another, and the riders, being heavily armed, could neither advance nor retire without diſordering their own ſquadrons, and throwing the foot into confuſion. Theſe difficulties made it impoſſible for the armies to engage: for the firſt that moved was ſure to be broke and diſordered by itſelf; ſo that after they had ſtaid there four days, and both armies began to be in great want of proviſions, which the ſeverity of the winter prevented the ſuttlers from bringing in as they uſed to do, the Duke of *Anjou*, who lay in the open field and ſuffered the greateſt hardſhips, was determined not to throw away his army to no purpoſe; and for that reaſon retired four leagues from the enemy, paſſing a little river, beyond which he quartered his forces in the neighbouring towns and villages. When the *Hugonots* had intelligence of this, they imagined that the enemy's forces, which were diſtributed in different places for the conveniency of quarters, could not eaſily be brought together, and reſolved to attack the place where the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf lay, in hopes of gaining a victory before the reſt of the army could come to aſſiſt him. But when they came to the banks of the river, on the morning of the 27th of *December*, and expected to paſs it without any reſiſtance, they found it ſo reſolutely defended by the guards that were placed upon the fords, that, after having twice attempted to force their paſſage, they were obliged to retire; as they did, without much

much reluctance, upon two diſcharges of the enemy's artillery, which, they rightly judged, was a ſignal for the Catholicks to aſſemble and defend the paſſes of the river, as in fact it had been agreed upon before. So that they concluded it was impoſſible to ford it, without expoſing themſelves to very great danger. 1568.

After this retreat their army was viſited by a grievous ſickneſs, occaſioned by the late hardſhips; and the ſoldiers beginning to complain that they were led to fight not againſt men, but the inclemency of the weather, and even againſt nature itſelf, the commanders reſolved to retire to ſome diſtant place, where they might be ſecure till the ſeverity of the winter was in ſome meaſure over, and the ſeaſon would permit them to take the field again. Theſe reaſons induced the Prince and the Admiral to retreat into the lower *Poictou*, towards the confines of *Xaintoigne*; and the Duke of *Anjou*, following their example, marched with all his forces to *Chinon*, where they likewiſe began to feel the effects of their late fatigues: for ſo terrible a mortality enſued in both armies, that above four thouſand men died in a few days on each ſide. So that the proceedings of the Generals and the number of their forces being nearly the ſame, their loſſes and ſufferings were likewiſe almoſt equal.

In this manner ended the year 1568. The next abounded with great events and infinite bloodſhed: for in the beginning of it the Prince of *Condé*, having left the care of the army to the Admiral, went in perſon to *Rochelle*, to ſollicit money and other proviſions for the war, which coming in more ſlowly than they expected, had reduced them to extreme want of every thing. For though they had retired into one of the moſt fertile angles in all *France*, and lay in a country that ſided with their party, where they lived for the moſt part upon free quarter, and at the expence of the peaſants, yet they were in a manner confined, and had no opportunity of bringing in plunder, with which they uſed in other places to pay and maintain the army. The hundred thouſand ducats, ſent by the Queen of *England*, were already ſpent, beſides the money brought in by their fleet, which they ſent to cruize upon the merchant-ſhips: and the citizens of *Rochelle*, though ready to part with all their ſubſtance towards the maintenance of the war, were yet ſo exhauſted by the failure of their commerce, and many heavy contributions, that they could not furniſh much more; which obliged the Prince of *Condé* to come to a reſolution of ſelling the treaſure of the churches in *Xaintoigne*, and other provinces in his poſſeſſion, the Queen of *Navarre* giving an indemnity, out of her own eſtates, for the encouragement of thoſe that were inclined to purchaſe. 1569

From this ſale, for which they gave publick commiſſions to particular perſons, with incredible offence to the parliaments, and contempt of

1569. the royal authority, and from ſome contributions collected in *Rochelle* and the neighbouring iſles, they raiſed a ſum of money ſufficient to ſupport the army for ſome months, hoping in the mean while that the ſeaſon would grow more favourable, and they ſhould have an opportunity of advancing into a more open country, where they might find plunder enough, as uſual, to ſatisfy the continual importunities and urgent neceſſities of the ſoldiers.

The reſt of the provinces were not at peace; on the contrary, the war was carried on, with various ſucceſs, in all parts of the kingdom. Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, Governor of *Berry*, and the Count *Sierra Martinengo*, having beſieged *Sanſerre*, a city upon the *Loire*, continued to batter and aſſault it, ſometimes with good fortune and ſometimes with bad, but always with great ſlaughter on both ſides: and the Count *De Barbeſieux*, ſeeing *Noyers* abandoned by the Prince and the Admiral, attacked and took it with the forces of *Champagne*. The *Rochellers* likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the iſles near *Xaintoigne*, where, with great havock, they demoliſhed the moſt noble and ancient monaſtery of *St. Michael de Deſert*, cruelly deſtroying that venerable monument of the piety and devotion of their anceſtors.

Whilſt theſe things were carried on, the ſeverity of the winter being in ſome meaſure over, the Duke of *Anjou* left *Chinon* about the beginning of *March*, and keeping along the banks of the *Charenté*, marched towards the *Hugonots*, with a freſh ſupply of fifteen hundred horſe, that had arrived at his camp under the command of the Marquis of *Baden*, and the nobility and gentry of *Provence*, conducted by the Count *De Tende*. On the other ſide the Prince and the Admiral, having received intelligence that the Viſcounts *De Montclar* and *Bourniquet*, and other gentlemen of *Languedoc* and *Gaſcony*, were coming to their aid with a great number of horſe and foot, and being apprehenſive that the Catholick army might intercept their paſſage, left the territory of *Rochelle*, where they had ſtaid to refreſh themſelves, and paſſed the *Charenté*, advancing to meet them. But being informed afterwards of the Duke's motions, they diſcontinued their march, and having broke all the bridges, and placed ſtrong guards where the water was fordable, ſtaid at *Jarnac*, a town two leagues from the river, with an intention either to hinder the paſſage of the King's forces, and reduce them to a want of proviſions, as all that country was attached to the *Hugenots*; or, if they attempted to force their way, to ſet upon the troops that firſt got over, in hopes of gaining a compleat victory, by the advantage they ſhould have in engaging an army that was broke and embarraſſed with thoſe difficulties that always attend the paſſage of rivers.

But the Duke of *Anjou*, having ſtormed and taken the caſtle of *Melé* and

and *Ruffec* by the way, came to *Chaſteauneuf*, a much frequented and common paſs over the *Charenté*, where he found that the *Hugonots* had already broke down the bridge beyond *Chaſteauneuf*, and left a garriſon of a thouſand foot in the town, which lay upon the bank of the river, and on the ſame ſide with the Catholick army, thinking it a ſufficient ſtrength to defend that place. But experience ſhewed they were miſtaken: for the Count *De Briſac* having drawn the *French* infantry thither, and beat down ſome of their works with his cannon, thoſe within the town were ſo terrified, that they abandoned it without waiting for any aſſiſtance, and having paſſed the river in boats, retired to the army which lay two leagues off. The taking of *Chaſteauneuf* was but of little ſervice to the Duke of *Anjou*: for the bridge being broke down, and the enemy ſtanding prepared on the other ſide to hinder his paſſage, it was a very difficult matter either to repair the old bridge, or to make a new one, and much more dangerous to force a paſſage againſt ſo powerful an oppoſition. It behoved the Catholicks, therefore, to endeavour to ſurmount theſe difficulties by art, which they could not overcome by force: for which purpoſe, having left Monſieur *De Biron* Field-Marſhal, with neceſſary inſtructions, at *Chaſteauneuf*, the Duke moved, with all his army, to *Cognac*, marching along the river, as if he was looking for ſome more convenient place to paſs over it. 1569.

At the ſame time the Admiral moved with the *Hugonots* van on the other ſide of the river, and advanced the ſame way; ſo that, there being nothing but a narrow ſtream betwixt the two armies, they kept a continual fire upon each other with their ſmall arms. In this manner both ſides marched all day, though very ſlowly: but as the night came on, the Admiral gave orders for the light horſe and ſome choice companies of foot to guard the paſſes; whilſt he, for the convenience of his men, who were voluntiers, and neither could nor would endure to lie in the open field, removed about a league from the river, and lodged with the van at *Baſſac*, a large village, which was ſufficient to receive them all, the Prince ſtill continuing with the main body in his old quarters at *Jarnac*, over-againſt *Chaſteaunenf*.

The next day the Duke of *Anjou*, having obſerved in what manner the enemy quartered that night, was deſirous of confirming them in their opinion, that he was ſeeking for an opportunity of paſſing over; for which purpoſe he embarked a number of muſquetiers in ſome boats upon the river, and made a ſhew of forcing the *Hugonots* guards. But finding a ſtrong reſiſtance in every place, he continued his march in the ſame manner as before till towards night: at which time, as they kept ſkirmiſhing all the way, they had advanced but a little more than a league; and the Admiral, being already retired to lodge in *Baſſac*, where he

1569. quartered the evening before, the Duke ordered the rear to wheel about at the beginning of the night, under the command of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and afterwards ſent off one detachment after another, till the whole army, having marched with great expedition, returned in a few hours to *Chaſteauneuf*. There he found that Monſieur *De Biron* had with much diligence repaired the broken bridge, and made another very commodious one of boats: ſo that though the night was far advanced, yet, as it was very clear and fit for his deſign, he immediately cauſed the Duke of *Guiſe* and Monſieur *De Martigues* to paſs over, with two ſquadrons of light horſe, whom he followed himſelf with the whole army in very good order, without meeting any oppoſition whatſoever: for the Count of *Montgomery* and the Sieurs *De Soubiſe* and *De Loüe*, who were ordered to guard the banks of the river, watching thoſe paſſes only towards which the Catholicks had marched the day before, did not imagine they could poſſibly return ſo ſoon, or would attempt a paſſage in that very place, where the main of the army lay ready to diſpute it. But ſuch was the negligence both of the ſoldiers and commanders, partly through the ſecurity they thought themſelves in, partly through the diſobedience of the troops, ſo uſual in civil wars, and partly becauſe they were forced to ſeek and bring in proviſions themſelves, as the commiſſaries and victuallers could not regularly ſupply the camp in a country ſo ſpoiled and ravaged, that it was already day, and the greateſt part of the Catholick army was drawn up on the banks of the other ſide, before the ſcouts had any notice of what had happened. The firſt that gave intelligence of it was Captain *Montaut*, who, going the rounds with fifty horſe to ſee if the guards did their duty, perceived the enemy was got over, and immediately galloped as faſt as he could to acquaint the Admiral: who being not only confounded with ſo important and unexpected an event, but in a manner diſtracted to ſee his wiſdom and experience baffled by the addreſs of one whom he looked upon as a boy, reſolved to retire to *Jarnac*, that he might join the main body there, and conſult with the Prince what meaſures were to be taken in their preſent circumſtances.

But it was neceſſary, in the firſt place, to ſend for the foot, which had been appointed to guard the principal paſſes of the river; that they might not be left a ſacrifice to the enemy, and to aſſemble the light horſe, which were diſtributed into ſeveral places for want of proviſions and the convenience of quarters. And though all poſſible diligence was uſed in this, yet it took up ſo much time, that the Admiral found himſelf under a neceſſity of fighting, contrary to his intention; for the Duke of *Anjou*, having drawn up his army, was reſolved to come to an engagement whatever happened; and for that purpoſe made all his light horſe advance, with Monſieur *Martigues* at the head of them (who was commonly

monly called *the ſoldier without fear)* to fall upon the enemy's rear, that ſo he might hinder their march, and give the reſt of the army time to come up. 1569.

Martigues coming upon the *Hugonots* juſt as they left *Baſſac*, began ſo hot a ſkirmiſh with them, that the Admiral was forced to make a halt; and facing reſolutely about, perceived it was not any longer poſſible to avoid an engagement: upon which account, having ſent the Prince of *Condé* word of the danger he was in, he placed the Sieurs *De la Noüe* and *De la Loüe* in the rear, exhorting them to maintain their ground againſt the light horſe, till he got into a place that was full of ditches and ſurrounded with water, beyond which he intended to draw up his men, that the ſtrength of the ſituation might in ſome meaſure ſupply the weakneſs of his forces, or at leaſt defend them in the flank from the number and fury of the enemy. Theſe commanders ſuſtained the charge of the Catholicks a good while, ſometimes ſkirmiſhing, and ſometimes courageouſly cloſing with them; but Monſieur *De la Valette*, the Count *De Lude*, Monſieur *De Monſalez*, and *Malicorne*, coming up with four ſquadrons of lances, attacked them with ſuch violence, that the Captains were taken priſoners, and all the reſt of the men ran away: upon which, the Admiral, perceiving he could not make any long reſiſtance, and being deſirous, if it was poſſible, to avoid the neceſſity of fighting by piecemeal, left *Andelot* with a hundred and twenty horſe to make good that place of advantage, and delay the enemy's paſſage for ſome time, whilſt he himſelf, with the reſt of the van, retired on a round trot to meet the other part of the army, which was now marching towards them with great expedition.

The Prince of *Condé* being adviſed of the Admiral's danger, advanced with all the horſe to his aſſiſtance, and left orders that the foot ſhould move gently after him, imagining that he ſhould have time enough to join the van, and bring all his army up to the engagement. But when he ſaw part of the Admiral's men routed, and ſo hotly purſued by the enemy, who increaſed every moment in number and ſtrength, he made a ſtand upon the highway, having a pool upon one flank, which covered him on the right-hand, and a little hill that defended him on the left, and drew up his forces with the utmoſt precaution, taking all the advantage that was poſſible of the ſituation of the place. In ranging his ſquadrons he left an open place for the Admiral, who, though he arrived on a full gallop with the horſe, took his poſt without occaſioning any diſorder, and facing about to the enemy, put himſelf in order of battle, on the left-hand at the foot of the hill. In the mean time the firſt ſquadrons of the Catholicks horſe had attacked *Andelot* in his poſt, who finding himſelf ſupported by *Puviaut's* muſquetiers, that were placed behind the

1569. the hedges and banks, and filled the place with ſmoke, and confuſion, and ſlaughter, bravely reſiſted the enemy: and it was a ſpectacle worthy of remembrance, that in the firſt ſhock of the engagement he encountered *Monſalez*, who behaved himſelf no leſs gallantly, and came up ſo cloſe to him, that he lifted up the vizor of his helmet with his bridle-hand, and diſcharged a piſtol in his face, by which ſhot he fell from his horſe dead upon the ground. His men, however, yielding to the ſuperior number of the Catholicks, could not maintain the poſt above half an hour, but, ſetting ſpurs to their horſes, galloped away to the reſt of the van, and ranged themſelves in the place that was left open for them.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the Duke of *Anjou*, having drawn up his army in very good order, advanced with great alacrity to the battle, in full hopes of a victory from ſo proſperous a beginning of the day. It may be juſtly ſaid, that both ſides ſhewed an equal reſolution and bravery, but in other circumſtances they were certainly unequal, eſpecially in their forces: for a great part of the *Hugonots* infantry, which was diſtributed upon the banks of the river, being informed of the enemy's paſſage over it, and imagining they could not ſafely join the reſt of their army, had paſſed the river and retired to a place of ſecurity: the other part that was with Monſieur *D'Acier*, following the Prince of *Condé*, according to their orders, could not come up ſoon enough to the battle, and diſperſed themſelves without making any trial of their fortune that day. But the *Hugonots*, being defended on one ſide by the lake, and on the other by the hill, could not therefore be much hurt in the front, and bravely ſuſtained the fury of the attack; both the commanders and the private ſoldiers fighting courageouſly on each ſide, and diſputing the victory with the utmoſt obſtinacy.

The Duke of *Guiſe* charged the left wing, in which were the Admiral and *Andelot*, with a great number of the nobility of *Provence*, *Bretagne*, and *Normandy*, and meeting with a very vigorous reſiſtance, the ſucceſs of the battle was dubious for the moſt part of an hour: but the Catholicks being continually furniſhed with freſh ſupplies, and the *Hugonots* no longer able to reſiſt ſuch a ſuperiority of numbers, the whole van was at laſt utterly routed; and the commanders, ſeeing the Admiral's own ſtandard upon the ground, after the bearer of it, Monſieur *De Guercky*, was taken, the Baron *De la Tour*, General of the *Rochelle* fleet, killed, and *Soubize*, *Languillier*, and *Monteran*, the principal Lords of their party, taken priſoners, reſolved to provide for their own ſafety by flight, before they were prevented by the enemy. The Count *De la Rochfoucaut* and the Count of *Montgomery*, who were by the lake in the right wing of the battle, did the ſame, being furiouſly attacked by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, at the head of the Catholick van; for, after a long and obſtinate diſpute,

in which *Chandenier*, *De Rieux*, *Corbeuſon*, with a great number of the nobility of *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Gaſcony*, were ſlain, they deſpaired of the victory, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves. The Prince of *Condé* alone, who in the beginning of the battle had encountered the Duke of *Anjou's* own ſquadron, ſtill rallied his men and returned to the engagement with wonderful courage, though he had been broke and often charged through: but, after the flight of the van, and afterwards of the rear, being attacked on all ſides, and overpowered by the numbers of the enemy, yet he, with thoſe that continued with him, fought deſperately till the laſt; for, as he was rallying his men, he received a blow on the leg from the Count of *Rochfoucaut's* horſe, and had his own killed under him in the next charge; and though he was grievouſly wounded in many places, he ſtill courageouſly defended himſelf, with one knee upon the ground, till Monſieur *De Monteſquieu*, Captain of the Duke's guard, fired a piſtol at his head, and laid him dead upon the field. 1569.

Robert Stuart, who killed the Conſtable at the Battle of *St. Denis*, was ſlain by his ſide, together with *Tabaret*, *Melaré*, and almoſt all the nobility of *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*, who, being hemmed in by the Catholick ſquadrons, could not find any way to ſave themſelves. The Duke of *Anjou*, fighting at the head of his ſquadrons with a courage much beyond his years, had his horſe killed under him in the heat of the battle, and was in great danger of being killed himſelf; as he certainly had been, if his men had not immediately run to his aſſiſtance, and his own arm, and the valour of thoſe that were near his perſon, had not ſtoutly defended him from the fury of the enemy, who fought deſperately, and ſurrounded him on all ſides. But after the death of the Prince, and the defeat of his ſquadron, which conſiſted of the moſt valiant ſoldiers in the army, there was no longer any reſiſtance made; for every one endeavouring to ſave himſelf, fled a different way; and the night coming on, was of no little ſervice to them in their eſcape. The Admiral and *Andelot* retired to *St. John d'Angeli*, *D'Acier* to *Cognac*, *Montgomery* to *Angouleſme*; all the reſt, particularly the foot, which had not fought, diſperſed themſelves into ſeparate places; the regiments of *Puviaut* and *Corbouſon* being the only two that were preſent at the action.

Such was the battle of *Baſſac*, that was fought on the 16th of *March*, in which the quality of the ſlain was much more conſiderable than the number: for the *Hugonots* did not loſe above ſeven hundred in all; but as their main ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry, they were chiefly gentlemen and cavaliers of diſtinction: and on the Catholick ſide very few were killed; amongſt whom were Monſieur *De Monſalez*, *Hippolito Picco*, Count of *Mirandola*, *Prunay*, and *Ingrande*; for Monſieur *De Lignieres*, whom ſome have named amongſt the dead, died, many days after, of a natural death at *Poictiers*.

The

1569. The ſame night that the battle was fought, the Duke of *Anjou*, purſuing the enemy, victoriouſly entered into *Jarnac*; whither the body of the Prince of *Condé* was carried in triumph, on the back of a miſerable pack-horſe, to the infinite joy and diverſion of the whole army, which made a joke of this ſpectacle, though, whilſt he lived, they were terrified at the name of ſo great a man. But the Duke would not ſuffer any ſort of violence or indignity to be offered to the body, thinking it ſufficient that what they had deſpaired of doing either by policy or juſtice, was now accompliſhed by dint of arms: upon which account, and to ſhew that reſpect to the dead which he thought due to his royal blood, he reſtored it, a few days after, to the Prince of *Navarre* his nephew, who, without any pomp, but the abundant tears of all the faction, cauſed him to be buried in a tomb belonging to his anceſtors at *Vendoſme*.

Thus lived and thus died *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Condé*, who, by having ſo often ſtirred up civil diſſentions in his own country, was ſtigmatized as the chief diſturber of the Catholick religion in the moſt Chriſtian kingdom, and obſcured thoſe excellent endowments of mind, which, for valour, conſtancy, and generoſity, would otherwiſe have rendered him conſiderable amongſt the firſt Princes and Captains of his age.

The day after the battle, thoſe who in the terror of the flight were ſcattered about in many place, being informed that the greateſt part of the foot ſtill remained entire, and had retreated to *Cognac*, endeavoured to get all together, by different roads, to the ſame place; ſo that in a few days Monſieur *D'Acier*, who had firſt eſcaped thither, was joined by the Counts *De la Rochfoucaut* and *Montgomery*, Monſieur *D'Ivoy*, who took the name of *Genlis* after the death of his brother, *James Bouchard*, *Teligny*, *Bouchavannes*, and at laſt by the Admiral himſelf, and *Andelot*, who came from *St. John d'Angeli*.

After this defeat, the affairs of the *Hugonots* were in a very uncertain and fluctuating condition; for there was no doubt, now the Prince of *Condé* was dead, but the firſt place, both upon the account of his dignity and reputation of wiſdom, was due to the Admiral: and it was not forgotten, that, after the battle of *Dreux*, in which the Prince was taken priſoner, the command of the army was unanimouſly conferred upon him: but there were ſeveral, who, in reſpect of their birth, fortune, and other circumſtances, were unwilling to give that up to him; on the contrary, there was a general aſperſion thrown upon his character, at this very time, for having afforded an opportunity to the Catholicks of paſſing the river by his ſloth and negligence, whilſt he ſuffered himſelf to be over-reached by the management of a youth, who was but juſt entering upon the rudiments of war: and that, after the paſſage of their army, he

he had baſely retreated from every poſt, giving a beginning to the ſucceſs and victory of the enemy, by his flight: and though he fully anſwered theſe imputations, by ſhewing that the paſſage of the Catholicks was entirely owing to thoſe that had diſobeyed his orders, and, inſtead of guarding the paſſes, as they were appointed to do, had left their poſts without his leave, for their own convenience; ſo that he, who could not be every where, was not informed of it ſoon enough to remedy the misfortune: but that his retreat ought to be attributed to greatneſs of mind; for when the army was routed, and the battle loſt, he thought it better to ſave himſelf, that he might riſe again, like a new *Antæus*, to the ruin and perdition of his enemies, than to throw his life away in deſpair and dejection of mind, to no purpoſe, and without doing any material ſervice: yet he was blamed and hated by many, not only out of envy and ambition, but on account of the late loſs and the death of the Prince. 1569.

Beſides this, it was thought that, as he had not the authority and name of a Prince of the blood, the ſtrength and reputation of their faction would ſink: for neither the people would ſo readily confide in and follow a man of private condition, nor foreign Princes be induced to rely on him, nor the party in general have any longer their uſual pretence, of making war for the publick good and ſervice of the ſtate; the nature of this charge being ſuch, that whoever undertook it, ought by all means to be one of the firſt Princes of the royal blood. To this was added, that many who had been accuſtomed to the liberality, the candour, and frankneſs of the Prince of *Condé*, both feared and abhorred the temper and behaviour of the Admiral, who was looked upon as a man of deep deſigns, of an inſidious and ſubtle diſpoſition, and in every circumſtance wholly intent upon advancing his own private ends. It happened likewiſe, at the ſame time, that *Andelot* and *James Bouchard*, one of them brother, and the other ſtrictly attached by intereſt to the Admiral, were ſo overpowered, either by fatigue, or grief and uneaſineſs of mind, that they fell into a languiſhing ſickneſs, and died a few months after: by which the party that was moſt ſollicitous for the advancement of the Admiral was extremely weakened, and deſpaired of accompliſhing their deſigns. But he, with his uſual ſubtlety, overcame all theſe impediments, and making little account of titles and honours, reſolved, however, to retain the chief power and authority; for, if the name of *Heads of the faction*, and *Generals of the army* was transferred to *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, and *Henry*, ſon to the deceaſed Prince of *Condé*, he ſaw that not only the common cauſe would keep up the ſame reputation, of being ſupported by the royal blood, but, they being both in a manner children, the ſole conduct and adminiſtration of all important affairs would ſtill remain in

1569. him, which would put an end to the expectations and pretenſions of the moſt conſiderable perſons, and be ſo agreeable to private people, that they would eaſily be prevailed upon to renew that league, which now ſeemed likely to be diſſolved by the diverſity of their opinions.

He determined therefore not to attempt what he knew could not be effected, and immediately ſent to deſire Queen *Jane* would come to the camp; repreſenting to her, that the time was now come when ſhe might advance her ſon to that greatneſs which properly belonged to him, and which ſhe had ſo long aſpired to. Queen *Jane* wanted neither courage nor inclination, having long before reſolved to run all hazards to make her ſon head of that faction: for which purpoſe ſhe inſtantly ſet out with ſuch alacrity and expedition as the occaſion required, and took both the princes with her to the camp, which was then at *Cognac*, full of diſcords and irreſolution, and more ready to ſeparate than keep together, to remedy the loſſes and diſaſters that had already happened. Upon her arrival there, ſhe highly approved of the Admiral's advice, and made a courageous and manlike ſpeech to the ſoldiers, who were drawn out upon that occaſion, exhorting them to continue firm and united in the defence of their liberties and religion, propoſing the two young Princes to them as Generals (whoſe preſence and aſpect greatly moved the affections of them all) encouraging them to expect better ſucceſs to their juſt pretenſions and the common cauſe, under the auſpicious conduct of thoſe two branches of the royal blood. The army, which had been diſpirited, and in a manner confounded at their late misfortunes and preſent diſcords, began to take freſh courage at this ſpeech; and the Admiral and Count *De la Rochfoucaut*, having firſt made their obeiſance and ſworn fidelity to the Princes of *Bourbon*, the reſt of the nobility and commanders followed their example: the common ſoldiers likewiſe approved of the election of the Princes to be the heads and protectors of the reformed religion, by their ſhouts and acclamations. *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, was then fifteen years old, of a lively ſpirit and generous courage, altogether inclined to the profeſſion of arms; ſo that, being either prompted by his own genius, or inſtructed by his mother, he readily accepted the invitation of the army, and addreſſed himſelf to them in a ſhort ſoldier-like ſpeech, promiſing, "to protect the true religion, and to perſevere "conſtantly in the defence of the common cauſe, till either death or vic-"tory ſhould procure that liberty, which they all longed for and aimed "at." The Prince of *Condé* aſſented to what was done rather by actions than words, for he was ſo young, that he could not expreſs himſelf otherwiſe: ſo that, giving place in all other things likewiſe to the ſeniority and pre-eminence of the firſt Prince of the blood, the chief authority of the faction was veſted in the Prince of *Navarre*: upon which occaſion, and

to perpetuate the memory of the act, Queen *Jane* cauſed gold medals to be coined, which bore her own effigies on one ſide, and that of her ſon on the other, with this inſcription, PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRA, MORS HONESTA. A LASTING PEACE, A COMPLEAT VICTORY, OR, AN HONOURABLE DEATH. 1569.

The Princes being thus choſen heads of the faction, a council of the chief commanders was immediately called to concert meaſures, in the preſence of Queen *Jane*, for their future proceedings, to repair their paſt loſſes, and to avert the preſent danger. It was therefore determined, in the firſt place, that the Admiral, on account of the tender age and inexperience of the Princes, ſhould have the command of the army, and the conducting of every thing elſe that related to the war; that Monſieur *D'Acier* ſhould be General of the infantry, which poſt was become vacant by the death of *Andelot*: and that *Genlis* ſhould be General of the artillery in the room of *Bouchard*. After theſe promotions, they entered into a conſultation how to carry on the war; in which, many who had not yet quite recovered from the terror that had been occaſioned by the late defeat, were of opinion, that the army ſhould retire into the cities and ſtrong towns about *Rochelle*, as it would be impoſſible for the Duke of *Anjou* to ſucceed, if he ſhould make any attempt upon thoſe places, which were ſurrounded by waters and marſhy grounds, provided they were defended by good garriſons. But this appeared too cowardly a manner of proceeding to the Admiral and other commanders of the greateſt experience and reputation; and therefore it was reſolved, that the army ſhould be diſtributed into ſeveral towns that lay upon rivers, in order to maintain them, and hinder the progreſs of the conqueror, till they had certain intelligence of the approach of the forces, which the Duke of *Deux-ponts* was bringing to their aid out of *Germany*, at which time they ſhould aſſemble again, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to join him wherever he was: for if they could gain that point, they ſhould become equal at leaſt, if not ſuperior in ſtrength, to the King's army: and if they could not, it would be the beſt way to divide themſelves and carry the war into different parts; which would likewiſe oblige the King to ſeparate his forces, and give them an opportunity of making war upon even terms. When theſe meaſures were agreed upon, Queen *Jane* ſet out for *Rochelle*, to ſollicit new aids and proviſions; the Admiral with the Princes retired to *St. John d'Angeli*; Monſieur *De Piles* took upon him the defence of *Xaintes*; *Montgomery* and *Puviaut* returned to *Angouleſme*; Monſieur *D'Acier* continued, with the greateſt part of the foot, at *Cognac*; and *Genlis*, with a ſtrong garriſon, ſhut himſelf up in *Loudun*, all places ſo well fortified, either by art or nature, and the defence of rivers, which

1569. in that country are many and very deep, that they might be eaſily maintained for a long time.

In the mean while the Duke of *Anjou*, having reſted three days to refreſh his troops, which were wearied out with continual fatigue, and buſied in dividing their booty, reſolved, by the advice of his Captains, to aſſault thoſe very cities that the *Hugonots* deſigned to lodge themſelves in, as the beſt way of carrying on the war: upon which account, he found it neceſſary to ſend for ſome heavy artillery to *Poictiers*; having, for the more expedition, marched only with field-pieces. This reſpite for ſome days retarded the courſe of their victory, and gave the *Hugonots* leiſure to put their before-mentioned deſigns in execution. The waiting for orders from court, which was at a great diſtance, and where the reſolutions are not always ſpeedy and determinate, likewiſe occaſioned ſome farther delays and loſs of time. The firſt place they moved againſt was *Cognac:* but it ſoon appeared they had undertaken a tedious and difficult enterpriſe: for the late victory was owing rather to their management in paſſing the river, and the death of the Prince of *Condé*, than any great loſs or ſlaughter amongſt the *Hugonots*; and though their retreat, which proceeded only from a ſudden pannick, was the occaſion of loſing their General, yet it preſerved the army; which being now divided, and very well ſupplied with all manner of proviſions and ammunition for the defence of the ſtrong places, was impatient to cancel the infamy of their late flight by their future bravery: ſo that the taking of the principal cities became exceeding difficult.

There were ſeven thouſand foot in *Cognac*, and more than ſix hundred horſe with Monſieur *D'Acier*, and many of the nobility and chief commanders, who, upon the approach of the Catholick army, and ſeveral days after, ſallied out in ſuch numbers, that their encounters looked rather like little battles than great ſkirmiſhes: for, beſides the courage and fierceneſs which the *Hugonots* ſhewed, they likewiſe did conſiderable damage to the aſſailants; ſo that their continual ſallies gave them no time to raiſe their batteries, or demoliſh the fortifications, as it was neceſſary to keep the whole army in continual motion, and under arms, in order to ſuſtain the fury of the enemy; from which difficulties, the Duke of *Anjou* concluding that it was impoſſible to take the town, in the condition it was then in, reſolved not to ſpend his time and waſte his army to no purpoſe, but to advance farther into the enemy's country, and attempt thoſe towns that lay in the heart of it, which were neither ſo ſtrong, nor ſo well provided; imagining, that if they were taken, *Cognac*, like an iſland, ſurrounded on every ſide, and cut off from all ſupplies, muſt of neceſſity fall of itſelf into his hands; which he made no doubt of effecting

ing in time, as experience had manifeſtly ſhewn, upon all occaſions, that delays were deadly poiſon to the *Hugonots*. 1569.

Leaving *Cognac* therefore with this reſolution, at the end of four days, and marching towards *St. John d'Angeli*, he and others of his commanders took *Tifange*, *Montaut*, *Foreſte*, and *Aubeterre* by the way, and at laſt ſat down before *Mucidan:* where the Count *De Briſac*, who had the ſuperintendance of the batteries, received a ſhot from a harquebuſs in his right flank, whilſt he was advancing, with his uſual bravery, and too little care of himſelf, to reconnoitre a breach in the wall; of which wound he ſoon after died, greatly lamented by all men. This misfortune did not at all abate, but, on the contrary, increaſed the fierceneſs of the Catholicks to ſuch a degree, that having taken the town by a furious aſſault, they, in revenge for his death, not only put all the garriſon, but the inhabitants alſo to the ſword.

In this interval Meſſieurs *De Muy* and *De Morvilliers*, with eight hundred horſe, and Monſieur *De Briquemaut*, with twelve hundred *French* muſquetiers, were ſent into *Germany*, to join an army of ſix thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, that had been raiſed by *Wolfangus* of *Bavaria*, Duke of *Deux-ponts*, in conjunction with the Duke of *Saxony* and the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, upon a promiſe of a large ſum of money from the *Hugonots*, and by the inſtigations and aſſiſtance of the Queen of *England*. In this army, were *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, with *Lewis* and *Henry* his brothers, who, profeſſing the ſame religion, likewiſe followed the fortune of the *Hugonots*, and had retired out of *Flanders*, to avoid the ſeverity of the Duke of *Alva*.

The King of *France* and the Queen his mother had endeavoured, firſt by embaſſies to the proteſtant princes, and afterwards by the authority of the Emperor *Maximilian* the Second, with whom they were in ſtrict alliance, to prevent the raiſing of this army: but the Proteſtants being much more zealous to advance their religion, and the hope of gain and plunder more prevalent than either the King's promiſes or the threats of the Emperor, they aſſembled their forces to march immediately to the aid of the *Hugonots*, in ſpight of all difficulties and dangers. But when the King and Queen Mother, who were gone to *Metz*, upon the borders of *Lorrain*, to divert this ſtorm, ſaw an army raiſed, which they had uſed all manner of endeavours to prevent, they gave a commiſſion to the Duke of *Aumale* to enter the confines of the Proteſtant Princes with the cavalry of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, and ſix thouſand *Swiſs* that were lately taken into pay, and not only to lay waſte the country, but to plunder the inhabitants, and by that means oblige them to keep the army at home for their own defence, and prevent it from coming into *France* that year: being perſuaded that the Emperor, in conſideration of the juſtice of their cauſe

and

1569. and the alliance they were then in with him, would not oppoſe this proceeding. But the Duke of *Aumale*, having fallen in with a large body of *French*, in the territories of *Straſbourg*, one of the free towns of the empire, and made a great ſlaughter amongſt them, as they were going from *Geneva* and the adjacent country to join the *German* army; all the other towns and Princes of the empire, and even the Emperor himſelf, was ſo offended at it, that the King and Queen, being very well aſſured they ſhould have ſufficient employment at home from the perverſeneſs of foreign Princes, ſent orders to the Duke of *Aumale*, immediately to withdraw his forces into *Burgundy*; not only to avoid giving any further provocation and raiſing more powerful enemies, to their manifeſt prejudice, but to defend their own dominions in the beſt manner that was poſſible.

The Duke of *Deux-ponts*, with his army, preſently followed him into *Burgundy*, cruelly ravaging and plundering all the country through which he paſſed; whilſt the Duke of *Aumale*, who was ſo much inferior in ſtrength, could neither prevent his march, nor was able to engage him in the open field: ſo that he retired into the towns, and only kept him from entering into the ſtrong places, or making thoſe excurſions and depredations, which he would have done more effectually, if he had met with no reſiſtance, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of the country. In this manner the two armies traverſed the whole province of *Burgundy*, ſkirmiſhing almoſt every day, and ſometimes with conſiderable ſlaughter; till the Duke of *Aumale*, perceiving the enemy could not force the ſtrong towns for want of heavy artillery, and knowing it would be to little purpoſe to follow them at a diſtance, marched with what forces he had directly through the country of *Auxerre*, to join the Duke of *Anjou*, that ſo they might be the better able to reſiſt the enemy.

But the *German* army, having advanced to the banks of the *Loire*, was at a loſs how to paſs it; as all the bridges upon that river are either within the towns, or cloſe under the walls, and were then in poſſeſſion of the King's forces: for the Duke of *Anjou*, having intelligence of the *Germans* approach, had left the enemy's country, and drawn all his army to the river, where he placed ſtrong guards upon the paſſes, and waited to ſee what reſolution they would take. This reduced the *Germans* to ſuch difficulties, as it was not poſſible to paſs the river but by forcing their way through the towns, and they had no battering pieces, nor other military ſtores fit for ſuch an undertaking, that they began to fear this great army, which was raiſed with ſo much oſtentation, would be obliged to ſeparate without doing the leaſt ſervice.

But either cowardice or treachery made that very eaſy, which of itſelf was exceeding difficult: for the commanders of the *German* army, reſolving

ſolving to aſſault *La Charitè*, a town upon the river, rather to find themſelves ſome employment, than with any reaſonable expectation of taking it, and intending to batter the walls, which were of the old faſhion, with the few ſmall pieces that they had with them, the army had ſcarcely ſat down before it, when the Governor fled privately out of the town, without any apparent reaſon: for at that time, as it is uſual in civil wars, men were governed by many ſecret intereſts and inclinations: upon which, the ſoldiers ran away in confuſion, and the townſmen being terrified at the danger, began to treat about a ſurrender: during which time they took ſo little care to defend themſelves, that the beſiegers ſuddenly fixed their ladders to the walls, and meeting with no oppoſition, *Briquemaut*, with his men, firſt entered the town, which was afterwards plundered by the whole army, at a time when the Duke of *Anjou*, having received advice of this attempt, was ſending a conſiderable force to its relief. The *German* army having, in this manner, at the ſame time ſecured a convenient bridge and place of retreat, paſſed over the river on the 20th of *May*. 1569.

In the mean time, the Admiral, with the Princes, in whoſe name all things were carried on, prepared to march towards the *Germans*; conſidering, that if they could join their forces, the army would by that means become much the ſtronger; and if they could not, the Duke of *Anjou*, who lay betwixt the two armies, would be hemmed in, and exceedingly diſtreſſed on all ſides. For theſe reaſons, having left Monſieur *De la Noüe* to ſuperintend the military affairs at *Rochelle*, where the Queen of *Navarre* had the direction of every thing elſe, and the Count of *Montgomery* being ſent to the relief of *Bearn*, of which country the Sieurs *De Montluc* and *Terride*, Lieutenants for the King in *Gaſcony* and *Guyenne*, had in a great meaſure made themſelves maſters, they marched, with twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, towards the *Loire*, daily increaſing in ſtrength, by the continual concourſe of the nobility that came into them from the neighbouring provinces: but, as they did not yet know that the Duke of *Deux-ponts* had paſſed that river, they were not fully reſolved what courſe to take, and advanced very ſlowly, reaſonably apprehending, that they might be attacked by the Catholicks before they could join the *Germans*. But the Duke of *Anjou*, after the *German* camp had paſſed the *Loire*, was afraid of being hemmed in betwixt the two armies, and for that reaſon withdrew his forces from the river, and retired into *Limoſin*, imagining, that the woods and mountains in thoſe parts would ſecure his quarters, and that the *Germans*, who were accuſtomed to lie under cover and live in plenty, could not long ſupport ſuch numbers in ſo barren a country.

On the other hand the Duke of *Deux-ponts*, when he had paſſed the *Loire*,

1569. *Loire*, was desirous to join the Princes, and pressed forward his march with all the expedition that he could; but death prevented his design; for he fell ill of so violent a fever, occasioned either by the fatigue of his march, or, as some said, by excessive drinking, that he died a few days after he was seized with it: and, after he had marched so far through an enemy's country, without any loss, and passed so many large and deep rivers, left it a doubtful point at last, whether it was to be attributed to good fortune or his own conduct, that he had so happily advanced to the remotest parts of *Aquitaine* to join his confederates.

The Duke being dead, the command of that army devolved upon Count *Volrade* of *Mansfield*, his Lieutenant-General, without any opposition from the Princes or other principal commanders in it, who declined it, more from the apprehension of the dangers they were exposed to, than either out of modesty or want of pretensions. The third day after the death of this General, the *German* army joined the Admiral and Princes, upon the banks of the *Vienne*, where they were reviewed, and had a month's pay given them, out of the money which the Queen of *Navarre* had, with great pains, raised upon the *Rochellers*, and the contributions of the neighbouring towns; after which they marched together towards the Duke of *Anjou*, with an intention to fight him, before any thing happened that might diminish their forces.

The Duke of *Anjou* had recruited his army with the succours that came out of *Italy* and *Flanders*: for the Pope, being sollicitous to have the war continued against the *Hugonots*, and, for the reputation of the apostolick see, had sent four thousand foot and eight hundred horse to his Majesty's assistance, under the command of *Sforza* Count *di Santo Fiore*, a person of quality, and an experienced soldier: to which the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* had joined two hundred horse and a thousand foot, under *Fabiano del Monte*. The Duke of *Alva* likewise sent Count *Peter Ernest de Mansfield* out of *Flanders*, with a regiment of three thousand *Walloons*, and three hundred *Flemish* lances, being desirous to destroy the *German* army, in which were the Prince of *Orange* and his brothers, who, though exiles, had yet very great power and reputation in all parts of the Low Countries.

But notwithstanding these supplies, their army was so diminished by sickness, want of pay, and other hardships, that it was rather inferior in number to the *Hugonots* than otherwise: upon which account, the Duke of *Anjou*, being unwilling to fight them, retired into very strong quarters at *Roche-Abeille*, in the country of *Limosin*: for the main body of the army was encamped on the top of a steep craggy hill, and difficult of ascent towards the flat country; a little before them were two other small hills, one on each hand, covered with trees and shrubs, on both

which

which ſtood a village. *Philippo Strozzi*, whom the King had declared Colonel-General of the infantry, was in that on the right, with two *French* regiments; and the Count *Di Santo Fiore*, *Fabiano del Monte*, and *Pietro Paulo Toſinghi*, with the Pope's and *Tuſcan* foot, in that on the left. On the top of the hill the artillery was planted, which commanded all the country round: and in the plain, between the head quarters and the villages, where the foot were intrenched, lay the light horſe, under the Duke of *Nemours* and the *Italian* commanders, with a rivulet in their front. In a camp thus laid out, with the city of *Limoges* a little behind them, they abounded with proviſions, of which there was great ſcarcity in all other parts of the country, on account of its barrenneſs. 1569.

The Admiral, who was advanced within leſs than half a league of the Catholick camp, with the Princes and the whole army, conſidering their advantageous ſituation, and the difficulty of ſupporting his men amongſt barren woods and rocky hills, reſolved to attack *Strozzi's* quarters and the *Italians* at the ſame time; knowing, if he could drive them from thence, and get poſſeſſion of the villages, he ſhould diſtreſs the enemy's camp, and deprive them of the advantage of the plain; ſo that not being able to ſupport ſuch a number of horſe in the place where they then lay, they would be obliged to retreat, with evident danger of being defeated. He therefore marched directly towards *Strozzi's* quarter with his van, on the 23d of *June*; the infantry under *Piles*, *Briquemaut*, and *Rouvray*, moving firſt, were followed by *Lewis* Count of *Naſſau*, with a regiment of *Germans*, who was ſupported by *De Muy*, *Teligny*, and *Soubize* with their horſe: the Princes with the main body, commanded by the Count *De la Rochfoucaut* and the Prince of *Orange*, in which were the infantry of *Beaudiné*, *Blacon*, and *Pouilliers*, another regiment of *Germans*, and the Marquis *De Rencl*, *Membrun*, *Ambras*, and *D'Acicre*, with their horſe, advanced to the *Italians* quarter, whilſt the greateſt part of the *Germans* and two regiments of muſquetiers, under the command of the Count *De Mansfield* and *Genlis*, ſtaid with the cannon upon the plain.

The attack was to have been made two hours before day, but, the night being very ſhort, it did not begin till the light appeared: at which time the Admiral fell upon *Strozzi's* quarter with *Piles's* muſquetiers, and being ſupported by the reſt, which were about four thouſand, there began a very fierce and bloody engagement, the *Hugonots* having the advantage in number of men, and the Catholicks in the ſtrength of their ſituation: for, being covered with trees and hedges, and placed upon higher ground, they exceedingly annoyed the enemy with their ſmall arms; who, on the other hand, being ſo much ſuperior in number, (for they were four to one, and continually ſupplied with freſh men) made a

1569. reſolute puſh to get the better of theſe inconveniencies, and to drive the Catholicks from their poſt: which would have been abſolutely impoſſible, conſidering how they were ſituated, if too much ardour had not made them forego that advantage: for *Philippo Strozzi*, naturally brave of himſelf, was ſo ſtung with the reproaches of the *French*, and the frequent repetition of the Count of *Briſac's* name, whoſe untimely death they lamented in the moſt provoking terms, whilſt they ſhewed their diſdain at being under the command of an *Italian*, that he advanced to the head of his men, earneſtly exhorting them to follow his example; and then, leaving the advantage of the ground, fell with ſuch fury upon *Briquemaut's* and *Piles's* muſquetiers, that he forced them to retire in great diſorder. But the Admiral, perceiving him inconſiderately advance in the heat of the battle, and afterwards eagerly purſuing thoſe that retreated into the open plain, where the horſe might be employed, brought up his whole van, and ſo hemmed him in on every ſide, that, though both he and his men courageouſly defended themſelves, yet being borne down and trampled upon by the horſe, he was covered with wounds and blood, and at laſt taken priſoner, being more admired by every body for his courage, than commended for his prudence. But it is almoſt impoſſible for a man, that is conſcious of his own virtue and honour, to keep within thoſe bounds that he himſelf knows are preſcribed and dictated by reaſon, when he is provoked by the reproaches of thoſe that are not ſenſible of it.

St. Loup and *Roqueleaure*, both Lieutenants to *Strozzi*, twenty-two Captains, ſome of them reformed, others that had companies, and three hundred and fifty of the beſt ſoldiers, were ſlain upon the ſpot. The *Hugonots* loſt a hundred and fifty horſe and foot, amongſt whom were *Trememont* and *La Fontaine*, two commanders of very great intereſt and reputation.

The Admiral warmly purſued the remainder of *Strozzi's* forces, who retreated fighting to their poſt: but the nature of the place was ſuch, that it was not poſſible for the cavalry to force it, and the foot were ſo weary and diſordered, that they could not renew the attack with any degree of vigour: ſo that the Catholicks, of whom a conſiderable number was yet upon the hill, eaſily ſuſtained the charge, till the light horſe, who were near, ſeeing the danger their friends were in, came to join and aſſiſt them: after which they repulſed the *Hugonots*, with much honour to *Franciſco Somma*, a *Cremoneſe* Captain of the *Italian* light horſe, who diſmounted, with moſt of his men, and fought amongſt the hedges and cheſnut-trees in the firſt ranks, with wonderful valour, and to the great annoyance of the enemy. In the other quarter, whither the Princes of *Navarre* and *Condé* led the main body to attack the *Italians*, there

was not ſo much execution on either ſide: for the Count *Di Santo Fiore*, not being ſo precipitate as *Strozzi* was, nor moved by the ſenſeleſs clamours of his ſoldiers, maintained his ground, and defended himſelf without much loſs, reſolutely ſuſtaining the attack of *Baudinè* and *Pouilliers*, who with a large body of foot endeavoured to force him from it: and though the battle continued with great ardour on both ſides, an hour longer than at the other quarter, which the Admiral attempted, yet it ended with leſs bloodſhed, for there were not above a hundred and twenty men killed in all. 1569.

This was the firſt time that *Henry*, Prince of *Navarre*, expoſed himſelf to the dangers of war; for though he was carefully brought up by his mother in all warlike exerciſes that were then uſed amongſt us, ſuch as riding and handling his arms, yet he had never been preſent in any action till that day, where he fought in the front of his troops with great ſpirit and courage (which was the more remarkable, as the face of war generally appears moſt terrible at firſt) and gave a noble ſpecimen of that valour, which afterwards filled the world with the glory of his actions.

The attack being thus ended, the Princes and the Admiral reſolved to encamp in the ſame place where they had fought, that they might ſtill more diſtreſs the Catholicks; imagining the King's horſe muſt of neceſſity ſuffer greatly from the narrowneſs of their quarters: but they were ſenſible, in a few days, how prejudicial this reſolution was to themſelves: for by means of *Limoges*, which lay behind him, the Duke of *Anjou* was abundantly furniſhed with proviſions, which they could no way prevent; whilſt the barrenneſs of the country, and the power of the Catholicks over the adjacent towns, occaſioned ſuch a ſcarcity of neceſſaries in their own camp, that they were forced to riſe and march towards *Perigord*, and ſeek a more fertile ſoil, that they might be able to ſupport ſuch a number of *Germans*, who, having promiſed themſelves great plenty and rich plunder, found the want of food and lying in the field ſo much the more inſupportable.

About this time the Queen Mother came to the Duke of *Anjou's* camp, attended by the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Lorrain*, to conſult and determine how to carry on the war; for there were very different opinions, not only in the King's council, but much more amongſt the commanders in the camp. Some, comparing the King's forces with the *Hugonots*, were of opinion that it would be the beſt way to come to a battle immediately, imagining that the *Hugonots* new-raiſed men could not ſtand before the *old bands*, as they call the King's ſtanding regiments, and the firm battalion of the *Swiſs*, which was now become terrible to the enemy, from the experience they had often had of its bravery: and that the Catholick horſe, which conſiſted of the flower of all the nobility in the

1569. kingdom, would eaſily maſter the *reiters*, who, except the officers and ſome few gentlemen, were made up of wretches taken out of the ſtables, and dregs of the people, and in no wiſe fit to carry arms: from whence they concluded, that in a few hours they might deliver *France* from the infinite diſtractions and calamities of war, and ſuppreſs the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of the *Hugonots* at one blow: whereas, if they prevented things from coming to an iſſue by too cautious and tardy reſolutions, the people would be conſumed, the nobility deſtroyed, the King's revenues reduced to nothing, the country ruined, and the whole kingdom utterly depopulated; and, whilſt they gave the enemy time and opportunity to recruit themſelves, with their uſual diligence and activity, it was much to be feared, that the King's army, being wearied out and diminiſhed by a continuation of the war, would at laſt fall a prey to the fury of ſtrangers, if a new ſupply was coming out of *Germany*, as it was already reported.

Others thought it a raſh and precipitate meaſure to hazard a kingdom upon the uncertain event of one battle, againſt an enemy that had not any thing to venture: for all the fortune of the *Germans* conſiſted in their arms, and what little baggage they carried with them; and the *Hugonots* could loſe nothing but what they had taken and uſurped from the crown: for which reaſons it would be madneſs to fight, without any hope of gain, againſt a deſperate multitude: that cooler and more ſecure reſolutions ought to be taken, and time given, by prolonging the war, for the *Germans* to waſte away of themſelves, as they always uſed to do; for, as they were in a climate ſo different from that in which they were born, now the heats of the Summer came on, and the grapes were ripe, of which they are exceedingly greedy, they would certainly be viſited with ſickneſs, by which their forces would be very much weakened and diminiſhed, if not totally deſtroyed: that if the chiefs of the *Hugonots* determined, as it was very likely they would, to attempt the principal towns that were in the hands of the Catholicks, in order to make further incurſions and extend their power, they would loſe the beſt and braveſt of their ſoldiers in ſuch difficult undertakings, and by that means ruin their army: that, after all, if time, want of money, ſcarcity of victuals, and the uſual unhealthfulneſs of the ſeaſon, did not deſtroy the *Hugonots*, it would ſtill be a much ſafer way, when the King's forces had reſted a little while, to return with freſh men and greater ſtrength, and then try the fortune of a battle, againſt a body languiſhing and decayed with long and grievous fatigues; which, on the contrary, was at preſent not only very powerful and vigorous, but animated with the late ſupplies; that there was no occaſion to apprehend the coming of any more *Germans* this year, who, it was well known, had yet made no new levies: that they ought

ought not, therefore, to precipitate thoſe reſolutions by vain and unneceſſary fears, which might ſafely be brought to a certain and happy concluſion, if they were conducted with prudence and moderation. 1569.

As ſuch a manner of proceeding appeared the moſt ſecure, this opinion at laſt prevailed, eſpecially with the Queen, whoſe judgment and natural diſpoſition inclined her to take ſuch meaſures as were fartheſt out of the power of fortune, and likely to be attended with the leaſt danger and bloodſhed: for it was a maxim with her, that members, though putrified, ought not to be cut off without extreme neceſſity; and that whenever they are cut off, the body not only ſuffers the moſt grievous pains, but a dangerous debilitation, and a loſs never to be repaired: upon which account, ſhe was always diſpoſed to favour ſuch reſolutions as tended to ſuppreſs the chiefs of the *Hugonots*, hoping by that means to reduce the people to a ſenſe of their duty, for their own welfare, and the preſervation of the crown. This made her generally ſo averſe to a battle, by which (beſides the uncertainty of the event) the veins of the kingdom were always drained, and the body weakened.

This determination being approved of by the King, the Duke of *Anjou* put ſufficient garriſons into the towns that lay next to the *Hugonots*, and diſmiſſed the nobility, diſtributing the reſt of the army into fruitful and convenient places, with orders, that every man ſhould return to his colours by the firſt of the enſuing *October*, as he then propoſed to re-aſſemble his forces, and proceed in ſuch a manner as occaſion ſhould require; after which he himſelf retired, with a ſmall attendance of Lords and officers, to *Loches*, a ſtrong place upon the confines of *Touraine*, that he might be near at hand upon any emergency.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK V.

ARGUMENT.

The determination of the Hugonots to attempt the cities in Poictou and Xaintoigne; the ſiege of Poictiers. The Duke of Anjou's deſign to relieve that city by a diverſion: for which purpoſe, he draws his army together and ſits down before Chaſtelraut: the Admiral raiſes his ſiege, and obliges the Duke to do the ſame. Monſieur Sanſac beſieges La Charitè, but without ſucceſs. The Count of Montgomery conquers the King's party in Bearn, beſieges and takes Monſieur De Terride. The King cauſes the Admiral to be proclaimed a rebel, his goods to be confiſcated, and his houſes demoliſhed: he continues the war with vigour. The Duke of Anjou, grown very ſtrong, is deſirous of coming to an engagement. The Admiral endeavours to avoid it; but is forced to it by the importunities and tumultuous behaviour of his army.

He

He prepares to fight, and yet tries to march away from the enemy. The Duke of Anjou follows, and overtakes him near Moncontour; a hot skirmish enſues in the evening, and the Hugonots are grievouſly annoyed by the artillery. The Admiral paſſes the river, and retreats by the favour of the night. The Duke paſſes the ſame river in another place. The armies face each other upon the plain of Moncontour, and come to a battle; the victory is obſtinately diſputed on both ſides, but at laſt inclines to the Duke of Anjou, with terrible ſlaughter of the Hugonots. Many of them are diſpirited. The Admiral encourages them, and uſes many arguments to perſuade them to carry on the war. The Princes abandon all the country except Rochelle, St. John d'Angeli, and Angouleſme, and retire, with the remains of their army, into the mountains of Gaſcony and Languedoc. The Duke lays ſiege to St. John and takes it, but with much loſs of time and diminution of his army: he falls ſick and retires to Angiers, and from thence to St. Germains. The Princes join the Count of Montgomery in Gaſcony; they ſpend the winter in the mountains, and at ſpring come down into the plains. They paſs the Rhone and penetrate into Provence and Dauphinè. They march to Noyers and La Charitè, with a deſign to proceed towards Paris. The King ſends an army againſt them, under the command of the Marſhal De Coſſé, a man of moderation, and not deſirous to ruin the Hugonots: they meet in Burgundy, but the Princes avoid an engagement. A treaty of agreement is begun, and at laſt concluded at court. The Princes and the Admiral retire to Rochelle. The King endeavours to create a confidence in them; and for that purpoſe offers to give his ſiſter, the Lady Margaret, in marriage to the Prince of Navarre, and to make war upon the Spaniards in Flanders: the match is concluded, and they all come to court. The Queen of Navarre is poiſoned. After her death the marriage is celebrated. During the rejoicings upon that occaſion, the Admiral is ſhot in the arm. The King is determined to proſecute the Hugonots, and to rid himſelf of them. The Admiral and all the reſt of them are maſſacred on St. Bartholomew's eve in Paris, and many other cities in the kingdom. The King endeavours to ſurpriſe Rochelle and Montauban, but is diſappointed in both attempts. Treaties and other means are uſed to prevail upon the Rochellers to ſubmit, but they reſolve to defend themſelves. The Duke of Anjou aſſembles his army and beſieges them with all his forces: they hold out many months; till the Duke of Anjou, being elected King of Poland, condeſcends to grant them very good terms: upon which, they ſeemingly return to their duty. The King of Poland departs. The Duke of Alençon, his next brother, pretends to ſucceed him in all his dignities, but meets with a repulſe, at which he is diſguſted, and endeavours to ſtir up freſh troubles. The King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, the Houſe of Montmorancy, and the Hugonots, unite with him, and form a conſpiracy: which being diſcovered, the Duke of Alençon,

Alençon, the King of Navarre, and many others are impriſoned. The Prince of Condé eſcapes into Germany. The King falls into a dangerous ſickneſs, and commits the care of the kingdom to his mother. Armies are raiſed in Poictou, Languedoc, and Normandy, where the Count of Montgomery lands from England and takes many places. Monſieur De Matignon defeats, beſieges, and takes him. He is brought to Paris, condemned, and executed. King Charles, having declared his mother Regent, yields to the fury of his diſeaſe, and dies in the flower of his age.

1569. THE reſolution which the Duke of *Anjou* had taken, to divide his army for ſome time into garriſons to defend the ſtrong places, reduced the *Hugonots* to great difficulties; for, as they had ſuch a numerous army, and ſo little means to ſupport and provide for it, which way ſoever they turned their thoughts, they found themſelves exceedingly embarraſſed. To paſs the *Loire*, as many adviſed, and attempt the conqueſt of the largeſt and moſt ſpacious provinces in the kingdom, and even to beſiege *Paris* itſelf, the chief ſeat and baſis of the Catholick party, furniſhed them indeed with hopes of putting an end to the war in a victorious manner, by cutting the ſinews of the oppoſite faction: and though it manifeſtly gave them an opportunity of enriching themſelves with ſpoil and plunder, which was the main deſign of the *Germans*, and the only way to keep them together, yet it appeared to be an undertaking full of danger and uncertainty in the execution: for if they ventured into the middle of an enemy's country without money or ammunition, or a good train of artillery, and means of furniſhing themſelves with proviſions, and, which was of the greateſt importance, without any ſtrong place, whither they might retire and defend themſelves upon occaſion, they plainly ſaw, that any little unſucceſsful encounter or trivial impediment that obſtructed their attempt, was enough utterly to ruin and deſtroy them: nor were the hopes of plunder, or any other advantage, ſufficient to balance the danger: for the principal towns were ſtrongly garriſoned, and the King's army, being rather divided than diſſolved, might eaſily be re-aſſembled upon any exigency, and reduce them to fatal extremities, if they raſhly engaged themſelves amongſt the enemy's forces, without a poſſibility of retiring, or making proviſion for common neceſſities, which, very likely, would increaſe upon them every day.

On the other hand, if they ſtaid to beſiege thoſe towns in *Aquitaine* and beyond the *Loire*, that ſtill adhered to the Catholick party, in order to make themſelves wholly maſters of that country, of which they already poſſeſſed the greater part, and from whence they derived the chief ſupport of their army, they were ſure to ſubject themſelves to two very great inconveniencies: for in the firſt place, if they beſieged the ſtrong

places

places one by one, which were ſo well provided with all things neceſſary for their defence, they would loſe much time, and throw away a conſiderable part of their army, a circumſtance which the Catholicks were well aware of, and greatly wiſhed for: in the next, if they continued there, they ſhould diſtreſs that country with taxes and contributions, from which they had their ſubſiſtence, to ſuch a degree, that they ſhould neither be able to raiſe money enough to pay the ſoldiers, nor get ſufficient plunder to ſatisfy their greedineſs and impatience. 1569.

But of two evils it was neceſſary to chuſe the leſs. The Princes therefore and the Admiral at laſt reſolved to beſiege thoſe cities that were neareſt, that they might be enabled to make an abſolute conqueſt of the country beyond the *Loire*, and eſtabliſh their party ſecurely in that angle of *France*, in hopes of receiving ſuch ſupplies of money out of *England*, and from the prizes taken by their fleet, which was commanded by Monſieur *Sorè* after the death of *La Tour*, as would be ſufficient to ſupport the army for ſome time; during which, perhaps, ſome favourable opportunity might happen of making a further and more advantageous progreſs.

In conſequence of this reſolution they took the rich monaſtery of *Branthome*, and gave the plunder of it to the *Germans*, to encourage and make them more obedient: and having ſerved ſeveral other places of leſs note in the ſame manner, the Admiral marched with the army to ſit down before *Chaſtelraut*, in which town he had held a ſecret intelligence with ſome of the inhabitants for many days before. Nor was the enterpriſe attended with any difficulty; for the conſpirators, having raiſed a tumult, and made themſelves maſters of one of the gates, immediately opened it to the *Hugonots*. This unexpected accident ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Governor, who held it for the King, that he fled to *Poictiers* without making any reſiſtance, and the town fell abſolutely into the Admiral's hands, who received it, as he did all the reſt, in the name of the Prince of *Navarre*, by whoſe authority, as firſt Prince of the blood, all things were governed and diſpatched.

After the taking of *Chaſtelraut*, the Admiral advanced to beſiege *Luſignan*, and having taken the town without much difficulty, ſat down before the caſtle, which is reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt places in *France*, and had formerly held out a long time againſt the *Engliſh*, without being taken, though often furiouſly aſſaulted. But now the reſolution of the beſieged was not anſwerable to the valour of their predeceſſors; for ſoon after the *Hugonots* had opened their batteries, which indeed made a great breach in the wall, though, as the caſtle ſtood upon the top of a rock, it was almoſt impoſſible to march up to an aſſault, they began to treat of delivering it up, and in a few days capitulated to march out with colours

1569. flying, and all their baggage; which agreement, contrary to cuſtom, was exactly obſerved by them. *Luſignan* being thus taken, before which the Sieurs *De Breuil* and *Cheſnay*, ſoldiers of great reputation, were killed by the cannon; the Admiral took ſix heavy pieces of artillery with him that he found in the caſtle, and reſolved to march towards *Poictiers*, which, next to *Paris*, is a city of the greateſt circumference of any in the kingdom, and the capital of the adjacent provinces, whither all the wealth and treaſure of thoſe countries was carried, as into a place of ſecurity; imagining, that if he could reduce this, ſo conſiderable a place, to his devotion, all the reſt would ſurrender of themſelves without much heſitation.

But when it was known at *Loches*, where the Duke of *Anjou* lay, that the Admiral was preparing pioneers, artillery, and other things neceſſary to lay ſiege to *Poictiers*, though it was hoped, from the courageous and warlike diſpoſition of the people, that it would be bravely ſuſtained; yet the council thought proper to employ a large body of their beſt troops, under the command of perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, in the defence of ſo ſpacious a place, ſo thinly inhabited, and ſo liable to be annoyed by the enemy, not only to ſecure a town of ſuch importance and reputation, but to keep the *Hugonots* ſo much the longer in play, and by that means to wear out and diſcourage their army by the difficulty of the attempt, which was their principal deſign at the beginning when they divided their forces. For this purpoſe, beſides the ordinary garriſon that was in *Poictiers*, under the Count *De Lude*, Governor of that city, the Duke of *Guiſe* reſolved to enter into it; a young Prince, from whom the Catholicks expected vaſt things, as he aſpired to be the head of that party, and endeavoured, in this beginning of his military exploits, by a brave and noble example, to revive the glory of his father, who had made his way to the higheſt degree of authority and reputation, by defending *Metz* againſt the forces of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. This example of the Duke of *Guiſe* was followed by *Charles* Marquis *De Mayenne*, his brother, the Sieurs *De Montpezart*, *De Seſſac*, *De Mortemer*, *De Clervaux*, *De la Rochebariton*, *De Ruffec*, *De Fervaques*, *De Briançon*, *De Chaſteliers*, and many other gentlemen of great valour and diſtinction; amongſt whom were alſo *Angelo Ceſi* and *Giovanni Orſino*, with two hundred *Italian* horſe: ſo that the cavalry then in the city amounted to eight hundred cuiraſſiers and about four hundred light horſe. To theſe were added four thouſand of the beſt diſciplined foot in all *France*, under the command of *Baſſac*, *La Parade*, *Vertbois*, *Bonneval*, *Jarry*, and ſeveral other Colonels of great eſteem, with ſix companies of townſmen, each conſiſting of four hundred, very well armed and exerciſed, beſides three hundred *Italian* harquebuſiers, commanded by *Paolo Sforza*, brother to *Santo Fiore*.

Fiore. There were alſo a vaſt number of peaſants in the city, by whoſe 1569.
aſſiſtance the weakeſt parts of the ramparts were fortified with much care, and cannon planted againſt thoſe places where they thought the enemy was moſt likely to encamp. Beſides this, the city was plentifully furniſhed with proviſion, ammunition, and an incredible number of fireworks of various kinds, by the help of which the beſieged did not make the leaſt doubt of repelling the attacks of the enemy.

Notwithſtanding all theſe preparations, the Admiral, who was exceedingly deſirous to ſuppreſs the two young Lords of *Guiſe*, his particular enemies, preferred this undertaking to all others; and deſpiſing the opinion of his captains, who thought it very difficult, and adviſed him to turn his forces another way, approached towards the city on the 24th of *July*, and ordered his infantry to ſtorm the ſuburb in different places, that lies without the gate of *St. Lazarus*, and was not in any wiſe fortified, but defended only by Colonel *Bois-vert* with four hundred *French* harquebuſiers, who having gallantly ſuſtained the aſſault for the ſpace of three hours, were at laſt obliged to abandon it, as a place altogether impoſſible to be maintained againſt ſuch numbers. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſallying out in perſon, bravely ſuſtained the fury of the enemy, till the houſes near the gate and the foſs were burnt down and levelled with the ground, that they might not have the convenience of lodging themſelves there to annoy the town. The army lay that night two miles from the walls; and the next morning, whilſt the firſt troops of it were continually ſkirmiſhing with the cavalry, that ſallied out in many parts, the Admiral encamped, in very good order, on a plot of ground, which he had wiſely fixed upon beforehand.

The platform of *Poictiers* is of a large circumference and unequal ſituation; for it extends itſelf from eaſt to weſt along the ſkirts of a broken, ſtony hill, and difficult of aſcent, ſometimes riſing, ſometimes ſinking, crooked in one place, and ſtrait in another: three ſides of it are liable to be annoyed from the rocks, the fourth only is even, and ſo high, that no place on the outſide can command or incommode it: and though indeed it may be battered from without in many parts, yet it is no eaſy matter afterwards to advance to the aſſault; for the *Clain*, which runs very near it in many places, and a deep lake, occaſioned by the ſame river, make it almoſt inacceſſible; and the unevenneſs of the rocks, which afford means to annoy it, afford likewiſe a commodious retreat to thoſe that defend it: for the ſteep, craggy cliff, upon which it is ſeated, is ſo eaſy to be wrought upon, that ſteps and ladders, in a manner, are readily made on the inſide of it, which are of no little ſervice towards enabling the beſieged to make a long defence. The Admiral, having conſidered this ſituation, endeavoured to extend his lines, and take in as much of

1569. the circumference as he could, to diſtreſs and attack the city in many places at the ſame time, that were ſome diſtance from each other, in order to divide the attention and forces of the beſieged. For that purpoſe he poſted the *German* infantry at the furtheſt corner of the town, beyond the river, under the cover of an hoſpital and a mill that was near it, commonly called *Le moulin de Parent*, having made a communication betwixt them by a bridge drawn over the river with ropes, which likewiſe ſerved the infantry of *Gaſcony* and *Provence*, who extended themſelves along the bank on the other ſide of the river as far as the Fauxbourg, called *Rochereüil*. He himſelf with the vanguard lodged in the monaſtery of *St. Benedict*; the Princes, who commanded the main body, with the Counts *De la Rochefoucaut* and *Mansfield*, lay at *St. Lazare*; *Briquemaut*, *Piles*, and *Muy*, with the rear, at the Fauxbourg of *Pierre-levée*, taking up in this manner all that ſpace which reaches from the north to the weſt, and from the weſt to the ſouth; whilſt the cavalry were quartered in the neighbouring villages, and ſpread as far as *Cruſtel*, a place about two leagues from the walls.

The infantry had hardly taken their ſtations round the city, when Monſieur *De Seſſac*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Guiſe*, attended by *Giovanni Orſino*, and a hundred and twenty of the moſt reſolute horſe in the garriſon, iſſued out into the plain, through the *ſally port*, or gate of the foſs, and fell upon a body of the cavalry, at a village called *Marne*, when they were unprepared, and buſy in taking up their quarters, killing a great number of them, and diſperſing the reſt with very little difficulty; and afterwards, in his return, meeting *Briquemaut*, with two hundred Reiters and ſome *French* horſe, he charged them ſo briſkly, that they all ran away at the firſt encounter, and left above forty of their men dead upon the place. The Admiral, therefore, finding himſelf obliged to prevent theſe deſperate ſallies, ordered Colonel *Blacon* to lodge himſelf, with two thouſand foot, in the ruins of the ſuburb, and to make his approaches by trenches, and other fortifications, ſo near to that gate, that both parties kept a continual fire upon each other with their ſmall arms. Colonel *Onouz*, however, who had left *St. Meſſant*, as a place too weak to be maintained, and marched nine leagues in ſix hours with only ſix hundred foot, but choſen men, arrived when they were beating the *reveille* at day-break, and paſſing happily through the fortifications they had thrown up, entered through the ſame gate to reinforce the garriſon of *Poictiers*, in ſpight of all oppoſition from *Blacon* and his men.

The ſiege being thus formed, the firſt days were ſpent in hot ſkirmiſhes; and though the ſucceſs of them was various, yet they were always attended with very great damage to the *Hugonots*; for, beſides the loſs of their braveſt men, of whom great numbers were killed, they were hindered

hindered in their works, which ſtill were carried on by Monſieur *De Genlis*, General of the artillery, who made his approaches in different places, and raiſed a battery, where he planted fourteen heavy cannon, beſides many other ſmaller pieces. This being at laſt finiſhed, though with much difficulty, becauſe the whole camp was terribly galled with the artillery of the beſieged, they began to batter it on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, and in three days demoliſhed the ravelin and beat down the tower, which, joining to *St. Cyprian's* gate, defended and flanked the entrance on that ſide; but the bottom of the tower being filled with earth, it ſtill made a defence, notwithſtanding the upper part was knocked down. The fourth day there was an aſſault made upon it, but to no purpoſe, for it was reſolutely maintained by Colonel *De l'Iſle*, with his *French* foot. When the Admiral perceived this, and that the attempt upon that gate proved more difficult than was expected, he turned his cannon upon another part, and on the fifth day began to batter the curtain, which ſtretches along the bank of the river, as far as a place commonly called *The Abbeſſes meadow:* for though the water which ran betwixt his trenches and the town walls was of ſome inconvenience to him, yet he knew the works were much weaker there than in other places, becauſe the engineers, thinking it ſufficiently ſecured by the river, had been more careleſs in fortifying that part: by the 10th of *Auguſt*, which was the feaſt of *St. Laurence*, the artillery had made a breach ſo large, that it might be conveniently aſſaulted; and a bridge had been already thrown over upon pontoons, by which they might eaſily paſs the river. In conſequence of this, the Admiral, having ordered the breach to be viewed, was informed, that there were not only caſemates and other works in very good order, and all ready to defend it on the inſide, but that, by the advice of the Count *De Lude*, four troops of lances were ſallied out of the gates, with a deſign to fall upon the aſſailants as ſoon as ever they ſhould paſs the bridge, and get into the plain open ſpace that lay betwixt the wall and the river. Upon which, not caring to expoſe his men to ſo evident a danger, without any hope of ſucceſs, he gave out, that he would not run the riſque of drowning his ſoldiers by the weakneſs of the bridge, which was not able to bear them; and having ſent all thoſe back to their quarters, who had made themſelves ready for the aſſault, gave orders for the making another bridge, which might not only carry over the aſſailants in better order and more ſecurity, but alſo a body of horſe, to make head againſt the cavalry of the city. But the night following *Biagio Capizuchi*, a *Roman* gentleman, under *Paolo Sforza*, with two companions that were excellent ſwimmers, and accuſtomed to ſtay a conſiderable time in the water, ſwam under the bridge, whilſt the enemy was amuſed by frequent alarms, by a continual fire from the artillery, and a ſally

1569.

1569. ſally made at the ſame time by Monſieur *De Fervaques*, and having cut the ropes, in many places, that held it together, it was ſoon looſed and carried down the ſtream before the *Hugonots* were aware: ſo that whilſt it was repairing, the beſieged had leiſure to fortify the breach; in which work the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf carried the earth upon his own ſhoulders, and took ſo much pains, that his example encouraged not only all the men, but even the women, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to forward it; by whoſe aſſiſtance they very ſoon raiſed another rampart, ſtronger and thicker than the firſt.

But the Admiral renewing his battery with great violence, and having cauſed three bridges to be thrown over the river, all ſtronger than the other, made ſo furious an aſſault upon the wall on the 18th day, that his men had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the breach; when they diſcovered a cavalier raiſed within the convent of the *Carmelites*, from whence many ſmall pieces of artillery plaid upon them, before they had time to ſhelter themſelves, which galled them ſo much, that they were ſoon obliged to abandon it, and leave Monſieur *De Mondolphe* dead upon the place, a man of much eſteem amongſt the *Hugonots*, with ſeven captains and many foot ſoldiers. There was likewiſe an infinite number wounded, amongſt whom, Monſieur *De la Noüe* received a muſket-ball in his left arm, and the Baron *De Conſorgien* another in the right ſide; of which wounds they lay ill for a long time: nor did the beſieged eſcape without loſs; for Monſieur *De la Billy*, a gentleman of very noble birth, was killed that day, together with *Antonio Seraſone*, a *Roman*, who ſerved in quality of an engineer, with the reputation of great valour and ſkill.

They continued battering the ſame place, and ſeveral others, all the next day, with eight more culverins, in order to make their utmoſt effort in another aſſault; by which means the ramparts of the city were reduced to ſuch a condition, that they could not have been any longer defended, if the induſtry of the beſieged had not provided a remedy againſt ſo imminent a danger: for, having ſtopped the courſe of the river with banks and piles of wood, a little below the tower of *Rochereüil*, they made the waters riſe above to ſuch a degree, that they covered all *The Abbeſſes meadow*, and overflowed the very breaches in the wall, ſo that the *Hugonots* could not come to aſſault it. This obliging the Admiral to take a new reſolution, he ordered the artillery to be carried lower down, to batter and take the tower of *Rochereüil*, if poſſible, below which the Catholicks had made their dam, that ſo, being in poſſeſſion of that place, he might clear the river courſe, and deprive them of the advantage of the water, which was ſo good a defence to them. Upon the 24th day, therefore, when the artillery had beat down above ſixty yards of the wall, they made a general aſſault upon the tower of *Rochereüil*, and the curtain joining to it:

it: *Piles* led the attack, ſupported by *Briquemaut* and the *German* in- 1569.
fantry, in which the commanders and voluntiers, as well as the common ſoldiers, fought with wonderful valour and reſolution on both ſides. The bravery of the Duke of *Guiſe* was particularly remarkable upon this occaſion, by whoſe ſquadron the enemy was at laſt repulſed with great ſlaughter, and with much difficulty carried off *Piles* with them, grievouſly wounded, and almoſt half dead, though he was afterwards cured, and recovered his former health and vigour. All theſe miſcarriages, however, did not abate the courage of the *Hugonots*, who continued to batter the works with great fury, which the beſieged had thrown up within the breach, and reſolved to make a ſudden attack upon them about midnight, with a deſign to ſurpriſe the Catholicks while they were aſleep, or at leaſt in confuſion and unprepared: but when they came to the place, they, contrary to expectation, found the beſieged in ſo good order, and ſo ready to receive them, that they retired without making any further attempt, but were hotly purſued by the *Italian* foot, who ſallied out of the breach, and drove them back even to their trenches, making great ſlaughter amongſt them, in the narrow and difficult paſſages through which they were obliged to retreat.

In the midſt of theſe misfortunes, the exceſſive heats of the ſummer had already begun to fill the army with ſuch diſtempers as are common to that ſeaſon; of which there died great numbers of the common ſoldiers, particularly of the *Germans*, and the principal officers were likewiſe grievouſly viſited with them. The Count *De la Rochefoucaut* had left the camp to recover his health; *Briquemaut* and *La Nocle* had alſo retired to *Niort*, with ſmall hope of life: upon which account the Princes reſolved to go to *St. Meſſant*, with no other attendants but their own families, for change of air, and to avoid the contagion of the malignant diſtempers with which the whole camp was infected, leaving the Admiral almoſt alone to command the army; who, being worn out with continual watching and inſupportable fatigues, was at laſt himſelf taken ill of the flux: and though he was exceedingly ſpent and weakened by the diſeaſe, the vigour of his mind was not at all diminiſhed, but he perſiſted, with the ſame ardour, to proſecute his undertaking, and bring it to a concluſion: for which purpoſe he cauſed an aſſault to be made in ſeveral places on the 2d of *September*, giving orders for the *French* and *German* infantry to attack ſeparately, that emulation might animate them both to fight with more courage and reſolution. This aſſault laſted moſt part of the day, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſuſtaining the fury of the enemy on one ſide, and the Count *De Lude* on the other, with ſo much bravery, that the *Hugonots*, being galled on every ſide, not only with cannon and ſmall ſhot, but with ſtones, pikes, and fire-works in great abundance, were

1569. at laſt obliged to quit the wall in a precipitate manner, leaving above ſeven hundred of their men dead and wounded upon the ground, amongſt whom Monſieur *De St. Van*, brother to *Briquemaut*, and who commanded his men, was killed by a granado.

But this victory afforded little comfort to the beſieged: for though they were reduced to a ſmall number, with reſpect to the largeneſs of the place, by the death of Monſieur *D'Onouz*, Colonel *Paſſac*, and many other brave men, and their horſes become extremely weak for want of provender, yet they did not perceive, that the ardour and perſeverance of the *Hugonots* was at all abated; ſo that they ſent frequent letters and meſſages to ſollicit the relief, which the Duke of *Anjou* had promiſed them them in a few days.

The Duke reaſſembling the army, ſooner than was intended at the ſeparation of it, had drawn his forces together at the beginning of *September*, with a reſolution rather to try the fortune of a battle, than ſuffer *Poictiers* to be taken, with ſo many of the nobility, and the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, who was at that time very much beloved by him: for which reaſon he marched away from *Loches*, and ſat down before *Chaſtelraut*, aſſuring himſelf that, to ſuccour that place, where a great number of their ſick men lay, the *Hugonots* would raiſe the ſiege of *Poictiers*, where they might eaſily perceive they ſhould only deſtroy themſelves to no purpoſe, now it could be ſoon relieved by ſo large a force. And indeed the event was anſwerable to the Duke's expectation: for the Admiral, having loſt all hopes of taking the place, after the failure of his laſt attempt, and ſeeking ſome plauſible occaſion to leave it, reſolved to quit the ſiege, as ſoon as he had intelligence that the army was in motion, and drawing off his artillery, marched, on the 15th of *September*, with all his forces towards *Chaſtelraut*. On the ſame day, the Count *De Sanzè*, and *Pietro Paolo Toſinghi* entred *Poictiers*, with three hundred *French* horſe, and eight hundred *Italian* foot, beſides ſupplies of money and victuals; by which the city was at once delivered from the ſiege, and opportunely furniſhed with neceſſary proviſions. Thus ended the ſiege of *Poictiers:* in which, as the Princes army was diminiſhed both in ſtrength and hopes by the loſs of three thouſand men and two months of the ſummer, ſo the Duke of *Guiſe* came out of it with ſuch applauſe and reputation, that all the Catholick party began to turn their eyes upon him, as the chief ſupport of the *Roman* religion, and a worthy ſucceſſor to his father's power.

The ſucceſs of the King's forces at the ſiege of *La Charitè*, which happened at the ſame time, was not unlike that of the *Hugonots* before *Poictiers:* for the Duke of *Anjou* being deſirous, by all means, to prevent the Prince's army from paſſing the *Loire*, and to take away all hopes from

from them of oppreſſing the provinces on this ſide the river, had given a commiſſion to Monſieur *De Sanſac* to aſſemble the forces of *Beauſſe*, *Nivernois*, *Bourbonnois*, and part of *Burgundy*, and to beſiege *La Charitè*, which had been taken before by the *Germans* at their paſſage, and was the only place upon the river in the poſſeſſion of the *Hugonots:* but ſo firm was the courage of the ſoldiers, and ſo great the obſtinacy of the townſmen, under the command of Monſieur *De Guerchy*, cornet of the Admiral's own troop, that they ſuſtained all the aſſaults and attempts of the Catholicks, and at laſt obliged *Sanſac* to deſiſt from his undertaking, after he had loſt many gentlemen, and no inconſiderable number of ſoldiers. 1569.

In the mean time the intereſts of both factions ſuffered alternately in *Bearn*, whither the Prince of *Navarre*, who was very ſollicitous to preſerve his own patrimony, had ſent the Count of *Montgomery* to oppoſe the Sieurs *De Montluc* and *Terride*; the firſt of whom lay upon the confines of that province, whilſt the other battered *Navarrins* with great fury; which was the only place, that, after terrible ſpoil and devaſtation of the country, ſtill remained in the power of the *Hugonots:* but at laſt, whatever was the occaſion of it (for the commanders laid the blame upon each other) the Prince of *Navarre's* affairs took a more favourable turn: for *Terride* having raiſed his camp before *Navarrins*, was ſurrounded in his retreat and taken priſoner; and *Montluc*, not being able, or not coming ſoon enough to aſſiſt him, was obliged to retire into *Gaſcony:* ſo that all the country began to ſubmit to *Montgomery*, who, by ſtrange and unaccuſtomed cruelties, had ſo terrified even thoſe places which had the beſt garriſons, and were the moſt ſtrongly fortified, that they ſurrendered to him.

The Duke of *Anjou*, who had encamped before *Chaſtelraut* in order to cauſe a diverſion, becauſe he was not ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege of *Poictiers*, now began to entertain ſome hopes of taking that place, and continued to batter it with great violence: but the event proved very contrary; for when there was a ſufficient breach made in the wall, he ordered the *Italian* infantry to advance to the aſſault, who preſſing forwards with great courage, on account of the emulation that there was betwixt them and the *French*, made themſelves maſters of the breach with very good ſucceſs at firſt, but yet with more raſhneſs and fury than prudence: for being grievouſly annoyed, both in the front and flank, by the artillery, that was very conveniently planted upon the ramparts thrown up on the inſide, which they had not taken ſo much care to reconnoitre as they ought to have done, according to the rules of war, they retired to their trenches, after they had maintained the aſſault above three hours, to no purpoſe, with the loſs of more than two hundred and

1569. fifty men, amongſt whom were *Fabiano del Monte*, and many other gentlemen and officers.

The next day, their reſolution of aſſaulting the town was changed into that of marching away; for the Admiral, being deſirous to make amends for the loſs of time, and repair the damage which he received at *Poictiers*, had taken poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs on the other ſide of *Chaſtelraut* with his whole army, in three ſeveral quarters, oppoſite to the place where the Catholicks lay, being determined to try the fortune of a battle, if he could do it without manifeſt diſadvantage: upon which account the Duke of *Anjou*, knowing himſelf much inferior in ſtrength, as he was not yet joined by the nobility, and ſeveral regiments of foot that lay fartheſt from the army, thought proper to retire, and took the opportunity of doing it when the Admiral's ſoldiers, who were quartered in the ſuburbs that lay beyond the river *Vienne*, to refreſh themſelves after their march, were either careleſſly gone to ſleep, or employed in dreſſing their victuals and preparing their lodgings, none of them imagining, as the day was ſo far ſpent, that either ſide would change their quarters that night. The Duke, therefore, taking this advantage, drew off his artillery in good order, but with incredible expedition, and having ſent it forwards, with all his baggage, about ſunſet, marched ſo ſilently away, two hours after, that it was not known to the Admiral, or any of his party, till the laſt ſquadrons began to move, which being led by Monſieur *Chavigny*, *De la Valette*, and the Count *De Santo Fiore*, made good the retreat. But as it was already night, and the *Hugonot* army either at reſt, or ſcattered about the town, the Admiral, ſeeing his men weary and diſperſed, thought it would be raſh and imprudent to purſue the Catholicks, who had got the ſtart of him many hours, and retired quietly without any diſorder or confuſion: ſo that the Duke of *Anjou*, being neither followed nor moleſted by the enemy, paſſed the river *Creuſe* the ſame night, at *Port de Piles*, four leagues from *Chaſtelraut*, and the next morning, having left the bridge ſufficiently guarded on both ſides of the river, he encamped with his army at *Selle*, in a very ſtrong and well fortified ſituation.

At break of day the Admiral marched after the Catholicks; and being arrived at *Port de Piles*, he ſent Monſieur *De Soubiſe* forwards, with the firſt ſquadrons of light horſe, to reconnoitre the ſtate of the enemy; who having routed and diſperſed ſeveral little companies that had ſeparated from the body of the army, made a fierce attack upon the guards that were poſted at the entrance of the bridge, which he continued till the foot came up, who reſolutely aſſaulted the barricado of the Catholicks, uſing their utmoſt endeavours to drive away the guards, and to make themſelves maſters of that poſt; but, notwithſtanding the redoubled attacks

tacks that were made with exceeding courage by the moſt valiant commanders of the *Hugonots*, *La Valette* and *Paolo Sforza* defended the bridge with the *French* light horſe and the *Italian* foot, being much aſſiſted by the nature of the paſs, and continually repulſed the attempts of the enemy with ſuch ſlaughter, that the Admiral was obliged to abandon this enterpriſe, and ſeek for a ford in ſome other place; which being eaſily found, on account of the ſhallowneſs of the water, he paſſed over the next day, four leagues below *Port de Piles*, and advanced ſo near to the Duke of *Anjou's* quarters, that he hoped to force him to a battle: but perceiving that the Duke kept within his trenches, and was very well furniſhed with neceſſaries, becauſe all the country behind him was at his devotion; and that, on the contrary, his own army ſuffered great ſcarcity, and was forced to ſend a long way for proviſions, as two rivers lay betwixt his camp and the country that was well affected to him, he began to deſpair of bringing the Catholicks to an engagement againſt their inclination. For this reaſon, on the third day, he reſolved to retire; and having paſſed the two rivers *Creuſe* and *Vienne*, marched to *Fay la Vineuſe*, and quartered his army in the neighbouring villages, to refreſh his men after their late hardſhips and fatigues; who being all, eſpecially the *Germans*, impatient and unaccuſtomed to lie in the field, began to grow very mutinous and ungovernable. 1569.

The Duke of *Anjou* took the ſame reſolution; and having withdrawn his army to *Chinon* in *Touraine*, went to pay a viſit to the King his brother, and the Queen Mother, who, according to cuſtom, kept near the army, and were come to *Tours*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* alſo arrived, full of reputation and glory for his noble and ſucceſsful defence of *Poictiers*. Here they began to conſult about means of carrying on the war: and this was the firſt time that the Duke of *Guiſe* was admitted, as his father had been before him, to the moſt ſecret councils, and a ſhare in the adminiſtration of all important affairs. The cauſe and beginning of this confidence, beſides the nobility of his birth, the merits of his father, his own worth, and the influence of his uncle, was chiefly the implacable hatred which the King bore to the Admiral: for, after the death of the Prince of *Condé* in the battle of *Baſſac*, he had entertained ſanguine hopes, that the *Hugonot* party, being deprived of the authority of ſo great a Prince, and having loſt their chief, upon whoſe valour and reputation the conducting of ſo arduous an undertaking principally depended, would diſſolve and diſſipate, or at leaſt be inclinable to return to their duty: but he found, on the contrary, that the authority of the royal blood, cunningly revived by the Admiral in the perſons of the two young Princes, and the union of the *Hugonot* faction, founded on their own ſtrength and valour, was likely to occaſion more miſchiefs, and bring

1569. the ſtate into greater danger than ever it had been before in the courſe of ſo many years. He therefore cauſed him to be declared a rebel, by a very ſevere decree of the parliament, which he publiſhed in ſeveral languages; and not only ordered his effigies to be dragged through the ſtreets, and hung up in places where they uſed to execute common malefactors, but his houſes to be pulled down to the ground, and his goods ſold by the officers of his exchequer: after which he reſolved to proſecute him to death, and began to favour and exalt the houſe of *Lorrain*, particularly the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was very impatient to revenge the death of his father, and profeſſed a publick and irreconcileable hatred to the Admiral.

The cabinet council now coming to conſider of ſuch meaſures as were proper to be taken for the continuation of the war, at firſt diſagreed in their opinions: for Marſhal *De Coſſé*, having cleared himſelf of the ſuſpicions that had been conceived of his fidelity, and regained his former credit and reputation, by his ſevere proceedings againſt the *Hugonots* in *Picardy*, thought it better to endeavour, rather by time than force, to deſtroy the enemy, who being deſtitute of money, without means to ſupport their army, without retreat, or any conſiderable ſupply from abroad; and not only in great want and diſorder, but in the utmoſt diſcord and deſpair, would quickly be overcome by their own neceſſities, and diſperſe of themſelves.

On the other hand, the Count *De Tavannes* repreſented, that the *Hugonot* army was leſſened and wearied out, and diſordered by the long and fruitleſs ſiege of *Poictiers*, and therefore very eaſy to be vanquiſhed: but that it was very neceſſary to fight them as ſoon as poſſible, and not to ſtay till the Prince of *Orange*, who was privately gone into *Germany*, returned with freſh levies; or the Count of *Montgomery*, who had carried every thing before him in *Bearn*, ſhould come to join the Admiral, with the forces of *Gaſcony*: for then the war would be renewed, which might be effectually extinguiſhed by coming to an engagement, and puſhing the enemy with vigour, now they were diminiſhed both in number and courage.

It would have been difficult to have come to a reſolution, if the Duke of *Anjou* had not put an end to all diſputes and difference of opinions, by ſaying, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to fight the Prince's army, now it was waſted and fatigued with the late loſſes and hardſhips, and had not ſtrength and vigour enough to reſiſt the Catholick forces, which being freſh, in full ſtrength, and much increaſed, were eager to face the enemy in the field. With this intention he departed from *Tours*, attended by the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Montpenſier*, and being joined by thirty bands of foot and two thouſand horſe of the nobility, and ſuch as held lands of the

the crown, who came about that time to the army, he marched, with all his forces, towards *Fay la Vineuſe*, deſigning to meet the Princes, and force them to a battle as ſoon as poſſible. 1569.

But things were not ſo eaſily concluded upon in the *Hugonot* camp: for though the nobility and gentlemen, who had been a whole year abſent from their own houſes, and ſpent all their ſubſtance, thinking they had done much more than could be expected from the natural conſtitution and cuſtoms of the *French* nation, earneſtly deſired to meet the enemy, or to be diſmiſſed from the camp, where they continually heard the groans of thoſe that wiſhed either to die, or ſee an end of thoſe miſeries: and though Count *Volrade*, with his *Germans*, being now weary of their ſufferings, and lying in the field, and diſappointed of the hopes which they had conceived of rich plunder, demanded their pay in a mutinous manner, and to be led on to engage the enemy; yet the Princes, the Admiral, and the moſt experienced commanders in the army, knowing the valour of the King's ſoldiers, and the wearineſs and diſagreement that there was amongſt their own, inwardly diſapproved the advice of coming to a deciſive engagement, and were deſirous of behaving with the ſame prudence that they had obſerved in the Catholicks, who, when they found themſelves inferior in ſtrength, had always avoided the hazard of a battle, though now they very much deſired it, being ſenſible of their ſuperiority: therefore, as the Duke of *Anjou* had declined a battle, when they uſed all poſſible means to provoke him to it: ſo, now he came reſolved to fight, they likewiſe endeavoured to defer the event, and to proceed in a more deliberate and ſecure manner. But they durſt not let this intention be known, for fear of raiſing tumults and diſcontent in the army, being very well aſſured, that the nobility would inſtantly leave them, and the *Germans* grow outrageous, as ſoon as they knew there was no hopes of coming to battle: ſo that they were forced to give way to neceſſity, and the inclination of the army (as it often happens to a perſon that rides a fiery horſe) and ſeemingly conſented to the common opinion and deſire of the ſoldiers, making a ſhew of eagerneſs and reſolution to fight: whilſt the Admiral, who hoped to overcome all difficulties, with his uſual ſubtlety, eluded their expectation, and declined all opportunities, being firmly reſolved, in his own breaſt, to avoid a battle, if it was poſſible.

For this purpoſe, as ſoon as he heard the Catholicks were moving towards him, he acquainted the Princes with his deſign, and marched with his whole army from *Faye*, which is on the confines of *Poictou* and *Anjou*, in order to paſs the neighbouring rivers, and retire into lower *Poictou*, upon the borders of *Guyenne*, where, by the ſtrong ſituation of the places, and the number of cities that adhered to his faction in thoſe parts,

1569. parts, he thought it more eaſy to defer a battle, or elſe to come to one with ſo much advantage that there would be no doubt of a victory: and, that the nobility and *Germans* might follow him with the greater alacrity, he cauſed a report to be ſpread through the whole army, that the Count of *Montgomery*, now grown ſtrong and victorious, was on his march to join him, and that he was already come to *Parthenay*, a city not above twelve leagues diſtant, where, he pretended, it was neceſſary to meet him, leſt the enemy ſhould get betwixt the two armies, and keep them aſunder, or defeat the Count, whoſe number was inferior to theirs.

By this artifice he endeavoured to make them follow him cheerfully, till he arrived amongſt the cities of his own faction, where he might continually ſecure himſelf under the protection of ſome ſtrong place, hoping to abate the ardour of the King's army by frequent but not hazardous ſkirmiſhes, and, at the ſame time, in ſome meaſure, to qualify the eagerneſs of his own ſoldiers to come to an engagement, till the beginning of the winter, which was not far off, ſhould of itſelf prevent them from any further action: he likewiſe imagined, that he ſhould not want proviſions, from the nearneſs of *Rochelle*, and the diligence of the Queen of *Navarre* to ſupply him: whereas the Duke of *Anjou* muſt very likely be reduced to great want and difficulties, on account of the rivers that would lie behind him.

But the activity of the Duke, who had marched with the utmoſt haſte, out of an ardent deſire to fight, entirely fruſtrated this well laid deſign: for the Admiral marching, on the laſt of *September*, with his army in ſeveral diviſions, towards *Moncontour*, where he had deſigned to quarter, and the royal camp taking the ſame rout with great expedition, as ſoon as they heard of his moving: whilſt he, through the negligence of his ſcouts, was made to believe that the Catholicks were many miles off, their vanguard, under the command of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, advanced ſo near to the rear of the Princes, in whoſe hindmoſt ranks there was Monſieur *De Muy*, with three hundred horſe, and four companies of *French* muſketeers, that they could no longer avoid coming to an engagement. But the Admiral ſtill perſiſting in his deſign, after he had perſonally reconnoitred the country on every ſide, determined to paſs a water, which ſtagnating upon a plain, occaſioned a boggy marſh, thinking that the Catholicks would not attempt to come over at the ſame place, in the face of his whole army; or, if they ſhould, that he might hinder their paſſage, and have an admirable opportunity of engaging them, and gain a compleat victory, whilſt they were embarraſſed, and in ſo great diſorder: for which purpoſe, he ordered *Muy* to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Catholick vanguard, whilſt he himſelf, with all the reſt of his army, paſſed the marſh, which was not effected without much difficulty and confuſion.

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In the mean time, the Duke of *Montpenſier* marched forwards with orders, by all means to attack them, and commanded his light horſe to begin a warm ſkirmiſh, which at firſt was bravely ſuſtained by Monſieur *De Muy*, one of the moſt valiant ſoldiers in *France:* but *Martigues* coming up, who generally uſed to lead the way upon the moſt deſperate occaſions, the *Hugonots* were charged with ſuch fury, that *Muy*, having loſt fifty horſe and above two hundred foot, not being able any longer to reſiſt a force ſo much ſuperior to his, began to retreat as faſt as he could, and, paſſing haſtily over the water, drew up with the reſt of their forces. But the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who had purſued him to the banks, made a ſtop there, when he ſaw their whole army drawn up in order of battle on the other ſide, conſidering that he could not paſs with all his men in regular order, nor with more than twenty in front, which muſt throw them into great confuſion, and took an opportunity, whilſt he continued ſkirmiſhing coolly and at a diſtance, to adviſe the Duke of *Anjou* of his ſituation, and to deſire his further inſtructions. 1569.

The Admiral perceiving the coolneſs of the Catholicks, and that they did not care to paſs the water, was confirmed in his opinion, that the body of the army was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance, and that *Montpenſier* had raſhly advanced further than he ought to have done, with that ſmall party only: upon which, he took courage, and reſolving not to loſe that opportunity, after he had animated his ſoldiers, he boldly repaſſed the water, with two gallant ſquadrons of horſe, and charged the cavalry of *Martigues* ſo reſolutely, that they retreated above two hundred paces: but the body of the army coming up on every ſide, he was forced to retire in diſorder, to ſecure himſelf under the ſhelter of two large corps of his infantry, that were drawn up on the bank on the other ſide. On this occaſion the valour of Monſieur *De Clairmont* of *Amboiſe*, was very remarkable, who, though ſick and without armour, oppoſed the fury of the Catholicks, with twenty horſe only, till the Admiral had got in ſafety to his own troops.

But the Duke of *Anjou*, thinking it too difficult and dangerous to attempt a paſſage in the face of the enemy, reſolved, as the ground favoured his purpoſe, to try if he could drive them away with his cannon, and make them quit the bank on the other ſide of the water, where they were poſted to ſo much advantage. For this purpoſe, Monſieur *De Biron*, Field-Marſhal, having cauſed the artillery to be drawn from the camp, with great expedition and judgment, planted all the cannon and culverins, which were twenty-two in number, on the right-hand and on the left, at the bottoms of thoſe hills that were within ſhot of the *Hugonot* army, and began to make a terrible fire upon their flank, with infinite execution amongſt thoſe ſquadrons that ſtood ready for battle at the

1569. entrance of the marſh. But the *French* and *German* infantry, lying in a low place, and being ordered by their officers to throw themſelves flat on the ground, could not be ſo eaſily annoyed; whilſt the cavalry, ſtanding expoſed to the ſhot, could hardly be kept in order, and ſent repeated meſſages, to deſire they might be removed from thence, where they miſerably periſhed, without the leaſt opportunity of giving any proof of their valour. The Admiral, however, would not ſuffer them to ſtir, for fear of leaving the paſſage free to the enemy, which would afterwards oblige him to fight upon the plain, when his army was fatigued, and in ſome meaſure diſpirited. So that whilſt they continued warmly ſkirmiſhing at the paſs, and the artillery kept an inceſſant fire, the *German* horſe, who ſtood more open to the ſhot than any of the reſt, were going to retire, after *Charles*, Count of *Mansfield*, brother to the General, and many others, had been killed, and quitting the poſt which they held on the right-hand, began to leave the paſſage open to the enemy: but the Prince of *Navarre*, ſpurring his horſe up to them, and expoſing himſelf to the ſame danger of the cannon, ſo much encouraged them by his preſence and perſuaſion, that they were prevailed upon to ſtay for a while, and wait with reſolution till the battle ſhould begin: in which it appeared how powerful the genius of this young Prince was, the reſpect of whoſe perſon could bridle fear, which has no law, and curb the impetuoſity of the *Germans*, who are naturally ſo obſtinate and headſtrong in their reſolutions. But no remedy whatſoever could have been of any ſervice; for the enemy's cannon would at laſt have routed and deſtroyed the whole army, if the approach of night had not opportunely relieved the *Hugonots* in this extremity.

The darkneſs put an end to the ſkirmiſh that had been on the plain, and the Catholicks, not being able to point their artillery with any certainty, thought proper to abate their firing, as they perceived it was only wounding the air, and throwing away their ſhot to no purpoſe. The Admiral, therefore, wiſely taking the advantage of this opportunity, began to decamp, about nine of the clock at night, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, and before day-light had paſſed a river which lay betwixt him and the plain of *Moncontour*, where he drew up his whole army. His deſign was, as he ſtill perſiſted in his former reſolution, to retire, with all expedition, and to march forward, as far he could from the Catholicks, that he might avoid the danger of a battle. But this reſolution was not only oppoſed by the commanders and gentlemen of his own nation, but, with much more violence, by Count *Volrade* and his *Germans*, who broke out into ſeditious threats, that, if there was not a ſpeedy end put to their miſeries, they would leave the Princes and go over to the King's party, where, they were well aſſured, they ſhould be received

received upon very advantageous terms. The *French* infantry alſo being incited by this mutiny, as men are naturally more ready to follow bad examples than to keep themſelves within the bounds of their duty, demanded a battle, in a clamorous and threatning manner. Nor did many of the officers diſſent from this general deſire of the army, thinking it impoſſible to advance any further without being deſtroyed, as the enemy purſued them ſo cloſe, with a reſolution to attack them, whilſt their men were worn out with fatigues, and diſpirited with the thoughts of a retreat, which, reſembling a flight, always diſcourages an army, and damps the ardour of raw men: they judged it better, therefore, to avail themſelves of the preſent eagerneſs of their troops, and give the enemy battle in the open field, where they might hope for victory, than to be miſerably harraſſed and cut off in a retreat by irregular and diſorderly ſkirmiſhes. So that the Admiral and the Princes, not being able to withſtand the general opinion, at laſt reſolved to wait for the Catholicks upon the bank of the river, and having made the beſt diſpoſition they could, to leave the event to fortune. 1569.

The Admiral drew up his army in three diviſions; the van he led himſelf, according to his cuſtom; the main body was commanded by the Princes and Count *Lodowic* of *Naſſau*; Count *Volrade* and *Muy* brought up the rear; the artillery were planted in the front of the army, and the forlorn hope before them all, in order to begin the attack when the enemy approached.

In the mean time the Duke of *Anjou*, having paſſed the water which the *Hugonots* had left, advanced, on the 1ſt of *October*, in the morning, with more eagerneſs than ever, to fight them; but being prevented by the river, on the further ſide of which the enemy ſtood drawn up in order of battle, he was obliged to halt, as the night was coming on, and took up the ſame ground that the *Hugonots* had encamped upon the day before. The next day, being deſirous to avoid the danger of paſſing the river, though but a little one, in the face of the enemy, after he had narrowly ſurveyed all the country round, he took a large circuit on the right-hand, and paſſed the night of the 2d of *October* at *Grimaudiere*, where the river, not being yet joined by another that falls into it, was not at all difficult to be forded either by horſe or foot, as there was neither water enough to reach the calf of the leg, nor any banks that could diſturb the marching or order of his men. As ſoon as they had paſſed it, which they did without any impediment or moleſtation, the Field-Marſhals Monſieur *De Biron* and the Count *De Tavennes*, divided the army into two corps; one of which was led by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Count *De Santo Fiore*; the other by the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf, with whom were the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Longueville*,

1569. the Marſhal *De Coſſé*, the Marquis *De Villars*, now made Admiral by the King in the room of *Coligny*, *Peter Erneſt* of *Mansfield*, who had been ſent with the ſupplies by King *Philip*, the Marquis of *Baden*, Monſieur *De Carnavalet*, *Guilliaume de Montmorancy*, Lord of *Thorè*, with many other Lords and gentlemen. In each corps there were ſome ſquadrons of *Swiſs* flanked by the *French* and *Italian* infantry; and in the front of each wing was placed the artillery. In this diſpoſition, with a very large plain before them, on which there were no trees, banks, or ditches to interrupt their march, the Catholick army advanced towards the *Hugonots*, with drums beating and trumpets ſounding.

The Admiral, therefore, having once more attempted, but in vain, to perſuade his ſoldiers to retreat to *Hernaut*, a place not far off, and very convenient to receive them, ſeeing himſelf now obliged to fight, moved gently forwards toward the enemy, and prepared to engage them in the middle of the plain, without any advantage of ground: and the Princes, having firſt ſeen their army drawn up by the Field-Marſhals, made a ſpeech proper for the occaſion, in which they recommended their common religion and liberty to both nations; and, when they ſaw every man ready to act his part, they retired to a place at ſome diſtance behind the camp, that they might not expoſe themſelves, at ſo tender an age, to the hazards and perils of war, leaving the care of the battle to the wiſdom and valour of their commanders. The ſun was already two hours high when the armies fronted each other, and the Admiral's artillery began to play, which being immediately anſwered by that of the Catholicks, the whole field was filled with terror and ſlaughter: after this dreadful fire of ſo many cannon, the onſet was ſo fierce on both ſides, that it was many hours uncertain to which the victory would incline: for after the diſcharge of their ſmall arms and the ſhock of their lances, not only the horſe and foot were mingled promiſcuouſly in the heat of the battle, but even the very lacqueys, the ſuttlers, and pioneers, and the rabble of other ſuch people as commonly follow a camp, fought deſperately for their reſpective parties: and the number was ſo equal in this univerſal tumult, that almoſt every one had a particular enemy to deal with. Nor did the commanders run leſs riſque than the common troopers and foot ſoldiers; for the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf, ruſhing into the thickeſt ſquadron of the enemy, where the Marquis of *Baden* and many other cavaliers that fought under the King's ſtandard, were killed by his ſide, was often in danger of loſing his life, the preſervation of which was no leſs owing to his own valour, than the courage and fidelity of his ſoldiers: and on the other ſide, the Admiral was ſo far from ſparing himſelf, that, acting the part of a ſoldier as well as a General, he furiouſly encountered the *Rhinegrave*, who came up at the head of his cavalry to charge

charge him; and having received a piſtol ſhot from him in the jaw, which broke four of his teeth, he diſcharged his own into the *Rhinegrave's* vizor, and laid him dead upon the ground, and continued afterwards gallantly fighting, though the blood ran ſo faſt from his wound that it filled both his helmet and gorget. But though the number, courage, and reſolution of both parties were almoſt equal, yet their power and ſtrength were not: for the ſquadrons of the King's *Swiſs*, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by frequent and almoſt numberleſs proofs, and been tried in ſo many other battles, now fighting againſt enemies of leſs experience, that were worn down and tired out with their late hardſhips and ſufferings, at laſt broke into the battallion of *Germans*, whom they had attacked at the beginning of the day, and, having routed and diſordered their ranks, made ſo great a ſlaughter of them, that, out of four thouſand, not above two hundred eſcaped alive: and the King's cavalry, in a great meaſure, entire and full of courage, totally defeated the cavalry of the *Hugonots*, which was as much owing to the wearineſs and weakneſs of their horſes, that had been ſo grievouſly harraſſed with long toil and duty, as to the valour of their enemies. 1569.

The Admiral ſeeing his army defeated, his voice quite ſpent, his jaw broke, and covered all over with blood, took with him the Princes, who had withdrawn to a diſtance from the battle, together with the Sieurs *De Muy*, *Teligny*, and *Loüe*, and retired to *Parthenay* with three hundred horſe, being followed by many others in diſorder. The Counts *Lodowic* of *Naſſau* and *Volrade* rallied about two thouſand of their Reiters, and, though they were purſued by the Duke of *Aumale* and Monſieur *De Biron*, they made their retreat in good order, bravely defending themſelves at every ſtrong paſs, and arrived that night at the ſame place. All the reſt who fled from the fury of the conquerors, diſperſed themſelves different ways, as their fortune guided them; ſome got to *Angouleſme*, ſome to *Rochelle*, and others followed the rout of their commanders. The Duke of *Anjou*, after he had broke and put the enemy's cavalry to flight, coming to the place where the *Swiſs* had obtained ſo bloody a victory over the *Germans*, commanded quarter to be given to three thouſand of the *French* infantry, who, being ſurrounded on every ſide, had thrown down their arms and begged their lives; and meeting with no farther reſiſtance any where, he took the colours, baggage, and artillery of the enemy, and marched with his victorious army to quarter that night at *St. Genez*.

The number of ſlain on the Princes ſide, including the ſervants and ſuttlers, and other ſuch mean people, who yet all died fighting, was magnified by the Catholicks to ſeventeen thouſand; but thoſe who, with more juſtice, only reckoned the ſoldiers, reduced it to ten thouſand; of whom there were few people of diſtinction, eſpecially amongſt the *French*,

1569. becauſe the principal perſons ſaved themſelves by flight in good time; ſo that the weight of the ſlaughter fell upon the *Gaſcon* foot and the *Germans*. The moſt conſiderable of thoſe that were killed were *Puygraſſier*, *Autricourt*, *Tanaquil Biron*, the brother of *Armand*, who was in the Catholick army, *St. Bonnet*, and *St. Cyre*, who in the eightieth year of his age had given wonderful proofs of his valour in this retreat, and died valiantly fighting to the very laſt. There were alſo twenty-ſeven *German* captains of foot ſlain, out of twenty-eight that were in the army, beſides two colonels of the ſame nation, above ſeventy *French* captains of foot, and two colonels of the Reiters, the other two ſaving themſelves with the Count of *Naſſau*, in the body that made the retreat. Monſieur *De Noüe*, one of the chiefs of the faction, whoſe ill fortune almoſt always left him in the enemy's hands, was taken priſoner, with Monſieur *D'Acier*, General of the *French* infantry, and Monſieur *De Blacon*, Colonel of the harquebuſiers.

Not many more than four hundred were killed on the King's ſide, but amongſt them there were *Philibert* Marquis of *Baden*, the elder *Rhinegrave*, Monſieur *De Clermont*, one of the chief gentlemen in *Dauphinè*, Count *Franceſco de Saſſatello*, *Scipio Piccolomini*, Lieutenant to *Otti di Montalto*, with very many of the principal officers in the army, eſpecially foreigners, and a great number of captains of foot. The Duke of *Guiſe*, *Peter Erneſt* of *Mansfield*, the other *Rhinegrave*, the Lords of *Schomberg* and *Baſſompiere* were wounded, but all recovered in a ſhort time after. They took about nine hundred waggon loads of proviſions, all the baggage of the *Germans*, eleven pieces of cannon, and above two hundred pair of colours, twenty-ſix of which, taken by the *Italians*, were ſent to *Rome* by the Count *Di Santo Fiore*, and dedicated, by way of trophy, to the church of *St. John de Lateran*. The news of this victory was carried to the King and Queen Mother by *Alberto Gondi*, Count of *Retz*, a *Florentine*, in high favour with them, at which there was very great rejoicing: and the fame of it ſpreading into other countries, eſpecially into *Italy*, loaded the Duke of *Anjou* with glory and renown, to whoſe valour and conduct the honour of the day was chiefly attributed, for having baffled the vaunted wiſdom and ſo much dreaded policy of the Admiral.

The greater part of the commanders that eſcaped from the defeat, got the ſame night to *Parthenay*, whither the Princes and the Admiral were come before, and immediately began to conſult what was beſt to be done in their preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs. Moſt of them were greatly diſheartened at ſuch a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, and the terror of this laſt overthrow, ſeeing their army cut off, themſelves ſhut up in a corner of the kingdom, deſtitute of money, abandoned by their friends, with very

very little hope, and leſs reputation; and calling to mind their private intereſts, in the midſt of their publick concerns, the diſtance of their own houſes, the vaſt expences, the dangers and diſquiets in which they were continually involved, they ſeemed to ſink under the weight of their adverſe fortune, and inclinable to throw themſelves upon the King's mercy, and procure a pardon for what was paſſed by the beſt means they could: which, from the mild and gentle temper of the Queen and the Duke of *Anjou*, who had the chief direction of every thing, and from their deſire of peace, they hoped to obtain without much difficulty, if they humbly ſubmitted to his Majeſty's clemency. But the Admiral, not at all daunted, though wounded in the mouth to ſuch a degree that he could hardly ſpeak, but rather exaſperated by the ſevere ſentence that had been pronounced againſt him in parliament, and hardened by misfortunes, began to repreſent to them, that their affairs were not yet reduced to ſo low an ebb that they had any occaſion to deſpair; that they had loſt three other battles before this, and always roſe again with more power and terror to their enemies: that he had learnt by experience, that a war is not ended by the loſs of a battle, if men's courage and reſolution did not fail, in which the ſucceſs of all undertakings chiefly conſiſted: that though many of their ſoldiers were killed in the late action, yet the baſis and foundation upon which they built the hopes of their party, was ſtill firm and unſhaken: that *Germany*, the unexhauſted ſource of men and arms, ſtill perſevered in friendſhip and alliance with them: that *England* continued in the ſame confederacy, which would increaſe their ſupplies in proportion as their occaſions now required: that he held intelligence for the revolt or ſurpriſal of many cities in different parts of the kingdom, the loſs of which would divide the forces, and very much diſtract the deſigns of the conqueror: that the Count of *Montgomery* was grown very ſtrong in *Bearn*, whom they might join in a few days, and with his forces, which were freſh and full of ſpirits, it would be an eaſy matter to lay the foundation of a gallant and powerful army: that they ought therefore to revive the undaunted courage which they had ſhewn upon ſo many other occaſions, and truſt to his conduct; for in a few days he would re-eſtabliſh their affairs in their former condition: that he promiſed no new things, or ſuch as were too improbable to be credited, for he was fully aſſured he ſhould be able to do the ſame at preſent, which every one of them might remember they had ſo often ſeen him do in times paſt; and though they ſhould gain nothing elſe by perſeverance and ſetting an army on foot again, they might at leaſt, by that means, facilitate an agreement, and obtain better conditions, which, if they ſhould now inconſiderately ſue for in the heat of the victory, they muſt of neceſſity entirely ſubmit to the inſolence of the conquerors; whereas, 1569.

1569. whereas, if they would defer it a little while, and have patience till they had a more convenient opportunity of propoſing it, they might treat upon equal terms, and bring their affairs to a happy concluſion.

Theſe arguments were liſtened to with great attention by the Prince of *Navarre*, who, being already accuſtomed to command, could not eaſily now condeſcend to obey others. The Prince of *Condé* heard them with equal pleaſure, who, though ſomewhat younger, was by no means inferior in courage or ſtrength of genius. Count *Lodowic* of *Naſſau*, and *Volrade* of *Mansfield*, concurred with the Admiral; for, being ſtrangers, and having nothing there to loſe, they naturally deſired a continuation of the war. They likewiſe very well ſuited the diſpoſition of many who could not yet reſign their former hopes, and were not diſagreeable to the reſt that wiſhed for an accommodation, as they hoped, by ſtanding out, to obtain more reaſonable terms from his Majeſty, and to return to their duty with a better grace: ſo that, their drooping ſpirits being now revived, and their firſt determination changed, the chiefs of the faction unanimouſly reſolved to follow the Princes with unſhaken conſtancy, and ſuffer themſelves to be governed by the counſels of the Admiral. After this agreement, they diſpatched meſſengers the ſame night, to give the Queen of *England* and the Princes in *Germany* an account of the battle, and to ſollicit freſh ſupplies from them: they alſo gave notice to their confederates, in the ſeveral provinces, of what had happened, comforting them at the ſame time, and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged, for within three months they ſhould have a greater and more powerful army than the laſt. The Princes and the Admiral then having conferred together apart, determined to leave *Poictou*, as they had not forces ſufficient to defend it againſt a victorious enemy, and ſo near at hand, and confine themſelves to the defence of a few places, ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of *St. John d'Angeli* and *Angouleſme*, which towns were ſo ſtrong, that they thought they might eaſily be maintained; whilſt they with the remains of their army reſolved to quit the plains of thoſe provinces, and retire, without their baggage, into the mountains of *Gaſcony*, *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*, whither it would not be eaſy for the conqueror to follow them. Their deſign was to join the Count of *Montgomery*, whom fortune had appointed to repair and recruit their broken forces, hoping, if they could once do that, to ſhelter themſelves in thoſe mountainous countries, till the *Germans* and the Queen of *England* ſhould ſend them freſh ſuccours, with which, they were confident, they ſhould be able to regain, in a few days, all that the Catholicks could take, during the ſpace of many months, in the ſeverity of the winter, from the difficulties that attend the beſieging of towns at that time of the year.

They had likewiſe ſome ſecret hopes in the Marſhal *D'Anville*, Governor

vernor of *Languedoc*, with whom they held a ſtrict, but private intelligence, and found him much inclined to their intereſts. *Henry de Montmorancy*, Marſhal *D'Anville*, was always one of the chief of the Catholick party, and an open enemy to the *Hugonots*, whilſt the Conſtable, his father, lived; which was owing to the emulation that there was betwixt him and *Francis*, Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, his brother, who was an intimate friend of the Prince of *Condé*, and related to the Lords of *Coligny*: and that which confirmed him in it, was the favour and eſteem that was ſhewn him by the *Guiſes*, who, being perfect in every degree of diſſimulation, as occaſion required, left no artifice untried to attach him to their party, that by his means they might keep the Conſtable ſtrictly united to them, by whom he was much more beloved than his other brothers, for his valour and greatneſs of mind. The Queen Mother pretended the ſame; for as ſhe found it neceſſary to ſecure the affections of the great men, during her ſon's minority, ſhe made uſe of the Marſhal *D'Anville*, to keep up a good underſtanding with the Conſtable: but when he died, and thoſe reaſons ceaſed, neither the Queen herſelf cared to employ *D'Anville*, nor did the *Guiſes* any longer make ſo much account of him as they formerly had done; but rather endeavoured to depreſs and humble him, as a branch of that family with which they had had ſo long a continued enmity and emulation, to which the arts and influence of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* over the King did not a little contribute. In the mean time, *D'Anville*, having obſerved in what manner they treated him, and the emulation betwixt him and his brother *Montmorancy* being over after his father's death, was diſguſted that the dignity of Conſtable, ſo long enjoyed by his father, was not conferred upon one of them, and began to entertain thoughts of joining his friends and near relations: for which purpoſe he privately endeavoured to gain the Admiral's good opinion, and gave him ſome hopes of coming over to his party. This was the reaſon that he would not relieve Monſieur *De Terride* in *Bearn*, when he might have done it; and the ſame motives induced him to delay his proceedings againſt thoſe places which the *Hugonots* held in *Gaſcony* and *Languedoc*. This inclination very much increaſed upon him, as he ſaw the Admiral grew old, and was continually expoſed to ſuch dangers: for if he ſhould chance to die, before the Princes were able to take the management of affairs into their own hands, he hoped to ſucceed him in his power, as he thought he neither wanted judgment nor valour equal to ſo great an undertaking. To theſe conſiderations were added the apprehenſions which he had, not without reaſon, long before conceived, that if the King and the Lords of *Guiſe* ſhould ſuppreſs the Princes, the Admiral, and the reſt of the *Hugonot* party, they would at laſt turn their revenge upon the houſe of *Montmorancy*, which would be the only one remaining 1569.

1569. remaining of all thoſe families that had formerly been looked upon with jealouſy and ſuſpicion. All theſe circumſtances were well known to the Admiral, who, being moved by this hope and the reaſons above-mentioned, perſuaded the Princes to follow his advice, and it was accordingly reſolved to leave the plains, and retire to the mountains that border upon *Languedoc*, till ſuch time as the ſupplies from their confederates ſhould enable them to appear again in a more flouriſhing condition.

But leſt the conquerors, if they met with no oppoſition, ſhould have an opportunity of following and overtaking them, in the march they were to make, with tired horſes, and men wearied out and diſpirited, they determined to leave Monſieur *Muy* at *Niort*, who might ſuſtain the fury of the enemy for a few days, and give them time to reach the places they deſigned to go to, without any obſtruction. With this reſolution, as they thought they could not ſafely ſtay any longer at *Parthenay*, they marched the ſame night, with great ſilence, towards *Niort*, where they left *Muy* with the ſmall remainder of foot that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, and only a hundred horſe, continuing their intended rout with the ſame expedition. But the conſtancy and patience of the Princes and commanders, was greater than that of the ſoldiers and *French* gentlemen, who, being got to a diſtance from the Catholick army, and out of fear of being overtaken, ſecretly began to ſteal away: ſome, becauſe now all plunder was over, they had no longer any means to ſupport themſelves; others, becauſe their horſes were ſo harraſſed and jaded with a whole year's hard ſervice, that they were not able to keep pace with the Princes: and many, becauſe they were dejected with their loſſes and misfortunes, and out of all hopes of ever ſeeing a change for the better, or the power of their party recover itſelf after ſo great a fall: and therefore, to eſcape future dangers, ſome hid themſelves in the cities of *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*: others diſguiſed themſelves, and avoiding the high roads, endeavoured to return to their own houſes, upon various pretences: ſo that when the Princes arrived at *Rochelle*, their army was reduced to little more than nine hundred *French* horſe, and two thouſand Reiters, who, not having an opportunity of returning to their own country, then followed them rather out of conſtraint than good will. This deſertion of the *French* made it ſtill more neceſſary for them to retire to the mountains, not only to avoid the fury of the enemy, but to gain more time to recruit their army: for which purpoſe they left the Count *De la Rochfoucaut* at *Rochelle*, together with Monſieur *De la Noue*, who, by the careleſſneſs of thoſe with whom he was priſoner, had made his eſcape the day after the battle; Monſieur *De Piles*, at *St. John d'Angeli*, with all the foot that could be drawn from their ſeveral garriſons: and Monſieur *De Pontivy*, at *Angouleſme*, who was a relation and dependant of the

Queen of *Navarre:* after which they proceeded, by long marches, toward *Montauban.* 1569.

In the mean time the Duke of *Anjou,* to whom *Parthenay, Louſignan, Fontenay, Chaſtelraut, St. Maſſant,* and all the other towns and caſtles in thoſe parts, had ſurrendered ſince the victory, came with his army before *Niort,* which making ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, he encamped there, and began to plant his artillery. Monſieur *De Muy,* knowing that, in his preſent circumſtances he was to depend more upon valour than ſtrength, boldly ſallied out of the town with his horſe, though but few, and ſome foot, in order to retard the progreſs of the enemy, and began a fierce ſkirmiſh with the army, whilſt they were encamping; which, with the fire from the town, continued very hot and bloody till the evening, when, as he was making his retreat, full of hope and courage, he was ſhot in the back by one of his own men * with a harquebuſs, and died of the wound in a few days; ſo that *Niort,* the defence of which entirely depended upon his valour and experience, was immediately given up, and its example followed by *Xaintes, Cognac, Luſſon,* and all the other towns, except thoſe three only in which the Princes had left garriſons.

About this time the King and Queen Mother came to the army, and entered triumphantly into *Niort,* where they held a council of war to conſider how to make the beſt of their good ſucceſs: many earneſtly perſuaded the Duke of *Anjou* to follow the Princes and the Admiral with his whole army, or at leaſt the greater part of it, for fear of loſing the fruits of their victory by delays, and to purſue them, without intermiſſion, till he had either utterly ſuppreſſed, or driven them out of the kingdom: as the branches muſt of neceſſity wither, if the root was once cut up, and the faction of the *Hugonots,* which had been ſo often pulled down and built up again, would be totally ruined when the foundation was deſtroyed. But there were many objections to this advice: it now drew near the end of *October,* and there began to be ſuch froſts and ſnow as could hardly be endured in the plains, much leſs in the bleakneſs of the mountains: the barrenneſs of the country, whither the Princes had retired, could not afford proviſions ſufficient to ſupport ſo great an army: the narrowneſs of ſeveral paſſes, where a few men might make head againſt any number whatſoever; the diſtempers, which grew very rife and mortal in the camp; but above all, the want of money, neceſſary to maintain ſo great and continual an expence: for, the provinces being every where grievouſly harraſſed and diſturbed, the people in arms, the cities plundered, the country laid waſte and deſolate, the King's revenue was in

* The name of the aſſaſſin was *Maurevell,* who immediately fled to the Duke of *Anjou's* camp, and afterwards ſhot the Admiral a little before the maſſacre at *Paris.*

1569. many places almoſt reduced to nothing; and the war raging in ſo many different parts of the kingdom, in a few days conſumed what was collected, with much difficulty, in ſeveral months. For all theſe reaſons, fomented, perhaps, by ſome particular intereſts, it was agreed, that the charge of purſuing the Princes and the Admiral ſhould be committed to Marſhal *D'Anville*, Governor of *Languedoc*, whoſe deſigns were not yet diſcovered, and to Monſieur *De Montluc*, Lieutenant-General in *Gaſcony*, who, with the forces of thoſe provinces, were to endeavour their final ruin and deſtruction, as it was thought; that what could not be done in thoſe narrow and mountainous places by the forces of the country, could not be effected, even by a greater number of people, which would incommode one another in the ſtraitneſs and ſcarcity of thoſe parts, and rather be of diſſervice than any advantage. It was reſolved likewiſe, at the ſame time, that the Duke of *Anjou*, with his army, ſhould be employed in recovering thoſe places which were poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots* in *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*, to deprive them utterly of that reſource wherein they had fixed the hopes and foundation of their faction, which being deſtroyed, they would neither have any place left whither they could retire, nor means nor power to raiſe forces conſiderable enough to renew the war.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the King in perſon, with the Queen Mother and the Duke of *Anjou*, laid ſiege to *St. John d'Angeli*, a place of ſmall circumference, but admirably fortified, and provided with all neceſſary ſtores, in which was *Armand de Piles*, with all the remainder of the *Hugonot* infantry: and though the Duke of *Anjou*, who commanded the army, notwithſtanding the King was there himſelf, ſpared no pains, nor declined any danger, but kept a terrible fire, and made frequent and bloody aſſaults, yet *Piles* maintained the town for the ſpace of ſix and forty days; after which, having not the leaſt hopes of relief, he ſurrendered it upon honourable terms, and had a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his men to *Angouleſme*, after he had given his word not to bear arms in the Princes ſervice for four months; which promiſe, upon ſeveral pretences, was but indifferently obſerved by him.

After the taking of *St. John d'Angeli*, the army, according to their firſt reſolution, ſhould have proceeded to inveſt *Rochelle*, which was not only blocked up in a manner on the land-ſide, by the loſs of all the places round it, but beſieged likewiſe on that ſide that looks towards the ſea, by the King's navy, which had ſailed thither from the coaſts of *Provence*, under the command of the Vice-Admiral Baron *De la Garde*. But it was now almoſt the end of *December*, and the army was very much impaired, both in ſtrength and number, by the ſiege of *St. John*, where above four thouſand men were killed, beſides Monſieur *De Martigues*, a

commander of exceeding great valour and reputation: the Pope alſo and the King of *Spain* had recalled their ſupplies, as if the war had been abſolutely ended by the victory at *Moncontour*: and, which was of the higheſt importance, the Duke of *Anjou*, being taken ill of a diſorder in his ſtomach, which ſeemed likely to grow worſe, by continual pains and watchings, much too great either for his age or conſtitution, was rather deſirous of eaſe and reſt than any new emergency that required labour and fatigue. For theſe reaſons, the council being of opinion that *Rochelle*, ſo ſtraitned almoſt on every ſide, and deprived of all hope of relief, muſt of courſe ſurrender at laſt, it was thought proper to leave *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Prince *Dauphine*, ſon to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, with the command of the army in *Xaintoigne*; after which the King, with the Queen and the Duke of *Anjou*, retired to *Angiers* at the very beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy, having diſbanded a great part of their army, as it could not have been maintained for want of money, eſpecially in the depth of winter, without much difficulty and diſtreſs. Some have been of opinion that this reſolution, which proved ſo prejudicial in the end, was propoſed and determined by the Duke of *Anjou*, partly out of a deſire of repoſe, and a longing after the pleaſures of the court, to which he was extremely addicted, and partly becauſe it would rather be of diſadvantage to him than otherwiſe, to have the war abſolutely finiſhed by the total ruin of the Princes, as he had the full power and command over all the King's forces whilſt that laſted; which he would have no farther opportunity of exerciſing, if the *Hugonots* ſhould be entirely extirpated, and a laſting peace eſtabliſhed in the kingdom: and if this was really the caſe, it afterwards concerned him more nearly than any one elſe to repent of ſo great an error.

1569. 1570.

In the mean time the Princes and the Admiral, who very likely would have been deſtroyed, if they had been cloſely purſued from the firſt, ſeeing the Catholick army employed, as they wiſhed, at *St. John d'Angeli*, had retired into the confines of *Montauban*, where the Prince of *Navarre*, at the age of ſixteen years, exceeded even himſelf, and the expectation that had been conceived of him, making uſe of all his authority, diligence, and entreaties to raiſe the nobility and people of thoſe parts, amongſt whom the Kings of *Navarre*, his anceſtors, had very great dependencies, by the friendſhips and near alliances which they had formerly contracted there: and as the wiſdom and experience of the Admiral was joined with the authority and induſtry of the Prince, they had in a few weeks got together above three thouſand foot, with which they plundered all the country, delivering up every thing, both ſacred and profane, to the fury of the ſoldiers, and continued daily increaſing and recruiting their forces. Their affairs being in this poſture, the Count of

1570. *Montgomery* came with two thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, all brave and well diſciplined troops, and quartered at *Condom*, whilſt the Princes and the Admiral, having paſſed the *Dordogne* at port *St. Mary*, went to attempt *Agen*, and the other cities in *Gaſcony*: and though Monſieur *Montluc* had broke the bridge all to pieces which they had built, by pulling down a mill that ſtood higher up the river, and letting it drive down the ſtream, ſo that he kept the two armies for ſome time aſunder, yet as he had not ſtrength enough to fight either of them, the Count of *Montgomery* paſſed over with his forces at laſt in boats, and joined the Princes, by which their army grew ſo powerful and conſiderable, that they became abſolute maſters of the field, and over-ran the whole country, without any reſiſtance. At the ſame time they had ſurpriſed *Niſmes*, a principal city in *Languedoc*, by the means of their adherents, beſides ſeveral other places, which afforded them a great conveniency of refreſhing themſelves; for though the King had ſent thither Monſieur *De la Valette*, a man of eminent valour and fidelity, with a large body of light horſe, yet his other officers there did not oppoſe their progreſs and incurſions, as they were ſtrictly charged to do by the King; becauſe the Marſhal *D'Anville*, though he did not think it prudent to open his intentions at ſo unſeaſonable time, when the *Hugonots* were reduced to ſuch extremities, was yet deſirous to ſee them riſe again with freſh vigour: upon which account he artfully gave them many opportunities to arm and ſtrengthen themſelves, whilſt he kept cloſe in the city of *Thouloufe*, on a pretended ſuſpicion of the citizens fidelity, ſuffering the enemy to make inſurrections and pillage all the adjacent country, as Monſieur *Montluc* and *La Valette*, though bitter enemies to the Princes faction, and very deſirous, for their own reputation, to extinguiſh thoſe remains of the *Hugonots*, were not able to execute their deſigns, without the aſſiſtance of *D'Anville*. But, notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the Princes and the Admiral were in very great perplexity, at the diſappointment that they met with in *England*; which kingdom was in ſuch agitation, on the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt the Queen's perſon, that they were given to underſtand they muſt not expect much help from thence: and they did not find that readineſs in the *German* Princes which they had hoped for, perceiving that they could not ſtir out of *Germany*, without a good ſum of money to raiſe and equip an army: they ſaw likewiſe that the Prince of *Orange*, who was ſent to ſollicit the Proteſtants, had the welfare of the Low Countries, where he had a very conſiderable intereſt, much more at heart than the affairs of *France*, in which he was not ſo nearly concerned. So that being deſtitute of money, unprovided with every thing, without any means of ſubſiſting, except by plunder, which was now grown very ſcarce, as moſt people had conveyed their goods into

into ſtrong places, and their horſes ſo tired and lamed for want of ſhoes, which they could not poſſibly procure, that they left above four hundred of them upon the road, they foreſaw that they muſt neceſſarily be ruined at laſt, and deſtroyed by the King's forces, againſt whom they could not make any effectual ſtand, though perhaps they might be able to defend themſelves a few months. For theſe reaſons the Admiral began to ſet a treaty of peace on foot, by means of the Queen of *Navarre*, in order to gain time, as he ſaid himſelf, though the Princes imagined that he really intended to conclude one: for which purpoſe they ſent Monſieur *De Beauvais* and *Teligny* to court, with great humility and ſubmiſſion, under the protection of a ſafe conduct, who nevertheleſs propoſed conditions very different from what the King intended to grant; for he now looked upon himſelf as a conqueror, and inſiſted that they ſhould ſubmit themſelves wholly to his mercy, ſo that they were diſmiſſed without any hopes of agreement, but prevailed that Monſieur *De Biron* ſhould go back with them to the Princes, to know their final determination; which he did, but returned to court with nothing but general terms, as things were not yet matured, nor the Princes come to any ſettled reſolution. 1570.

But in the beginning of the ſpring the ſtate of affairs was much altered, as the fortune of war is generally changeable; for the Princes having paſſed the ſeverity of the winter in *Languedoc*, came down from the mountains to the banks of the *Rhone* with five or ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe (for toil and hard duty had reduced the Reiters to the number of twelve hundred) to ſpread themſelves in a more ſpacious and fertile country. The greateſt difficulty they met with there, was to paſs the river; for Monſieur *Des Gordes*, the King's Lieutenant in *Dauphinè*, had placed himſelf upon it, with a conſiderable force, to prevent them: but Monſieur *De Montbrun*, being very well acquainted with the country, found means to tranſport his regiment ſuddenly in boats and routed the Catholicks, who advanced in a diſorderly manner to attack him, without having reconnoitred his forces. After this defeat, he immediately threw up a ſconce, under the ſhelter of which Prince *Lodowic* paſſed over firſt, and was followed by the Princes, with all their army, and the Admiral, who, being ill of a malignant fever, cauſed himſelf to be carried, though almoſt half dead, in an open litter. When they had paſſed the *Rhone*, they advanced through the country of *Forets*, into *Bourbonnois* and the dutchy of *Nevers*, ſacking and plundering every place that they could, whilſt they endeavoured to get near to *La Charitè* and the neighbouring places, which ſtill adhered to their party, not only to reinforce their army with the addition of thoſe garriſons, but alſo to furniſh themſelves with powder and other ammunition, which was totally exhauſted, and without it their arms were of little or no uſe. Their deſign

was,

1570. was, to over-run and pillage the provinces about *Paris*, as ſoon as they were recruited and provided with ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted, in order to open ſome way to better and more tolerable conditions by this laſt effort, remembering that the *Hugonots* had never obtained any advantageous terms by treating, but when they had carried the war into the heart of the Catholicks country, and both terrified and diſtreſſed the citizens of *Paris* itſelf, whoſe danger and apprehenſions had always obliged thoſe in the adminiſtration to incline to a peace: but if they ſhould not gather ſtrength enough to execute this deſign, they determined to return to their old quarters in *Xaintoigne*, where they heard their affairs were not a little altered for the better ſince the departure of the Duke of *Anjou*: for Monſieur *De la Noüe* had ſallied out of *Rochelle*, and not only recovered ſeveral places near it, with admirable conduct and valour, but given a great overthrow to *Puygaillard*, one of the King's commanders, and taken one of the gallies of the fleet, over-running all the country, and never ceaſing, ſometimes by ſtratagems, ſometimes by open force, to advance the fortune of his party; and though he had received a harquebuſs ſhot in his arm, whilſt he was making a ſudden attack upon *Fontenay*, which obliged him to have it cut off, yet, as ſoon as he got well again, he returned to the ſame practices, with greater ſpirit than before, and kept the whole country in perpetual terror and alarm.

The King, therefore, ſeeing the war in this manner renewed, contrary to his expectation, and the Duke of *Anjou's* ſickneſs ſtill continuing (on which account he had retired to *St. Germains*, a delightful palace, not many miles from *Paris*) was forced to aſſemble his army again to oppoſe the Princes; and as ſoon as it was in readineſs, he unluckily and inconſiderately reſolved to give the command of it to the Marſhal *De Coſſé*: for, as he did not care to employ ſuch of his ſubjects as he was ſuſpicious of, either for their greatneſs, or authority, or intereſt, or ſome private animoſity, in ſo important a truſt, he committed it to a perſon, who, however, did not deviate from his former principles, and gave the enemy fairer opportunities than ever to recover themſelves. For, the Marſhal being ſecretly inclined to the doctrines of *Calvin*, and naturally of a cautious, unenterpriſing diſpoſition, was unwilling to diſtreſs the Princes of the blood, and only endeavoured to prevent the *Hugonots* from entering thoſe provinces that they deſigned to make themſelves maſters of, but without any intention of riſking a battle, and much leſs to ruin that party entirely, which he eaſily might have done, when he found the Princes ſo much inferior to him in ſtrength, without artillery, without proviſions or money, and their forces tired out and diſpirited with long marches, as they had travelled above three hundred leagues in the ſpace of a few months. This advice was attributed by many to the Duke of *Anjou*,

Anjou, who, either not being able, on account of his indiſpoſition, or unwilling, for ſome private motives, to put an abſolute end to the war, would have been mortified to have ſeen another enjoy the glory and reap the fruits of his labours; for which reaſons he endeavoured to make all the other noblemen and commanders ſuſpected by the King, and prevailed upon him to commit the enterprize to one, that, he was well aſſured, would make no great progreſs in it. 1570.

The Princes were arrived at *Renè le Duc*, a weak town in *Burgundy*, with a deſign to take and plunder it, as they were neceſſitated to do, in order to maintain and relieve their ſoldiers, when the Marſhal *De Coſſé* came up with his army, in which there were ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, and as many *French*, with twelve pieces of cannon, and very near four thouſand horſe: ſo that there was no doubt, amongſt people that underſtood military affairs, but the Princes would be defeated if they engaged upon ground that was equally advantageous to each ſide, when there was ſo manifeſt a diſparity both in the number and vigour of their forces. But the Marſhal, proceeding very ſlowly, according to the plan he had laid down, acted with ſo much caution and circumſpection, that he gave them time and opportunity to poſſeſs themſelves of a place ſufficiently ſtrong and advantageous to make amends for their weakneſs; for they drew up with a rivulet in the front, a thick wood in the rear, and lined the hedges and vineyards with infantry, whilſt their horſe were divided into ſeveral ſquadrons, and poſted in the moſt convenient places to defend themſelves and receive the enemy, where they ſuſtained the attack, though warm and vigorous, all the day, without much loſs. After this trial of the *Hugonots* valour and reſolution, the King's army proceeded more coolly, and the Marſhal ſtill continued to let the enemy gain the advantage of the ground, either from the inactivity of his nature, or in purſuance of his ſecret deſigns, and avoided coming to a deciſive engagement, perhaps out of an expectation that time would oblige the *Hugonots* to take ſome new meaſures which would not be attended with any danger to themſelves, and might poſſibly incline the King to grant them better terms of accommodation. Nor were the Princes backward in taking the advantages which his connivance afforded them: for the Prince of *Navarre*, commanding the army in the Admiral's room, who was now recovering from his dangerous illneſs, availed himſelf of theſe opportunities with ſo much quickneſs and prudence, that ſometimes ſkirmiſhing, and ſometimes ſeeming as if he would come to a general engagement, which yet he carefully avoided, he ſtill retired to places that were advantageouſly ſituated, and ſupplied the want of ſtrength by policy and well concerted meaſures, to his great reputation. But as ſoon as the Queen Mother was aware, from many ſuſpicious circumſtances, that the Marſhal

1570. Marſhal *De Coſſé* on one hand, and the Marſhal *D'Anville* on the other, had ſome ſecret deſign of their own, which it was not difficult for a woman of her penetration to diſcover, ſhe acquainted her ſons with it, and began to perſuade them to liſten to an accommodation, being convinced that the danger was great, now the war was carried on in ſo perfidious and intereſted a manner by the commanders. The expediency of this advice was increaſed by news out of *Germany*, that they were already beginning to raiſe forces there, under Prince *Caſimir*, in favour of the *Hugonots*: beſides, the want of money (which was ſo great, that they had not ſufficient to diſcharge ſeveral payments that were due to the *Swiſs* and *Italians*) the ruin of the people, the prodigious diminution of the King's revenue, the perpetual diſquietude and anxiety of mind, the quantity of blood which was daily ſhed, had now made the war odious, and the name of peace grateful and deſirable to every one: for which reaſons the King, the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, having had a private conference together, reſolved to purſue the old and ſo often interrupted deſigns, and grant a peace to the *Hugonots*, in order to free the kingdom from foreign armies, and then, by proper means and opportunities, to ſuppreſs the chiefs of that faction; being well aſſured, that when they were once taken off, the common people, who were only moved by their inſtigation, would naturally ſubmit of themſelves, and return to their duty: by ſuch means they hoped to attain thoſe ends, which the treachery of the commanders would not ſuffer them to accompliſh by force; a manner of proceeding that had been often propoſed, and often agreed upon, but always unhappily fruſtrated and defeated, either by the difficulties that occurred in the execution, or the baſeneſs of thoſe that were employed in it.

The Princes, on their part, were not averſe to a peace, provided their lives and liberties might be ſecured by it, as they ſaw themſelves reduced to extremities in every reſpect: and Count *Volrade*, with his Reiters, who had been quiet and obedient whilſt they continued in the remoter provinces, began to talk of leaving them now they were near the confines of *Germany*: the Admiral alone, ſtill firm to his firſt reſolution, diſſuaded and endeavoured to prevent a peace as much as was poſſible; but being now in a manner neceſſitated to it, he unwillingly complied with thoſe meaſures that were moſt oppoſite to his inclination and deſigns. Both parties, therefore, conſenting to an agreement, the ſame *Beauvais* and *Teligny* were ſent again to court, and Monſieur *De la Chaſſettiere*, the Prince of *Navarre's* ſecretary, along with them, where the peace was concluded on the 11th of *Auguſt*: in the articles of which, beſides liberty of conſcience, with the publick profeſſion of the reformed religion, a pardon for every thing paſt, and the accuſtomed clauſes inſerted in former

former treaties with the *Hugonots*, the King gave the Princes and Admiral leave to reſide, for their ſecurity, at *Rochelle*, *Cognac*, *La Charitè*, or *Montauban*, which places they promiſed to reſtore to his Majeſty within the ſpace of two years, provided the articles of peace were obſerved; which being afterwards publiſhed and regiſtered in the parliaments, the Princes and the Admiral, when they had diſmiſſed Count *Volrade* of *Mansfield*, on the confines of *Burgundy*, with the Reiters, few of whom remained out of ſo great a number, went directly to *Rochelle* (without ever going to court, or ſo much as appearing in the King's preſence) not only to conſult with the Queen of *Navarre* about affairs that concerned their common intereſts, but alſo to continue there, and fortify themſelves for their farther ſecurity. 1570.

But the peace being concluded, though with much diffidence and ſuſpicion from the very firſt, as plainly appeared by the determination of the Princes and the Admiral not to go to court, the engines that had been contrived by the King and Queen to draw the principal *Hugonots* into the net, now began to work, and endeavoured to effect that by policy, which had been ſo often attempted by force of arms, and always proved fruitleſs and dangerous. And though theſe very arts had been formerly put in practice, and ſtill produced very little or no benefit, becauſe they were either divulged by perfidious miniſters, or the Queen herſelf had acted with too much reſpect and irreſolution, or the *Hugonot* Princes had always miſtruſted her temper and deſigns, yet they now hoped for a more perfect and proſperous concluſion, as theſe ſecret intentions were not communicated to any, but ſuch as were deeply concerned in them; and the King himſelf lent his helping hand, who being twenty-two years old, of a reſolute diſpoſition, a ſpirit full of reſentment, and, above all, a thorough maſter of diſſimulation, now managed the affairs of ſtate himſelf, though with the advice of his mother, ſo that things were carried on with more vigour and aſſiduity, as well as ſecreſy and precaution. The principal difficulty was to create a confidence in the *Hugonot* Lords, and to wean them from the ſuſpicions which they had conceived, to ſuch a degree of ſecurity, that they would venture to come to court unarmed: for which purpoſe, as it was neceſſary to begin at that end, the King and Queen Mother imparted their private deſigns only to the Duke of *Anjou*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Alberto Gondi*, Count of *Retz*, who was in ſo great favour, that he had been advanced from a ſmall fortune to a conſiderable degree of honour, and was much truſted and very faithful to them. After this they ſent a ſtrict charge to all magiſtrates and governors of provinces, to execute the articles of peace, and cauſe them to be obſerved in favour of the *Hugonots*, to whom they ſent the Marſhal *De Coſſé* as far as *Rochelle*, who was now diſcovered to be one

1570. of their adherents, giving him not only authority to ſee the edict fulfilled, and to interpret thoſe clauſes of it that were ambiguous and obſcure, but a full power to aſſure the Princes and the Admiral of the King's favour, and ſincere intentions, to obſerve his promiſes inviolably, and in every reſpect. And indeed his actions correſponded with his words; for as he deſigned to give the *Hugonots* all poſſible ſatisfaction, he ſent orders to havethe Catholicks ſeverely puniſhed, who, in many places of *Provence*, *Daupkinè*, and *Normandy*, had riſen upon the *Hugonot* miniſters; and in doubtful caſes, always graciouſly inclined to conſtrue the edict to their advantage; whilſt, on the other hand, he ſhewed great harſhneſs, or at moſt but very little favour, to the Catholicks. By theſe appearances he thoroughly ſatisfied the common people; and even the Admiral himſelf, who had been ſo hard of belief, and firmly reſolved not to truſt him, began to conceive ſome hope, that the King, being weary of the diſtractions and dangers of a civil war, and beginning now to govern of himſelf, and not by the councils of his mother, might at laſt ſincerely deſire to eſtabliſh and preſerve the accommodation.

But to make a farther trial, and to penetrate more deeply into the King's intentions, the Princes and the Admiral, having conferred of many things with the Marſhal *De Coſſé*, diſpatched *Teligny* and *Briquemaut* to court, together with *Arnaud Cavagnes*, a ſenator of the parliament of *Tholouſe*, and a principal counſellor of the Admiral's, to repreſent their numerous grievances to the King, and principally to inſiſt, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Lords of *Guiſe* ſhould be removed from the adminiſtration; for whilſt the affairs of ſtate were managed and directed by ſuch perſons, they could not believe the peace would laſt long: nor was it reaſonable to expect they ſhould come to court, where thoſe Lords continued in ſo great authority, and truſt themſelves in the hands of their bitter enemies. To theſe they joined many other demands, namely, that the High Chancellor *De l'Hoſpital* ſhould be recalled to the execution of his charge; that the Marquis *De Villars*, whoſe promotion to the office of Admiral was vacated by the agreement, ſhould not be appointed Lieutenant to the Prince of *Navarre*, in the government of *Guyenne*, but that the Prince ſhould be at liberty to chuſe ſuch a one as he liked, *Villars* being in no wiſe agreeable to him, and very obnoxious to the Admiral of *Chaſtillon*: that the Prince of *Condé* ſhould have the caſtle of *Vallery* reſtored to him, then in poſſeſſion of the Lord of *Achon*, who pretended a right to it: that the baſtard of *Navarre* ſhould have the biſhoprick of *Cominges*, which was promiſed to the ſon of Monſieur *De Sanſac*: that the Queen of *Navarre* ſhould have free dominion in her county of *Armagnac*, and exerciſe her juriſdiction there without controul. Theſe things, eſpecially the abaſement of the houſe of *Lorrain*, were demanded,

demanded, not ſo much out of any hope they had to obtain them (for they were neither included nor mentioned in the accommodation) as out of a deſire to diſcover the intentions of the King and Queen Mother more clearly by the conſequence. 1570.

The commiſſioners arrived at a time when the court was wholly taken up in the celebration of the King's nuptials; who, being deſirous of iſſue, had taken to wife the Lady *Iſabella*, ſecond daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*: and amongſt theſe feaſts and rejoicings, the pretenſions, or rather complaints, of the *Hugonot* lords, were diſcuſſed; which were ſeconded, with much zeal, by the Ambaſſadors of the *German* Princes; who, being come to congratulate the King upon his marriage, earneſtly exhorted him to obſerve and maintain the peace, which, their Princes had learnt, by experience, could not ſubſiſt but by granting a full liberty of conſcience, and by a ſincere and undiſſembled union betwixt the ſovereign and all his ſubjects. The King and Queen Mother very well knew, that theſe remonſtrances and propoſals had no other foundation nor end than to diſcover their intentions, and ſearch into the bottom of their deſigns; and therefore, with a reſolution to turn the *Hugonots* own artifice upon themſelves, after ſome ſeeming reluctance, that they might not increaſe their ſuſpicions by too ready a compliance, they conſented to many of the demands, and artfully buoyed them up, with hopes that they would yield to the reſt. To the Queen of *Navarre* they granted liberty of diſpoſing all things in the county of *Armagnac* by laws and ordinances of her own making; and for a while ſuſpended the commiſſion, and delayed the ſending of the Marquis *De Villars* into *Guyenne*, reſerving to themſelves a power of treating more particularly about that affair with the Prince of *Navarre*. To the baſtard they granted many benefices and eccleſiaſtical emoluments, and promiſed the reſtitution of *Vallery* to the Prince of *Condé*; but excuſed themſelves from recalling *De l'Hoſpital* to the Chancellorſhip, on account of his age and weak conſtitution, which they did not think able to undergo ſuch a weight and multiplicity of buſineſs: and as to the removal of the Lords of *Lorrain*, which was the higheſt demand, and moſt difficult to be complied with, they pretended a deſire of obliging the *Hugonots*, but ſaid it could not well be done, till a proper time and opportunity ſhould offer; as it was neither juſt nor reaſonable, nor, perhaps, ſafe, to deprive them all at once, and without any cauſe, of thoſe honours and offices which they had ſo long poſſeſſed and executed. The King, however, told the commiſſioners, with much earneſtneſs, that he had now taken the reins of government into his own hands: and though the Lords of *Lorrain* enjoyed ſome offices at court, yet he would rule according to his own pleaſure, and not ſuffer himſelf to be directed by any other perſon whatſoever:

1570. ever: ſo that the Princes of *Bourbon*, the Admiral, and the reſt of their party, had no occaſion to fear being prejudiced by the authority of their adverſaries, who, though they continued at court, now lived there as ſubjects, and not as maſters, and had no power to do any thing more than their duty and places permitted, nor dared to meddle in thoſe affairs to which they were not called.

1571. With theſe treaties, full of deep diſſimulation on both ſides, began the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-one; ſoon after which, the commiſſioners returned to *Rochelle*, and carried back the conditions they had obtained, with many interpretations of the edict concerning the exerciſe of religion, all very favourable to their party: with which the Princes were ſatisfied, and the Queen of *Navarre* alſo in ſome meaſure; the Admiral only ſtill continued doubtful and in miſtruſt, till he had ſome more certain proofs of their ſincerity. But the King and Queen, being deſirous to ſee a final accompliſhment of their deſigns, reſolved to make uſe of more powerful inſtruments, and try more ſecure and efficacious means, to prevail upon the *Hugonot* Lords to come to court: for which purpoſe they ſent Monſieur *De Biron* to *Rochelle* (who, from being a Marſhal, was promoted, on account of his extraordinary valour, to the grand maſterſhip of the ordnance) with propoſals to the Queen of *Navarre*, that the Lady *Margaret*, the King's ſiſter, ſhould be given in marriage to her ſon, the Prince of *Navarre*, for the renewal of their conſanguinity, and the farther confirmation of the preſent peace concluded with him: after which alliance there would be no longer cauſe to doubt of the affection and concord betwixt them, nor any diſpute about the honours and prerogatives which juſtly belonged to him, as firſt Prince of the blood; nor would any body dare to interpoſe and ſow diſſenſion betwixt two brothers. They likewiſe acquainted the Admiral, and the Count of *Naſſau*, who, for his ſecurity, continued with the reſt at *Rochelle*, that the King, being now deſirous to put an end to civil diſcords, and perceiving that he could not do it, on account of the warlike diſpoſition of his people, without entering into a foreign war to engage the attention and find employment for his ſoldiery, had determined to revenge the many injuries he had received from the King of *Spain*, by making war upon him in the Low Countries, which were full of commotions, and ready to ſubmit to the dominion of any other Prince; and therefore, as he did not know any perſons more capable of giving him proper advice, or doing him better ſervice, in that undertaking, than the Admiral and the Count of *Naſſau* (who, though baniſhed, was ſo conſiderable a man in thoſe countries) he deſired them both to come to court, that he might communicate his deſigns to them, and take ſuch meaſures as, upon conſultation, they ſhould all think moſt ſuitable and likely to ſuc-

ceed. The King and Queen imagined (as indeed it happened) that the hope of conducting this war would work effectually upon the Admiral, and therefore gave orders to treat more circumſtantially upon that than any other particular. Theſe things were recommended with great earneſtneſs by Monſieur *De Biron*, who, though he had done much damage to the *Hugonot* party, by his valour and activity in the war, yet he had ſhewn himſelf very favourable to their intereſts in his councils and the treaty of peace, perhaps out of a ſecret ill-will that many then bore to the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who at that very time, having privately ſettled the affair with the King, ſeemed to be highly out of humour at the concluſion of a peace, and the favours granted to the *Hugonots*; and much more ſo, as the Duke of *Guiſe*, though he had entertained hopes from his childhood of obtaining the Lady *Margaret* in marriage, and with that view had long courted and ſerved her, now ſaw her deſtined to be the wife of his enemy, the Prince of *Navarre:* and it was true, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had been many years very much in love with the Lady *Margaret*, and no leſs beloved by her again; ſo that it was generally believed, there was not only a very intimate and familiar acquaintance betwixt them, but that they were already ſecretly contracted to each other, by a reciprocal promiſe. But whether the ardour of the Duke of *Guiſe's* affection was in ſome meaſure abated (as it often happens, that men who are eaſily enamoured, as eaſily forget their paſſion, and prove inconſtant) or he was influenced by the advice of his uncle, he preferred his own greatneſs and the Admiral's ruin to all other conſiderations; and giving way, for that time, to the King's pleaſure, privately conſented, that the Lady *Margaret* ſhould be given to the Prince of *Navarre*, whilſt he outwardly appeared to be offended and provoked at it to the laſt degree, which ſerved to confirm the *Hugonot* Lords in their confidence and ſecurity. The King likewiſe, with the ſame diſſimulation (in which he excelled) often ſeemed diſſatisfied with the government of the Queen his mother, of whom he knew the *Hugonots* were not a little miſtruſtful, and much more with his brother the Duke of *Anjou:* and, to make it plainly appear that he was deſirous of taking ſome occaſion to remove him from court, he had empowered the Admiral to propoſe a treaty of marriage (by means of his brother Monſieur *De Beauvais*, who had been Cardinal, and then lived in *England*) between the Duke of *Anjou* and Queen *Elizabeth*, upon certain conditions relating to the exerciſe of religion; which was done, not ſo much out of any hope of concluding it (for it was ſufficiently known how little the Queen was inclined to ſubmit to the yoke of matrimony, and the dominion of a foreign huſband) as to create a greater degree of aſſurance in the *Hugonots*, and to manifeſt a deſire of removing the Duke of *Anjou* as far

1571.

as

1571. as poſſible from the adminiſtration of affairs, and alſo out of ſome ſuſpicion that the Queen of *England* (as the affections of women are variable) might reſolve to marry the Prince of *Navarre*, who was of her own religion, upon whom ſhe might impoſe ſuch conditions and reſtrictions as ſhe thought fit, and ſo ſtrengthen the *Hugonot* party with new intereſts and more powerful aſſiſtance: for which reaſon the Duke of *Anjou* was propoſed, that, in caſe ſhe ſhould determine to marry, ſhe might have it in her power to make choice of him, as probably ſhe would, not only becauſe he was a Prince of higher rank, but alſo of greater reputation and riper years, and (which perhaps might take much with the Queen) of a perſon remarkably handſome. But as the Lady *Margaret* was wholly governed by her own paſſion, and, without any regard to reaſons of ſtate, peremptorily refuſed to have any huſband but the Duke of *Guiſe*, it happened one night, when there was a ball at court, that, as he was coming into the great hall, very richly dreſſed and adorned with the moſt coſtly jewels (which received an additional grace from his affable behaviour and noble preſence) the King, who ſtood at the door, aſked him *whither he was going?* without ſhewing him any farther reſpect, as he uſed to do; to which the Duke making anſwer, that *he came to ſerve his Majeſty*; the King replied, that *he had no occaſion for his ſervice*; which, whether it was ſpoke in earneſt, or by way of blind, ſtung him to ſuch a degree, that the next day he reſolved to take to wife *Catherine de Cleves*, ſiſter to the ducheſs of *Nevers*, and widow to the Prince of *Porcian*, who, though of very noble blood, and enriched with a large dower, was yet, in every reſpect, eſpecially in beauty, much inferior to the King's ſiſter; but his ambition of governing, the deſire of revenging his father's death, the perſuaſions of his uncle, and, above all, the fear of offending the King, were more powerful in him than any other conſiderations whatſoever.

Theſe things were ſo artfully managed, and with ſo much diſſimulation, that not only moſt of the *Hugonot* Lords were perſuaded of their reality, but even the Pope began to entertain no ſmall ſuſpicions of them; for the King and Queen Mother had not imparted their moſt ſecret deſigns to any other Prince, for fear of having them diſcovered: ſo that his Holineſs being deceived, by this manner of proceeding, not only denied to grant a diſpenſation for the marriage betwixt the Prince of *Navarre* and the King's ſiſter, but alſo ſent orders to his nephew *Alexandrino*, then Legate in *Spain*, to remove, with all expedition, into *France*, to break the match, and perſuade the King to renew the war with the *Hugonots*. Nor was King *Philip* without ſome jealouſy of the *French*, when he ſaw many ſhips fitted out at *Rochelle*, which went upon cruizes into the *Indies*, and ſcoured the coaſts of *Spain*, either with the King's approbation, or at leaſt

leaſt by his connivance: he likewiſe perceived there were troops aſſembled on the confines of *Picardy*, and the ſoldiers gave out, that they were to march under *Hugonot* commanders into the Low Countries, to the aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, and the reſt of the nobility and people that were up in arms there: for which reaſons, beſides the general and ambiguous anſwers that were returned to a complaint, made at the court of *France*, he exhorted the Legate *Alexandrino* to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſound and diſcover the intentions of the King. But the Duke of *Savoy* was under ſtill greater apprehenſions; for, beſides the ſame reaſons which gave ſuſpicion to the others, it happened about that time that the Admiral, being left a widower by the death of *Charlotte de la Val*, his firſt wife, married Madam *D'Entramont*, a very rich lady in his dominions, who, contrary to the Duke's deſire and command, was gone to conſummate the marriage at *Rochelle*; being ambitious, as ſhe ſaid, to be a ſecond *Marcia* to this ſecond *Cato*: upon which account, the Duke was much afraid that the Admiral, who was ſo ſubtle and enterpriſing a Politician, ſhould take occaſion, from the nearneſs of *Geneva*, to kindle ſuch a fire in *Savoy* as he had done in the kingdom of *France*. 1571.

But theſe conſiderations did not retard the proceedings of the King and Queen Mother, who were aſſured, that the event would at laſt clear up their intentions, to the ſatisfaction of all the world. Wherefore, in purſuance of their reſolution, they propoſed to go to *Blois*, that, being in a place ſo much nearer, they might more conveniently treat with the Princes at *Rochelle*, amongſt whom there were various opinions: for, as exiles are naturally inclined to hope, Prince *Lodowic*, who was leſs engaged to the King, and conſequently had not offended him ſo much as any of the reſt, was willing to go to court, to ſollicit and concert meaſures for the war, which the King ſeemed ſo deſirous to make upon the *Spaniards*. But the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral, who formed their judgment of the future, from their conſciouſneſs of things paſt, were ſtill averſe, and in ſuſpence, neither willingly conſenting to the Prince's marriage, nor the journey to court. Prince *Lodowic*, however, being invited and encouraged by the King, took a reſolution to go thither alone, but very privately, to negociate his own affair in perſon, to prepare the way for the coming of the others, and to forward the deſigns with which he ſo much flattered himſelf, of the wiſhed-for expedition againſt *Flanders*. For which purpoſe he departed from *Rochelle*, with only two in company, and gave out, that he was going to meet his brother the Prince of *Orange*; and, when he was got a few miles from the town, took poſt and arrived ſecretly at court in the night; where he was received with much appearance of favour and affection, and admitted to an audience by his Majeſty himſelf, with whom alone, and in private, he

1571. he was allowed to treat freely and in great confidence, concerning the propoſals of his party: for the King, to increaſe their ſecurity, continued to make a ſhew of governing by council, very different from thoſe which his mother had followed in his minority. The concluſion of this conference was, that the Prince of *Navarre* ſhould have the Lady *Margaret* in marriage, with a dowry of four hundred thouſand ducats: of which the ſum of three hundred thouſand ſhould be paid by the King, and ſufficient ſecurity given for it; the reſt by the Queen Mother and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alençon* his brothers: that the deſign againſt the *Spaniards* in the Low Countries ſhould be executed with all ſpeed: that Count *Lodowic* ſhould go before, and ſettle matters with thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Flanders:* that the Admiral ſhould be Captain-General of the expedition, and come to court immediately to concert proper meaſures for it: that he ſhould have the privilege of keeping fifty gentlemen, by way of guard to his perſon, who ſhould be allowed to carry any ſort of arms, even in the city of *Paris*, or whereſoever elſe the court ſhould reſide: that, to gratify Count *Lodowic*, the King's garriſon and governor ſhould be ordered out of the caſtle of *Orange*, and leave it free to the Prince his brother, who might abſolutely diſpoſe of it, and his ſubjects, as he pleaſed, without the King's interfering in the government or ſovereignty of it, which he had formerly claimed. Theſe things, and ſeveral others of leſs moment, being granted and agreed upon, Count *Lodowic* returned to *Rochelle*, to perſuade the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral to come to court: but the King, leaving *Blois*, retired into the country near *Paris*, where he ſeemed to attend only to hunting, and other ſuch youthful recreations, whilſt he was uſing all means to bring the deſign of the late conference to maturity: and for that purpoſe, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his brothers, pretending to be offended, and complaining of the King, for beſtowing his favours and honours ſo liberally upon the *Hugonot* faction, left the court in diſguſt: upon which the King, who ſeemed diſpleaſed at their behaviour, and to make little account either of them or their merits, took the Marſhals of *Montmorancy* and *Coſſé* into a higher degree of truſt in the adminiſtration, and placed them nearer his perſon, though they were both partial to, and united with, the Princes and the Admiral, not only by friendſhip, but by nearneſs of blood and common intereſt. The Duke of *Montpenſier* alſo, who had lately married one of the Duke of *Guiſe's* ſiſters, appearing to be diſcontented like his brothers-in-law, retired from court with the Prince *Dauphinè* his ſon.

But about that time the King's deſigns, which had been kept ſecret with ſo much care, were very near being diſcovered, in an unexpected manner. The Duke of *Anjou* ſhewed much favour to, and was exceedingly

ceedingly intimate with Monſieur *De Ligneroles*, a young gentleman of remarkable courage and penetration, with whom he often entered into private converſations about the ſtate of affairs, and at laſt acquainted him with the King's real intention, not only becauſe he was fully aſſured of his fidelity, but wanted to aſk his opinion and advice in ſo important an affair, as he uſed to do in many others. This *Ligneroles* was become ſo great a favourite at court, on account of the Duke's regard for him, that the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and even the King himſelf, took no little notice of him for his ſpirit and addreſs. It happened one day that he was in the King's apartment, when his Majeſty diſmiſſed ſome *Hugonot* Lords, in a kind and gracious manner; though after they were gone, he gave a looſe to his paſſions, and laying aſide his uſual diſſimulation, could not help ſhewing, that he was highly incenſed at their inſolent and extravagant demands: upon which, *Ligneroles*, either out of an ambition to appear privy to the moſt ſecret deſigns, or out of a levity that is incident to youth, and often gets the better of diſcretion, ſtepped up to the King, and whiſpered in his ear, "That he ought to enjoy himſelf in patience, and laugh at their inſolence and temerity, for the meeting, which would happen in a few days, would bring them all into his net, and then he might puniſh them as he thought fit." Though the King was exceedingly ſhocked with this ſpeech, he pretended not to underſtand the meaning of it, and retired into his private apartment, where, full of rage and grief, he ſent for the Count *De Retz*, imagining that he, who was likewiſe intimate with *Lignoroles*, had revealed this ſecret to him, and ſharply reproached him with the favours and honours that he had conferred upon him, threatning revenge for the ingratitude with which he had perfidiouſly betrayed the confidence he had repoſed in him: but as the Count ſteadily denied it, and offered to be ſhut up in priſon till the truth ſhould be known, he ſent for the Queen Mother, and complained bitterly that ſhe had divulged thoſe things which he had ſo long diſſembled with ſuch patience and conſtraint upon his natural inclination: to which the Queen, anſwering with a ſmile, "That ſhe had no occaſion to learn the art of ſecrecy from him, and that he ſhould conſider whether, by his own impatience, he had not been guilty of that which he laid to the charge of others." The King then began to rage and ſtorm in a furious manner (as he was exceeding cholerick) and ſent for the Duke of *Anjou*, who, without any prevarication, freely confeſſed, that he had communicated the affair to *Ligneroles*, but aſſured them, at the ſame time, that they had no occaſion to be under any apprehenſions that he would ever ſuffer it to eſcape his lips. "I will take care of that, anſwered the King, for he ſhall be diſpatched before he has time to publiſh it." And as the Duke of *Anjou*

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1571. durſt not oppoſe ſo ſudden and reſolute a determination, or was vexed at the weakneſs of *Ligneroles*, and did not uſe any endeavours to divert it, for fear of worſe conſequences, the King ſent for *George de Villequier*, Viſcount of *Guerchy*, who (as maſters are ſeldom ignorant how their ſervants ſtand affected) he knew bore a ſecret hatred to *Ligneroles*, and ordered him, by any means, to have him aſſaſſinated that very day: after which the King and the Duke of *Anjou* immediately took horſe, as they often uſed to do, without ſtaying for any attendants, and went to hunt in the neighbouring fields and woods; which was no ſooner known to *Ligneroles*, and the reſt of the courtiers, but they mounted their horſes, according to cuſtom, and followed the cry of the hounds as faſt as they could: but the Viſcount *De la Guerchy* and Count *Charles* of *Mansfield*, who was privy to his deſign, being mounted upon fiery and high mettled horſes, endeavoured to join company with *Ligneroles*, under a pretence of entering into converſation with him, which he tried to avoid, not being able to keep his horſe quiet amongſt theirs that were ſo vicious and ungovernable: and as they ſtill continued to follow him, as if it was for diverſion, they at laſt came to high words, and then to challenges; upon which the Viſcount and Count *Charles*, immediately drawing their ſwords, fell upon him ſo furiouſly, that before any body could come to his aſſiſtance, he was left dead upon the place. When the King was informed of it, he ſeemed to be highly provoked and concerned, and ordered them both to be apprehended and impriſoned in the Palace, from whence they were afterwards ſet at liberty, by the interceſſion of Monſieur *D'Angouleſme* the King's natural brother, and, as it were, by particular grace and favour.

When this affair was blown over, which, for ſome time, made a great diſturbance at court, the next difficulty was to overcome the obſtinacy of Lady *Margaret*, who was more fixed than ever in her former reſolution, and abſolutely refuſed to marry at all, ſince ſhe was forbidden to have the Duke of *Guiſe*: ſo that, as the Pope likewiſe ſtill perſiſted in denying to grant them a diſpenſation, the concluſion of that marriage was yet uncertain. The Queen Mother, therefore, by means of Biſhop *Salviati*, the Pope's nuncio, to whom ſhe was nearly related, endeavoured to perſuade the court of *Rome*, that ſuch a match would tend to the benefit of the Catholick religion; repreſenting to him, that if they could engage the Prince of *Navarre* in ſo near an alliance and confidence with the King, it would be the means of winning him over (who was young and flexible) to better opinions, and the boſom of the church, and that many others would follow his example, for fear of loſing ſo conſiderable a ſupport as the firſt Prince of the blood: that as they had often in vain attempted to reduce the *Hugonots* by rough and violent methods, it was

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now proper to try more gentle remedies. But when the King and Queen saw the Pope's reſolution was not to be changed by perſuaſions, they began to try if they could not alter it by neglect, and publickly gave out, that as they were under a neceſſity of contracting a marriage with one of another religion, they were determined to do it at all events, without any farther regard to a diſpenſation: nor would they ſuffer the peace and quiet of the kingdom to be diſturbed again, and involved in freſh dangers and wars, by the Pope's obſtinacy. Theſe things confirmed the *Hugonots* in their confidence to ſuch a degree, that the Admiral was at laſt prevailed upon to go to court, by Count *Lodowic* of *Naſſau*, and the advice of *Teligny*, his ſon-in-law, and *Cavagnes*, whom he held in great eſteem, but much more by the apprehenſion, that the Queen of *Navarre* and the Princes would be beforehand with him, as they were already preparing for their journey: for which reaſons he ſet out, with a large train of dependants, and being introduced into the King's preſence at his arrival, he kneeled down and bowed himſelf humbly before his Majeſty, who received him with equal ſhew of kindneſs and affection. It was very remarkable, that the Admiral, now grown old in ambition and high pretenſions, ſhould at laſt be ſo affected with the conſciouſneſs of his crimes, and ſubmit to ſuch a penance in the face of the whole kingdom, and before his own principal adherents, as to be ſeen kneeling, with tears in his eyes, at the feet of that King whom he had in times paſt ſo grievouſly offended and deſpiſed. But it was much more remarkable, that a Prince ſo young, of ſo fiery and impetuous a temper, ſhould be able to contain himſelf, and diſſemble ſo perfectly, when he ſaw the man before him, who had ſo often brought his crown and kingdom into danger, as to call him *father*, and lift him up with his own hand, and make all the world believe that he was heartily and ſincerely reconciled to him. 1571.

Theſe great demonſtrations of favour were attended with correſpondent actions: for the king not only ordered a hundred thouſand franks, which amount to ten thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid him immediately out of the treaſury, to indemnify him for the particular loſſes that he had ſuffered during the late wars, but aſſigned him an annuity out of the eccleſiaſtical revenues which had belonged to the Cardinal his brother, then lately deceaſed in *England*; and gave him back all his rich and ſumptuous furniture, which, as the goods of a rebel, had been confiſcated. And though all other Admirals had ever given place to the Marſhals of *France* in council, and at publick ceremonies, yet, to ſhew him the greater honour, it was the King's pleaſure that he ſhould ſit next to Monſieur *De Montmorancy*, who was the firſt Marſhal, and above all the reſt. To *Teligny*, *Cavagnes*, and to all his dependants and followers, the King voluntarily did many favours, and was continually ſurrounded by them at

1571. council, in his own apartment, and in publick when he went abroad. All graces and favours were granted at their interceſſion, and there was nothing ſo difficult which the Admiral could not bring to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion by a bare requeſt: which was manifeſtly ſeen in the caſe of *Villandry*, a young gentleman, who had ſo exceedingly offended the King at play, that he was condemned to die: for, though he had denied his pardon to the Queen Mother, the Queen his wife, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, yet he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his former familiarity at court, on the firſt application from the Admiral. In this confidence, and to increaſe it ſtill more, the expedition to *Flanders* was immediately ſet on foot: for the proſecution of which, the Marſhal of *Montmorancy* was ſent into *England*, to treat of a confederacy with the Queen: and the Marſhal of *Schomberg* into *Germany*, to invite the Proteſtant Princes there to accept of ſtipends, and to unite with the crown of *France* againſt the *Spaniards*. Theſe things being reſolved upon, which were all conducted by the Admiral's advice and direction, he, with the King's leave, went to *Chaſtillon*, to ſettle his private affairs, from whence he was to return to court, to put the finiſhing hand to what had been already begun.

1572. About this time, that is, at the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-two, the Legate, *Alexandrino*, arrived at court, with orders to oppoſe theſe proceedings, which manifeſtly tended not only to the ruin of the *Spaniards* in particular, who were then engaged in a ſea war with the *Turk*, for the defence of *Chriſtendom*, but to the deſtruction of the Catholick religion, and the general eſtabliſhment of the *Hugonots*. Great were the diſputes that happened upon this occaſion: for, on one ſide, the Legate's reaſons were ſtrong and convincing: and on the other, the King's anſwers were ſo evaſive and obſcure, that it ſeemed impoſſible to come to any determination without an abſolute breach with the Pope, to whom it appeared intolerable, that the moſt Chriſtian King, who, he hoped, in gratitude for the ſignal aſſiſtance he had received from him, would have favoured the Chriſtian league, ſhould now be a means of diſſolving it by an unſeaſonable war againſt the King of *Spain*, and give ſo fair an opportunity to the common enemy, of wounding all *Chriſtendom*. But it appeared no leſs ſtrange to him, that after ſo much money had been ſpent, and ſuch a quantity of blood ſhed of late years, the King ſhould now on a ſudden change his former maxims, and not only force away all good Catholicks from his court, but entirely give himſelf up as a prey to the *Hugonots*, by entering into leagues and confederacies with heretick Princes, and ſuch as had been excommunicated by the apoſtolick ſee, to the imminent danger and prejudice of thoſe that were moſt faithful and zealous in the *Roman* religion.

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The anſwers that the King returned to theſe imputations were very far from being ſatisfactory; for ſometimes he made excuſes for the peace that he had concluded with the *Hugonots*, by repreſenting the weak and diſtracted condition of his kingdom; ſometimes he told him, in general and ambiguous terms, that all would end well, and not only to the ſatisfaction of his Holineſs, but the good of the Catholick religion: which did not at all clear up the Legate's doubts, when he ſaw his actions were ſo different from his profeſſions. The King, however, ſtill uſed all poſſible arts and methods to content him, by ſhewing him great honour in publick, and confidence in private, and made him a preſent of a very large diamond from his own finger, which the Cardinal refuſed to accept, and ſaid, "That, as his Majeſty had ſo unexpectedly deviated from "his zeal for the Catholick religion, his moſt precious jewels were now "no more than dirt in the eſtimation of all good Catholicks." The ſharpneſs of which reproach, and many other publick inſtances of diſguſt, were not a little galling to the King in his circumſtances. Nor could this difficulty have been got over (eſpecially as the diſpenſation was abſolutely denied) if there had not come news that the Pope was dangerouſly ill, and his life deſpaired of: upon which the legate immediately took his leave of the court, and left affairs in the ſame uncertain and undetermined ſituation. 1572.

Towards the end of *April*, *Pius* the fifth died, and was ſucceeded in the chair by *Gregory* the thirteenth, a pontif of a milder and more pliable diſpoſition: for in the beginning of his papacy, at the inſtance of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* (who, to ſeem diſcontented at the court of *France*, and to treat of the preſent affairs with greater ſecrecy, was gone to *Rome*) he granted the bull of diſpenſation, but in ſuch form as did not then ſatisfy the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and afterwards brought the validity of the contract in queſtion. The King and Queen, however, did not look ſo narrowly into the diſpenſation, and, having obtained the Pope's conſent, were not very ſollicitous about the form of it, but proceeded to haſten matters to a concluſion; for the Lady *Margaret*, by her mother's perſuaſions and her brother's threats, and in ſome meaſure not to bring her own honour in queſtion, which was already ſomething doubtfully ſpoken of, now no longer refuſed to marry the Prince of *Navarre* in ſo peremptory a manner, though ſhe would not give an abſolute conſent.

Things being in this forwardneſs, the Queen of *Navarre* came to *Paris* in the beginning of *June*, where ſhe was received with ſo much joy by the whole court, that *France* had not ſeen ſo ſerene a day in many years. Two days after arrived the Prince of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, accompanied with Count *Lodowick*, the Count *De la Rochfoucaut*, and all the Princes train, which conſiſted of the chief commanders, cavaliers,

1572. and gentlemen of the *Hugonot* party, amongſt whom there were the Colonels *Piles*, *Briquemaut*, and *Pluviaut*, who had acquired ſo much glory and renown by their valour in the courſe of the late wars; there were likewiſe the Sieur *De Guercky*, he that defended *Sanſerre*, the Marquis *De Renel*, the Sieurs *De la Noüe*, *De Colombiere*, *De Lavardine*, all brave commanders, and a great many other perſons of diſtinction and reputation.

The league offenſive and defenſive was already concluded with the Queen of *England:* Prince *Caſimir* and *William* his brother, both ſons of the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, had agreed to receive ſtipends from the King; when the Admiral, forgetting his former ſuſpicions, full of incredible pride and intolerable pretenſions, returned to court with a great train of his adherents; and to reduce the King to a neceſſity of making war with the *Spaniard*, even againſt his will, he contrived that Count *Lodowic*, with the Sieurs *De Genlis* and *De la Noüe*, who had got to the confines of *Picardy*, where a great number of *Hugonot* gentlemen and ſoldiers were privately aſſembled, ſhould ſuddenly ſurpriſe the city of *Mons*, in the county of *Hainault*, a principal place, and of very great importance to the provinces of *Flanders*. This piece of raſhneſs, indeed, inwardly galled the King very much, yet he bore it with admirable patience, and ſeeming to be pleaſed with it, took this occaſion of immediately diſpatching *Philippo Strozzi*, with many old companies of foot, into the places near *Rochelle*, under a pretence of embarking them in ſhips that lay ready in that port, to tranſport them to thoſe coaſts of the Low Countries that were held by the confederates of *Flanders*; but in reality to ſurpriſe and make themſelves maſters of that city, as ſoon as the preſent deſigns were brought to maturity. Thus with various arts and deeper policy, they over-reached the ſubtlety of the Admiral, who was now ſuffered to enjoy ſuch a degree of authority, that, being in a manner ſole arbiter of the court and government, he alone ſeemed to rule the genius, and direct the will of the King of *France*.

And as it appeared neceſſary to take away the impediment of civil diſcords, before they entered into a war of ſuch moment, the King earneſtly intreated the Admiral, that the enmities betwixt him and the houſe of *Lorrain* might in ſome manner be accommodated: which was propoſed for no other end, but becauſe the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Aumale*, and the ſtrength of the Catholick party, being neceſſary for the execution of the deſigns then in agitation, they wanted an excuſe to bring them to court, without giving ſuſpicion to the *Hugonots*. Under this pretence the Lords of *Lorrain* came to *Paris*, with a large train of their faction, and promiſed, as the Admiral did likewiſe, in the King's preſence, that they would no more offend each other, but refer their

their differences to his Majeſty's deciſion, either then, or at any other time when his Majeſty and council ſhould think proper: by the ambiguity of which promiſes, the inveterate hatred and enmity that had ſo many years ſubſiſted betwixt them, and been the original cauſe of all the late miſeries and troubles, was rather ſmothered for a time than utterly extinguiſhed. 1572.

But now matters were not only brought to the point intended, but the execution of them could be no longer deferred: for, on one hand the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, after the taking of *Mons*, had not only left the court, but was gone out of the kingdom: and, on the other, the *Hugonots*, without waiting for any farther order or commiſſion, ran tumultuouſly to the aſſiſtance of their adherents, with inſufferable boldneſs and dangerous commotions; by which, contrary to the King's intentions, a war with the *Spaniards* was kindled in the confines of his kingdom.

The firſt thunderbolt of ſo great a tempeſt fell upon the Queen of *Navarre*, whom, as a woman and a Queen, they thought fit to take off by poiſon, adminiſtred, as it was reported, in the trimming of a pair of gloves, but in ſo imperceptible a manner, and in ſuch proportion, that after ſhe had worn them awhile, ſhe was ſeized with a violent fever, which, in four days, put an end to her life. She was a Lady of invincible ſpirit, and a courage much above her ſex, by which ſhe not only ſupported her dignity, and the reſpect due to a Queen, though ſhe had no kingdom, but, when ſhe was perſecuted by ſo many and ſuch powerful enemies, ſhe undauntedly ſuſtained the war, and at laſt, in the higheſt diſtreſs and adverſity of her party, laid the foundation of that magnanimity in her ſon, which afterwards roſe up with infinite glory and renown, and was the cauſe of all his ſubſequent grandeur, and the exaltation of his ſtate: qualities (beſides her chaſtity and magnificence) worthy of eternal praiſe, if ſhe had not taken the liberty, without the help of learning, to ſearch into and expound the deepeſt myſteries in divinity, and ſo obſtinately perſiſted in the doctrines of *Calvin*. Her ſudden and unexpected death gave the *Hugonots* occaſion to entertain ſome hard ſuſpicions: upon which account the King, knowing that the poiſon had only affected her brain, ordered her body to be publickly opened by phyſicians, and the inteſtines being all ſound and untainted, the head, under ſhew of reſpect, was left untouched; after which the opinion of the phyſicians was publiſhed, that ſhe died a natural death, by the malignity of her fever.

After the funeral, her ſon aſſumed the arms and title of the King of *Navarre*; but his marriage with the King's ſiſter was deferred for a few days, that they might not unſeaſonably mingle joy with that grief, for which the King himſelf and the whole court had put on mourning.

About

1572. About this time the citizens of *Rochelle* (who ſtill continued firm in their reſolution not to truſt any one, and unwilling to return to their duty, began to fortify themſelves every day, and, even in the midſt of peace, prepared all things that were neceſſary for war) intreated the Princes and the Admiral to retire from court: which exhortations were more earneſtly reiterated after the Queen of *Navarre's* death, not only by the *Rochellers*, but by the *Geneveſe* and others of that party, as they all thought, that ſo ſudden an accident was an omen of ſome unfortunate event. But the Admiral, in his preſent felicity, having utterly forgot his old maxims, and wholly laid aſide his former diffidence, either imagining that he had really gained the King's favour by his great abilities, and eclipſed the credit of every body elſe, or being blinded with the artifice and diſſimulation of the court, or hurried on by his own deſtiny, preſumed ſo much upon himſelf and his authority, and was ſo exceſſively pleaſed with the thoughts of the expedition into *Flanders*, that he was far from dreaming of any misfortune; but deſpiſing the King and all others, he eſteemed himſelf the oracle of *France*, and thought he was able, with little difficulty, to defeat all the deſigns and attempts of his enemies: and if any of his friends put him in mind of the Lords of *Guiſe* being at court with ſo great a train, and the number of ſhips of war and ſoldiers, that were in readineſs under *Strozzi* and the Baron *De la Garde* about *Rochelle*, he anſwered, that thoſe preparations were made by his advice, to make a deſcent upon the coaſts of *Flanders:* and that the Lords of *Guiſe* had been ſent for to the marriage, only to give them ſome little ſatisfaction, now they were deprived of the King's favour and the adminiſtration of affairs; that they had no occaſion either to fear or doubt, for his policy and reſolution had at laſt overcome all the malice of his enemies; and now he had once ſet his foot in the council, he was ſure his advice and authority would be a rule and a curb to any future adminiſtration: with which conceit he was ſo prodigiouſly elated, that his pride exceeded all bounds, and he ſpoke of himſelf in ſuch a vaunting manner, that he became almoſt inſupportable to his neareſt and moſt partial friends; and was often heard to ſay, that neither *Alexander the Great*, nor *Julius Cæſar*, were to be compared to him, for both of them had always met with favourable and propitious fortune; but he, after the loſs of four battles, had, in ſpight of his ill fortune, by his own valour and addreſs, conſtantly riſen again more dreadful and terrible to his enemies: and at laſt, when every body thought he had no way left to ſave his life, but to fly and wander about the world, he had managed his affairs ſo well, as to bring his enemies to a neceſſity, not only of making peace with him, but alſo of granting him ſuch terms as were more proper for a conqueror than one that was overcome. This way of reaſoning was not very ſatisfactory

to

to ſome people, particularly to *Langoiran*, who reſolved to get away; and when he took his leave, being aſked by the Admiral, "Why he would "go?" "I go, ſaid he, becauſe I ſee you are too much careſſed: and I "had rather ſave myſelf with fools, than periſh with thoſe that are too "wiſe." 1572.

The time appointed for the marriage being now come, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, it was celebrated in this manner. The King of *Navarre* and Lady *Margaret* were led by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, accompanied by the King and all the court, to *Nôtre Dame*, the cathedral church of *Paris*, where the Lady *Margaret* kneeled down before the altar, under a canopy of ſtate, and the King of *Navarre*, with the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, and the other *Hugonot* Lords, went out of the church, that they might not be preſent at the maſs; when that was ended, they were called in again by the Marſhal *D'Anville*, and the marriage ceremony was performed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; in which many obſerved, that the Lady *Margaret*, being aſked, whether ſhe would take the King of *Navarre* for her huſband, returned no anſwer at all; but the King, her brother, having made her bow her head, with his hand, it was ſaid, that ſhe ſignified her conſent by that action, though both before and after, when ſhe could ſpeak with freedom, ſhe always declared, that to be deprived of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom ſhe was pre-engaged, and to take his moſt inveterate enemy for her huſband, were ſuch things as ſhe could never poſſibly be reconciled to. But the King of *Navarre*, either through the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, which was much more like the candour of his father, than the confirmed obſtinacy of his mother; or finding it neceſſary to diſſemble in his circumſtances, not only behaved with infinite reverence and reſpect towards the Queen Mother, and the King his brother-in-law, but with great prudence and diſcretion bore likewiſe with the caprice and frowardneſs of his wife, ſhewing himſelf ſo liberal and affable to every one, and ſo full of noble ſentiments, worthy of his high birth, that he ſtopped the mouth of detraction, which had been ſo long open againſt the Princes of the blood; and his name, that had been before ſo much deteſted, now became dear both at court and to the people: which noble behaviour being much ſpoke of, and gaining upon the affections of the King and Queen Mother, who, beſides the nearneſs of blood, daily conceived great hopes of his goodneſs and moderation, was likewiſe the reaſon that determined them to ſpare his life, and that of the Prince of *Condé*: not only to avoid imbruing their hands in the royal blood, ſo much reverenced by the *French* nation, but alſo out of probable hopes, that, when they were taken out of the company, and ſeparated from the converſation of factious people, they might for the future be as uſeful ſupports to the royal family, as in times paſt they had been inſtru-

1572. mental in disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. Thus, either on account of their own candour and ingenuous dispositions, or by the secret will of heaven, which had so ordained, it was resolved to save the lives of the Princes; and to deliver them from the government and councils of the Admiral, the King gave orders to the Duke of *Guise*, that his designs should now be put in execution.

The Duke of *Guise* was come to court, with the Duke of *Aumale* his uncle, the Duke of *Nemours* his father-in-law, the Duke *D'Elbeuf* his cousin, the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* his brothers-in-law, and a vast train of nobility and cavaliers that adhered to the Catholick party, of which he was unanimously looked upon as Prince, by succession, derived from his father, and confirmed by the eminent authority of the Cardinal his uncle. In the number of his followers were many officers and gentlemen of different nations, who, living upon the pensions that he liberally bestowed upon them, were ready, upon all occasions, to execute his commands, even at the peril of their lives. When he had therefore the King's commission for the accomplishment of his designs, to have the Admiral dispatched, he made use of such means as the other was accused of having practised before, in causing the death of his father, and committed the execution of it to one *Maurevell* (the same that had shot Monsieur *De Muy* at the siege of *Niort*) giving him orders to assassinate the Admiral as he came from court, without suspecting any such matter. *Maurevell* having received this order, and being of a nature and inclination ready enough to execute it, fixed upon a little house near the *Louvre*, which, with some others thereabout, was appointed for the reception of the Duke's attendants, and where no body else lodged; and having shut himself up in a ground room, and covered the iron bars of the window with an old tattered cloak, he lay there, with great secrecy and patience, waiting for a proper time to perform what he had undertaken. When he had staid there three days, the Admiral came out of the palace, on the morning of the 20th of *August*, to return to his own house; and as he walked slowly forwards, attended by his servants, whilst he was reading some paper, *Maurevell* had an opportunity of firing at him with a harquebuse, loaded with a brace of balls, one of which took off the fore finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him grievously near the left elbow. The Admiral perceiving himself shot, took notice of the window from whence the gun was fired, and shewing it to his attendants, the door of the house was immediately broke open, and the rooms searched, but no body found except a little boy; for *Maurevell* had made his escape at a back door, and, having mounted a horse that was kept ready for him there, was already fled through *St. Anthony's* gate, so that the boy, neither knowing the name of him that committed the fact,

nor

nor the road that he had taken, nor any other particular, it was not poſſible to come at any certainty concerning him at that time. The King was playing at tennis with the Duke of *Guiſe*, in the *Louvre*, when the account of this was brought to him, at which he pretended to be exceedingly enraged, and immediately left off play, threatning and proteſting aloud, that he would inflict the moſt ſevere puniſhment upon thoſe diſturbers of the peace, who had dared to commit ſo heinous a crime, even at the gates of his palace: after which, he commanded all the city gates to be ſhut, except two for the bringing in of proviſions, at which ſtrict guards were placed; and gave orders, that they ſhould be watched as narrowly as poſſible, for fear the murderer, as was pretended, ſhould make his eſcape, but in reality left any body whatſoever ſhould ſave himſelf by flight. The dread which they had of the reſolution, the cunning, and the authority of the Admiral, was, perhaps, the occaſion that they began with him: for the council was apprehenſive, that if he were alive, and in health, he would find ſome means to ſave himſelf and the reſt of his faction. But the principal motive that induced them to it, was the opinion of *Alberto Gondi*, Count of *Retz*, who, at the conſultation about this affair, ſaid, he was fully convinced, that it was both very eaſy and very juſt to deſtroy all the *Hugonots* together, but could wiſh the execution might carry ſome colour of reaſon and juſtice: that if they cauſed the Admiral alone to be killed, every body would imagine it was done only by the Lords of *Lorrain*, which would provoke the *Hugonots* to riſe, according to cuſtom, and attempt ſome outrage upon the *Guiſes*, to whoſe aſſiſtance the *Pariſians*, and all the Catholick party, would naturally run together, and might then effectually ſuppreſs the *Hugonots*, when they had them all together in their net; and thus mere chance, in appearance, would effect their deſigns, and the ſtroke be imputed to private enmities, and not to any ſettled determination of the ſtate: howſoever that matter might be, the King, who ſtill ſeemed very much afflicted, after he had dined in great haſte, went with the Queen Mother and the Duke of *Anjou* to viſit the Admiral, at his own houſe, where they found the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Marſhal *D'Anville*, and all the chiefs of the *Hugonot* faction. The Admiral then, finding himſelf in ſo dangerous a condition, not only from his wounds (as the bone was broken, and all the fleſh torn from his elbow) but alſo becauſe he perceived he was in the power of his enemies, aſked the King leave to retire to *Chaſtillon*, where, being free from tumults, and the danger he was in at *Paris*, a city ill affected to him, and at the devotion of his enemies, he might endeavour to recover his health. But the King, complaining, and ſeeming to take it unkindly that he did not think himſelf under his protection, encouraged and perſuaded him (the phyſicians concurring in

1572.

1572. the ſame advice) not to undertake ſuch a journey, for fear the motion ſhould be attended with dangerous conſequences, entreating him to repoſe himſelf quietly where he was, and without ſuſpicion; to which the Admiral replying, that he did not make the leaſt doubt of his Majeſty's favour and affection, but his apprehenſion for himſelf and his friends proceeded from the inſurrections of the *Pariſians*; the King, ſeeming very ſollicitous for his ſafety, commanded that all his dependants ſhould be lodged near his houſe, that they might be more ſecure and united to defend themſelves from the tumults of the people, ordering the Duke of *Anjou*, at the ſame time, to bring his regiment of guards into the city, and appoint a party of them, for the ſafety of the Admiral and thoſe of his party, which was preſently obeyed by the Duke, who introduced all the guards under arms; and, to watch that houſe and quarter where all the *Hugonots* were lodged together, he choſe Monſieur *De Coſſeins*, with his company, a man, who beſides his well known fidelity to the King, in a great meaſure depended upon the *Guiſes*. The Admiral, finding he could not poſſibly get away, recommended his intereſts to the good faith and protection of his Majeſty, and then, with his uſual ſpirit, whilſt his followers were raging on every ſide, demanded juſtice for the outrage that had been committed upon his perſon; to which both the King and Queen returned anſwers in terms ſeemingly full of ſincerity, and extreme concern for his misfortune, and then returned to the *Louvre*, having committed the care of the city to the Duke of *Anjou*.

All that night and the next day were ſpent in conſultations on both ſides; for the *Hugonots* coming to the Admiral's bed-ſide, debated not only about the means of ſaving themſelves from the preſent danger, but, being exceedingly provoked and exaſperated by this injury, plotted how to renew the war without farther delay: in which deliberations, though many exhorted their confederates to rely upon the King's honour and promiſes, yet the Vidame of *Chartres* ſpoke ſo earneſtly againſt it, that they determined, at all events, to remove the Admiral out of *Paris*, and retire together to *Chaſtillon*. *Teligny*, being confident he could get the King's leave, and the reſt offering, in caſe it was refuſed, to carry him out of the city by force; they reſolved afterwards to take up arms, and never to lay them down again, till they had utterly deſtroyed the Catholick party, and the houſe of *Lorrain* was entirely rooted out; every one ſpeaking ſo boldly in theſe tumultuous conſultations, that they neither ſpared the King, the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, nor the King of *Navarre* himſelf, whom they now began to look upon as their enemy; which being carried to them by their ſpies, only ſerved to haſten the execution, and afterwards furniſhed them with a better excuſe for their proceedings.

But when the King's council ſaw that the *Hugonots* vented their fury only in words, without attempting any thing that might give occaſion to an inſurrection, they reſolved to loſe no more time, but to proceed immediately to their deſtruction: yet there were great diſputes about the manner of it; for the Duke of *Guiſe* laboured to have the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* included in the general maſſacre: but the Queen Mother, and all the reſt, abhorred the thoughts of ſtaining their hands in the royal blood, as it ſeemed to them an action ſo cruel, ſo abominable, and ſo worthy of deteſtation in all ages, that two young Princes of the royal family, of ſo tender an age, in the embraces of their wives, and under the protection of the neareſt alliance, ſhould be ſo vilely murdered: beſides, they entertained great hopes that the Princes, now ſo ſtrictly united to them by all the ties of blood, might be reduced to a ſincere obedience to the King, and to the profeſſion of the Catholick faith, when they were delivered from the tyranny of the Admiral, and the influence of their factious abettors: to which opinion his Majeſty inclined, out of perſonal affection and regard for the virtues of the King of *Navarre*. In the next place it was debated, whether, amongſt the *Hugonots*, they ſhould comprehend the Marſhal *D'Anville* and his brothers, who, though they profeſſed the Catholick religion, were nearly united, both by blood and intereſt, to the Admiral's faction. In this likewiſe the majority inclined to mercy: not only to ſpare the effuſion of more blood, which was the particular deſire of many, but becauſe the Marſhal *De Montmorancy*, their eldeſt brother, and he that was the moſt firmly attached to the *Hugonots*, being juſt returned from his embaſſy into *England*, was abſent at that time: ſo that they imagined it would rather revive than extinguiſh the flames of civil war, if they took off the younger brothers, and left the eldeſt in a condition to revenge their death: beſides, they thought many things might be deferred till another opportunity, when they could be executed with leſs noiſe and more efficacy; eſpecially as the diſpatching of the Admiral required their firſt attention, who was now grown frantick and exaſperated to a degree of madneſs, and fully determined to raiſe freſh troubles and commotions. A meaſure, indeed, that in ſuch caſes has often proved fatal; for, whilſt people that are engaged in bloody and deſperate deſigns, ſimply endeavour to retain the character of mercy and clemency, they forget, that, in caſes of extremity, it is neither laudable nor ſafe to take a middle courſe; as the remains of a diſtemper, not perfectly cured, generally break out again with more danger, and triumph over the moſt ſalutary and efficacious medicines. 1572.

All things being now ſettled, when the evening of the 24th of *Auguſt* approached, which was the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, and happened on a *Sunday*,

1572. *Sunday*, the Duke of *Guiſe* went from court about twilight, with orders from the King to find Preſident *Charron*, *Prevôt des Marchands*, the chief magiſtrate of the people of *Paris*, and give him directions to provide two thouſand armed men, every one of whom ſhould wear a ſhirt ſleeve upon his left arm, with white croſſes in their hats, and be prepared, upon notice given, inſtantly to execute the King's commands: and that he ſhould order the echevins, or officers of the ſeveral wards, to be in readineſs; and that upon ringing the bell of the palace clock, lights ſhould be put up in every window throughout the city; which things, through the alacrity of the people, and the great authority of the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſupported by the King's commiſſion, were ſoon performed. The Dukes of *Montpenſier* and *Nevers*, and many other Lords of the court, with their friends and followers, armed themſelves, and ſtaid to defend the King's perſon, all the guards being drawn up under arms at the gate, in the court of the *Louvre*. At the hour appointed, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Aumale*, and Monſieur *D'Angouleſme*, Grand Prior of *France*, and natural brother to the King, with other officers and ſoldiers, to the number of three hundred, went to the Admiral's houſe, and, finding a guard of *Coſſein's* company there under arms, and with their matches lighted, as the Duke of *Anjou* had ordered, they forced the gate of the court, that was guarded by a few of the King of *Navarre's* halberdiers, and the ſervants of the houſe, who were all killed without mercy. When they came into the court, the Lords ſtayed there below, whilſt *La Beſme*, a native of *Lorrain*, and one of the Duke of *Guiſe's* dependants, with *Achille Petrucci*, a *Sieneſe* gentleman that he maintained, Colonel *Sarlabous* and the other ſoldiers, went up to the Admiral's apartment, who, upon hearing a diſturbance, got up, and leaning upon his knees againſt the bed, aſked *Cornaſon*, one of his domeſticks that came frighted into the room, "What noiſe that was?" To which he anſwered, "My lord, God calls "us to him," and ran haſtily out at another door: upon which they immediately entered; and as they advanced towards him, he turned to *La Beſme*, who had drawn his ſword, and ſaid, "Young man, you ought "to reverence theſe grey hairs; but do what you think fit, for you can "ſhorten my life but a very little:" he had ſcarce ſpoke theſe words, when *La Beſme* plunged the ſword into his breaſt; and the others, when they had thoroughly diſpatched him with their daggers, threw his body out of the window into the court, which was preſently after dragged into a ſtable. At the ſame time and place were ſlain *Teligny*, the Admiral's ſon-in-law, and *Guerchy* his Lieutenant, who, wrapping his cloak round his arm, fought bravely till he died, together with the Colonels *Montaumur*, and *Rouvray*, ſon to the Baron *Des Adrets*, and all the reſt of his attendants.

When

When the King was informed of what had paſſed, he came into the Queen Mother's apartment, and ſent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, who went thither in great apprehenſion, ſeeing that none of their gentlemen nor attendants were ſuffered to ſtir: and at the ſame time Monſieur *D'O*, Colonel of the King's guards, began to call the principal *Hugonots* that were in the *Louvre*, one by one, who, as they entered into the court, were all killed by the ſoldiers, that ſtood in two long ranks, with their arms ready for that purpoſe. There died the Count *De la Rochfoucaut*, the Marquis *De Renel*, and *Piles*, who had ſo gallantly defended *St. John D'Angeli*, together with *Pontbreton*, *Pluviaut*, *Baudinè*, *Francourt*, Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*, *Pardillan*, *Lavardine*, and others, to the number of two hundred. 1572.

At the ſame inſtant the bell of the palace-clock gave the ſignal to the *Prevôt des Marchands:* and thoſe that were prepared for that purpoſe, having received orders what they were to do from *Marcel*, who not long before had enjoyed the ſame office, and had great authority amongſt the people, began to kill the *Hugonots* in all the houſes and lodgings where they were diſperſed, and made an infinite ſlaughter of them, without any diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. All the people were up in arms under the officers of the wards, and candles lighted in every window; ſo that they might go from houſe to houſe to execute their orders without miſtake or confuſion: but notwithſtanding all poſſible care was taken to prevent it by the officers, there were ſeveral Catholicks ſlain, amongſt the reſt, either out of publick hatred or private malice, as *Dennis Lambin* and *Peter Ramus*, men of eminent learning and great reputation.

The *Louvre* was kept ſhut all the following day; and in the mean time the King and Queen comforted the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, telling them, they were obliged to do that which the Admiral had ſo often attempted, and always deſigned to do to them: but that they, whoſe errors were excuſed on account of their youth, and pardoned for their nearneſs of blood, were preſerved alive, and ſhould for the future be cheriſhed and beloved, if they would embrace the Catholick religion, and behave dutifully to the King: to which the King of *Navarre*, giving way to the neceſſity of the times, and diſſembling what could not be helped, determined to reſerve himſelf for better fortune, and anſwered, with great complaiſance, "That he was ready to obey his Majeſty's will "and pleaſure:" at which the King was ſo well pleaſed, that, to gratify him, he ſpared the lives of the Count *De Grammont* and Monſieur *Duras*, who, as they promiſed, ſerved him faithfully ever after. But the Prince of *Condé*, either from the greenneſs of his years, or the natural ruggedneſs that he derived from his anceſtors, began to make exceptions, not ſeeming

1572. ſeeming inclinable to comply with the King's demands, and ſaid, "He "only deſired that no violence might be uſed to his conſcience;" at which the King was ſo enraged, that he gave him a ſevere rebuke, and called him an inſolent madman, a ſtubborn traitor, a rebel, and the ſon of a rebel, and threatned to have him diſpatched, if he did not give evident ſigns of his repentance, and turn Catholick in three days: after this, guards were placed both upon him and the King of *Navarre*, and all their chief ſervants taken away from them, and immediately cut to pieces, whoſe places were filled by others of the King's own appointment and providing. Thoſe *Hugonots* that lodged in the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain* beyond the *Seine*, amongſt whom were the Count of *Montgomery* and the Vidame of *Chartres* (who, preſaging ſome miſchief, would not remove to the Admiral's quarter) immediately fled when they heard the firſt uproar, as the *Pariſians* did not make haſte enough to prevent it; but were followed by the Duke of *Guiſe* (who, at break of day, paſſed the river with a great number of horſe and foot) and being, ſome without ſhoes, ſome without ſaddles, others without bridles, but all half naked and unarmed, were ſcattered and cut off, except the Count of *Montgomery* and the Vidame of *Chartres*, who, with about ten others, made their eſcape, and, after many difficulties, got in diſguiſe to the ſea-ſide, from whence they paſſed over into *England*.

There were above ten thouſand killed in the city that night and the next day, of whom about five hundred were lords, and gentlemen, and cavaliers, who had filled the chief commands in the *Hugonot* army, and were now met together, from all parts of the kingdom, to honour the King of *Navarre's* marriage. Monſieur *De Briquemaut* and *Arnaud Cavagnes* were made priſoners, and afterwards quartered as rebels, by the ſentence of the parliament. The Admiral's body was pulled out of the ſtable, and cruelly abuſed by the fury of the common people, who deteſted his very name to ſuch a degree, that they cut off his head and hands, and dragged him through the ſtreets to *Montfaucon*, the place of execution, where they left him hanging by one foot upon the gallows, which they ſet fire to a few days after, and half conſumed the body, to the great merriment and ſatisfaction of all the people, who never ceaſed from their taunts and barbarities, till two ſervants of the Marſhal *De Montmorancy* ſtole away the miſerable remains of his carcaſs in the night, and buried them ſecretly at *Chantilly*. Thus died the Admiral *Jaſper de Coligny*, who had filled the kingdom of *France* with the glory and terror of his name for the ſpace of twelve years: a remarkable example to the whole world, how ſudden and miſerable the end of thoſe people generally is, who, without conſidering any thing but their own intereſts, think, by cunning and ſubtlety, to eſtabliſh a laſting greatneſs, upon the foundation of human wiſdom alone:

alone: for it is not to be doubted but he, who had been bred from his youth in the chief commands of the army, and had arrived at the higheſt pitch of honour by his bravery and conduct, would have equalled, if not exceeded, all other ſoldiers of his time, and attained to the degree of Conſtable, and all the greateſt offices in the kingdom, if he had not choſen to exalt himſelf, by factious and ſeditious practices, againſt the authority of his ſovereign: ſince the luſtre of his valour, reſolution, indefatigable induſtry, and, above all, a wonderful ability in conducting the greateſt deſigns, ſhone out, even in the deepeſt obſcurity of diſcord and diſtraction. 1572.

The day after the Admiral's death, the Duke of *Anjou* went from the *Louvre*, with a regiment of the guards, quite through the city and ſuburbs, and ordered thoſe houſes to be broke open that had made any reſiſtance. But all the *Hugonots* were either already dead, or ſo terrified that they had put white croſſes in their hats, which was the diſtinguiſhing mark of the Catholicks, endeavouring to ſave their lives by that means, and by hiding themſelves: but if they were pointed at in the ſtreets by any one, or otherwiſe diſcovered, they were torn in pieces by the people, without mercy, and thrown into the river.

The day before this terrible execution, the King had diſpatched meſſengers into different parts of the kingdom, commanding the Governors of cities and provinces to do the like: but this commiſſion was executed with more or leſs ſeverity, according to their ſeveral inclinations: for the ſame night, there was a moſt bloody ſlaughter made of the *Hugonots*, without any reſpect to the age, ſex, or quality of perſons, at *Meaux*, and on the enſuing days at *Orleans*, *Rouen*, *Bourges*, *Angiers*, *Tholouſe*, and many other places, but particularly at *Lions*: on the other hand, it was executed in a remiſs and tardy manner at thoſe places were the governors were either dependants on the Princes, or followers of the *Montmorancy* family. In *Provence*, the Count *De Tende* peremptorily refuſed to obey it; for which he was ſecretly diſpatched, a little while after, at *Avignon*, and, as it was believed, by a commiſſion from the King. Many ſtories, dreadful and lamentable indeed, might here be recited: for this ſcourge was exerciſed in ſo many different places, with ſuch variety of circumſtances, upon perſons of all conditions, that it was credibly reported there were above forty thouſand *Hugonots* ſlain in a few days: but the rule I have hitherty obſerved, of relating things in as clear and conciſe a method as poſſible, will not ſuffer me to digreſs, in giving a tragical narrative of thoſe events.

The third day after the Admiral's death, whilſt the perſecution was ſtill, in ſome meaſure, carrying on againſt the *Hugonots*, the King, attended by all the Princes and Lords of his court, went to the parliament: and, though he had at firſt, both in his ſpeeches and letters, imputed the

1572. whole affair to a popular tumult, yet he there avowed it as his own doing, and expatiated, in a long diſcourſe, upon the reaſons why he had commanded all thoſe perpetual rebels againſt his perſon and government to be deſtroyed; who, notwithſtanding the gracious pardons that had been ſo often granted to their former offences, had ſtill returned, with a perfidious obſtinacy, to plot new treaſons and inſurrections; that at laſt he was neceſſitated to ſurprize them, for fear of being ſurprized himſelf, having miraculouſly diſcovered their conſpiracy to take away his life, and not his only, but the lives of the Queen his Mother, the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alençon*, his brothers, and even the King of *Navarre's* alſo; who, becauſe he had left their party, was no leſs eſteemed their enemy than all the reſt. Upon which account he thought proper to acquaint them, his magiſtrates, therewith, to the end that they might proceed with the ſame vigour in ſo unnatural a conſpiracy, and make known to all the world, the juſt and neceſſary reaſons that had forced him to uſe ſo much rigour and ſeverity. After he had finiſhed his ſpeech, in which he likewiſe took much pains to perſuade them, that the affair had been ſudden and unpremeditated, brought on by accident and neceſſity, and not hatched in previous councils and long deliberations, he commanded them to regiſter amongſt the ordinary acts of their court, that whatever had befallen the Admiral, and the reſt of his faction, either in *Paris* or any other part of the kingdom, was done by his orders, and expreſs commiſſion. He then enjoined them to proceed, by the examination of the priſoners, againſt the memory of the dead, to lay open the enormity of their rebellion, and to brand them with infamy, in ſuch a manner as was preſcribed and directed by the utmoſt ſeverity of the law: and laſtly, he cauſed publication to be made, not only in the parliament, but in every ſtreet of the city, for the Catholicks to deſiſt from any further effuſion of blood, as that which was already ſhed had ſufficiently ſatisfied his juſt ſeverity: which order indeed immediately put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings in *Paris*, where the *Hugonots* were in a manner extinguiſhed; but in other cities, where it arrived later, it had more or leſs effect, according to the diſtance of places.

The parliament willingly accepted the commiſſion for proceeding againſt the *Hugonots*, and founded a judicial proceſs upon the depoſitions of the priſoners, in which they condemned *Briquemaut* and *Cavagnes*, who were confined in the palace, to have their fleſh publickly torn off with red-hot pincers, and their bodies quartered: commanding alſo a ſtatue of the Admiral to be broke in pieces and burnt, declaring him a rebel, a diſturber of the kingdom, a heretick, and an enemy to all good men; but not being content with ſtigmatizing his memory in this cruel manner, they ordered his houſe at *Chaſtillon* to be razed to the very foundations,

tions, and all his poſterity to be deprived of nobility, and rendered incapable of enjoying any office, or poſſeſſing any eſtate, in the kingdom of *France*. And, that their actions might be anſwerable to their verbal proceedings, the King diſpatched the Grand Prevôt, with all expedition, to apprehend his wife and children; but his eldeſt ſon, with the widow lady his mother-in-law, the widow of *Teligny*, and Monſieur *De la Val*, the ſon of *Andelot*, deceaſed, had already ſecretly made their eſcape to *Geneva*; and, to get farther from danger, went to live amongſt the *Swiſs* in the canton of *Bern*: the younger children, both male and female, were brought to court, where they met with ſuch an end, even in their tender years, as in the various courſe of worldly affairs uſually attends the ruin of great families. 1572.

At the time of this maſſacre at *Paris*, *La Charité*, which was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the *Hugonots*, was ſurpriſed by the Duke of *Nevers's* regiment of Gens d'Arms, who, going into the town, under pretence of being muſtered, and to receive their pay, ſeized upon the gates and principal places in the city ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch reſolution, that the townſmen durſt not move to make any reſiſtance; ſo that the city fell into the hands of the King's officers. The ſame was attempted by the viſcount *De Joyeuſe* at *Montauban*, and by *Philippo Strozzi* at *Rochelle*; in which, if they had ſucceeded, there might have been ſome hopes of putting an end to the troubles of *France*: but as the inhabitants kept a very ſtrict watch and a ſtrong guard, both enterpriſes failed of their deſired ſucceſs; and all thoſe preparations that had been made, under a pretence of a war in *Flanders*, were to no purpoſe: for the Viſcount *De Joyeuſe*, having only ſome gentlemen of that country with him, preſently diſſolved his party, when his deſign was diſcovered, and retired to the places under his government. On the other hand, *Strozzi*, having ſufficient ſtrength, both of horſe and foot, began to beſiege and ſtraiten *Rochelle*, ſtill perſuading and exhorting the citizens to avoid expoſing themſelves to the ſeverity of juſtice, and the miſeries of a deſperate war, by cheerfully returning to their obedience: to which they anſwered in ambiguous terms to gain time, but without any deſign of complying with his advice, not only becauſe they preſumed upon the ſtrength and ſituation of the town, but becauſe they were daily ſpurred up by the *Hugonot* miniſters, who had fled thither in great numbers, and encouraged to defend the liberty they enjoyed, and not to confide in the promiſes of the Catholicks, whoſe doctrine allowed them to break their faith with hereticks, as they called all ſuch as were of a religion different from their own: to which, *Strozzi* oppoſing other reaſons, and ſhewing the neceſſity of their ſubmitting to the King, and the ruin they would bring upon themſelves by their ſtubbornneſs, the time was ſpent rather

1572. in treaties and meſſages than in any warlike undertaking: yet both horſe and foot lay near the town on every ſide, whilſt the fleet ſcoured all thoſe coaſts, to cut off their ſupplies of forces and proviſions.

In this interval the converſion of the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* was much laboured at court: the Queen and all the council being of opinion, that now the Princes were taken off from the *Hugonot* party, and the malecontents deprived of the pretence and countenance of the royal blood, the ſtate would be thoroughly purged, and free from thoſe humours, which had diſturbed its tranquillity, for ſo many years, with ſuch violence and obſtinacy: as they found the ſeverity of the late executions produced ſuch hopeful effects, that numbers of the *Hugonots* had already profeſſed the Catholick religion, and many, leaving their country, were gone out of the kingdom. This converſion was moſt diligently attended to by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, uncle to both the Princes, a man of great integrity and extraordinary virtue, who omitted no means which he thought might conduce to incline their tender minds to the Catholick religion, and ſpent many hours every day to inſtruct them in it, together with father *Maldonat*, a Jeſuit, and other doctors. It happened very ſeaſonably, that Monſieur *Des Roſiers*, who had been a *Hugonot* miniſter, was converted about that time, either becauſe he was really convinced of his former errors, or to avoid the imminent danger; and, to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe that were ſtrongeſt, he diſputed, with great eloquence and learning, againſt the doctrine and opinions of *Calvin*: which furniſhed the Princes with a fair and plauſible opportunity of coming, with a good grace, into the boſom of the church, after the example of one that had been a principal advocate and teacher of their former faith. The King of *Navarre* was the firſt that reſolved to give way to the exigence of the occaſion, and conform himſelf to his preſent circumſtances: upon which account he was reconciled to the church without much difficulty or reluctance, and moſt of his dependants, that were leſt alive, followed his example. But the Prince of *Condé*, who, though younger, was of a more obſtinate and wilful diſpoſition: and notwithſtanding all manner of threats and perſuaſions were tried upon him, he ſtill refuſed to turn Catholick, till the King, who was now out of all patience at his ſtubbornneſs, ordered him to be brought into his preſence, to try him once more; where, with a ſtern and terrible countenance, he only ſpoke theſe few words to him, MASS, DEATH, OR THE BASTILE, not ſuffering him to make any anſwer at all: the terror of which, with other means that were practiſed to work upon him, at laſt inclined him to imitate the reſt: and, being inſtructed by the Cardinal his uncle, he came publickly to maſs, with the Princeſs his wife, ſiſter to the Ducheſſes of *Nevers* and *Guiſe*: the ſame did *Lewis*, Prince of *Conti*, and *Charles*, Count

Count of *Soiſſons*, his younger brothers, who afterwards faithfully perſe- 1572.
vered in the Catholick religion. From the converſion of all theſe Princes, the King and Queen conceived infinite hopes of more peaceable times: and, to confirm it, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* ſent Ambaſſadors, to render publick obedience to the Pope, who, rejoicing that their converſion ſhould fortunately happen in the beginning of his pontificate, anſwered their embaſſy in terms of much kindneſs and affection; the whole court of *France* at the ſame time being exceedingly pleaſed, that by means of their prudent management, the kingdom was now likely to enjoy a long and perfect tranquillity; for the accompliſhment of which they endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to reduce the city of *Rochelle*.

But as violent and bloody proceedings are ſeldom attended with proſperous conſequences, the providence of God, and the ſtubbornneſs of men, entirely defeated theſe expectations: for all thoſe that, by different methods, had eſcaped the ſlaughter of the *Hugonots*, and did not conform to the Catholick religion, took different courſes, according to the ſituation of the reſpective places, where they lived. Thoſe of *Bretagne*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, provinces that lie upon the coaſt over againſt *England*, fled, in great numbers, to that iſland, not only to live there in freedom of conſcience, but alſo to unite themſelves under the command of the Count of *Montgomery*, and in hopes of repaſſing the ſea, ſometime or other, by the favour and aſſiſtance of Queen *Elizabeth*, to raiſe new commotions, and diſturb the tranquillity of *France*. Thoſe of *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Lionnois*, retired into *Switzerland*, where, by writing, and continually inveighing againſt the cruelties, that had been practiſed upon themſelves and their brethren, they endeavoured to exaſperate the Proteſtant cantons, and make them break their ancient confederacy with the crown of *France*. Amongſt theſe, as we have ſaid, were the ſons of *Andelot* and the Admiral, who, by the reputation of their father's authority, and the tenderneſs of their years, greatly moved the pity and compaſſion of every one. Thoſe of *Champagne* and *Burgundy* got into the cities of *Germany*, and there uſed all means to make the actions of the King of *France* ſuſpected by the Proteſtant Princes and free ſtates. But thoſe in the inner parts of the kingdom, having no other way to ſave themſelves, took refuge in four ſtrong towns, which were in the poſſeſſion of their party, and prepared for their defence with all poſſible diligence and expedition. Thoſe of the iſle of *France*, *Beauſſe*, and *Nivernois* had ſecured *Sanſerre*: the inhabitants of *Gaſcony* and *Languedoc* fortified themſelves in *Niſmes* and *Montauban*: and thoſe of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Xaintoigne*, and part of *Guyenne*, were fled to *Rochelle*, as into a ſafe harbour. There, under the command of *James Henry*, mayor of the city (who is the chief civil magiſtrate) all the citizens had

1572. had armed and divided themſelves into eight companies, each conſiſting of two hundred men, and were daily exerciſed in the uſe of their arms: beſides which, the common council, to the number of a hundred and fifty, were liſted under ſeparate colours, (as the colonel's company) and commanded by *Arandal*, the mayor's lieutenant, a man of great valour and experience. Beſides theſe trained bands, which ſerved without pay, for their own defence, there were fifteen hundred other ſoldiers, gathered together from the neighbouring provinces, who, under ſeveral captains, were paid by the contributions of the adjacent towns and cities, being all men of courage and reſolution, and who, for the moſt part, had born arms, and been long diſciplined in the late wars. To theſe were added about ſixty gentlemen, that had fled from the places thereabout, and fifty ſeven miniſters, who, amidſt the noiſe of arms, and their continual labour at the fortifications, never ceaſed to animate and exhort the people to defend themſelves to the laſt man. The preparations of ammunition, and other warlike ſtores, were not inferior to the courage and alacrity of the people: for, beſides the great quantities of powder, which they were conſtantly making in mills erected for that purpoſe, there were in the city magazines, vaſt numbers of pikes and muſkets, nine very large culverines, eight cannon, twelve ſakers, thirty eight field pieces, and above ſeventy falconets and muſketoons, in the uſe of which the citizens were exerciſed every day with great diligence. Nor was their care leſs in laying in proviſions; for, without any regard to pains or expence, they had filled their ſtorehouſes with corn and wine, of which the neighbouring iſles afford great abundance, and of all other things neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of a garriſon in a long ſiege.

Againſt all theſe preparations for war, the King and Queen did not employ any forces, or aſſemble an army, but made uſe of treaties and perſuaſions to peace: for, as they were deſirous to enjoy the fruits of their late proceedings, without expoſing themſelves to new dangers and fatigues, they endeavoured to reduce the *Rochellers*, if not to a real, at leaſt to a ſeeming obedience, and ſo to extinguiſh the remains of that fire, which, otherwiſe, might poſſibly break out again, and occaſion freſh tumults and inſurrections. For this purpoſe they appointed Monſieur *De Biron* Governor of *Rochelle*, a man generally looked upon as a favourer of the *Hugonots*, and, by many, thought to have a tincture of *Calvin's* opinions; but indeed the courſe of his life afterwards ſhewed him to be a true Catholick, though, out out of envy, he was an enemy to the houſe of *Guiſe*, and for his own intereſts deſirous of a war. And though the King and Queen once intended to have him put to death amongſt the reſt, in the late maſſacre, yet, on account of the many favours conferred upon him, they vainly confided in his fidelity upon this occaſion, and imagined the

Rochellers

Rochellers alſo would truſt him, and admit him at leaſt to appear as Go- 1572.
vernor, if he was not ſo in fact; by which means they might at the ſame time ſave the King's honour, their own lives, and the liberty of the city. But the event ſhewed how little confidence is to be put in men that have been injured, who, engraving thoſe dangers and grievances in marble, which the authors only write in ſand, very ſeldom forget them, but inwardly conceal thoughts and deſigns far different from their outward appearance: for Monſieur *De Biron*, being arrived at *Rochelle*, and either deſiring to have the war continued, in which he had placed the hopes of his advancement; or out of pique and reſentment, that his former ſervices had not been ſufficiently acknowledged, as he thought; or becauſe he now had ſome ſuſpicions of the Catholick party, and did not deſire that it ſhould gain an abſolute ſuperiority; or apprehended they had given him that imaginary government, in order to take away his command of the artillery; or was in doubt, that all that were ſuſpected by the preſent government, and ſhewed any diſlike to the houſe of *Guiſe*, would be taken off one by one, or for what other reaſon ſoever it was, ſecretly perſuaded the *Rochellers* not to receive him, or any other perſon, into their city; as the admiſſion of a Governor would reduce them to an abſolute neceſſity of ſubmitting to the King, whoſe intention, he knew, was not only to deſtroy the *Hugonot* party, but alſo to take away the privileges and immunities of the city itſelf, and bring it to a ſlaviſh ſubjection, that it might never more ſerve as a refuge and reſource to the diſturbers of the kingdom: by which ſecret intimations, the *Rochellers* were confirmed in their obſtinacy: and though Monſieur *De Biron* ſeemed outwardly very ſollicitous, and made a ſhew of taking great pains to procure admittance, they ſtill refuſed him, alledging, that it was directly contrary to the liberties and privileges which the King had always proteſted he would allow them.

Many days were ſpent in theſe altercations; during which, the Queen began, from ſeveral circumſtances, to ſuſpect the double dealing of *Biron*, and determined to ſend ſome more proper perſon to mollify the obduracy of the *Rochellers*. Nor was it long before fortune preſented a man, that was very fit for that purpoſe: for the *Hugonots*, in the Admiral's life-time, having marched under Count *Lodowic* of *Naſſau*, to the aſſiſtance of their friends in *Flanders*, where they took *Mons*, and created great ſuſpicion in the *Spaniards*, who were not privy to the deſigns of the *French* King, and imagined it was done by his approbation, to give a beginning to the war, that every body ſaid was intended againſt the Low Countries, all the forces of his Catholick Majeſty moved that way, to quench ſo dangerous a fire in its beginning, and to interrupt the courſe of that war, which they then looked upon as certain and real: but, the

maſſacre

1572. maſſacre of the *Hugonots* preſently enſuing, and the King's intentions being laid open to all the world, thoſe that had ſurpriſed *Mons* were not only diſappointed of the credit and approbation which they expected for that exploit, but alſo deprived of all hope of relief; and, being reduced to great hardſhips and neceſſity in the ſiege, were obliged to ſurrender, and diſperſe themſelves into *Picardy*, and the countries round about, where they were ſeverely perſecuted by the Governors: and *Genlis*, their chief commander, after his forces were defeated and cut to pieces by Monſieur *De Villars*, Governor of *Chauné*, loſt his life, with many of his officers; but *La Noüe*, who in the late wars had been Governor of *Rochelle*, and had with ſo much honour defended the country of *Xaintoigne* for the Princes, was ſecretly ſaved by the Duke of *Longueville*, Governor of that province, who, having obtained a ſafe conduct for him, brought him to the King, by whom he was graciouſly received, as a man worthy of the higheſt eſteem, not only for his abilities in civil life, but for his well known valour and experience in war.

La Noüe, therefore, was thought a proper perſon to be employed in managing the *Rochellers*, as they imagined he would have a great influence over them, on account of the conſiderable ſervices he had done that party, and was likely to prevail over their ſtubbornneſs and obduracy, by his policy and eloquence: for which purpoſe the King and Queen, having acquainted him that it was not their intention to reduce the *Rochellers* to a ſtate of ſervitude, by taking away their liberties and privileges, nor to compel them to forſake the faith and doctrines which they profeſſed, nor to uſe any violence to their conſciences; but only to prevent the city from being a receptacle to the enemies and diſturbers of the ſtate, and to induce the people to acknowledge and obey their natural King; he accepted the employment, though, ſome ſay, againſt his will, and left the court, together with *Giovanni Baptiſta Guadagni*, a *Florentine*, to know the laſt reſolution of the citizens. But they were now ſo hardened, by the ſecret advice of *Biron*, and the continual exhortations of their preachers, that it was altogether in vain to uſe any farther arguments to reduce them to their duty: and Monſieur *De la Noüe*, being received into the city (though but coldly, and with little ſhew of reſpect) either in purſuance of his firſt reſolution, or being apprehenſive of his own ſafety, inſtead of perſuading them to ſubmit to the King's clemency, determined not only to ſtay there with them, but to accept the office of their Captain-General; which, they wanting a man of valour and authority to command their forces, had offered him. Upon which he ſent the Abbé *Guadagni* back to court, with an apology to the King for having accepted that poſt, and ſaid, that he did it in hopes of prevailing upon the citizens in time to return to their obedience, and for fear, if he refuſed it, their neceſſity

might throw them into the hands of ſome other perſon, who, by opening the gates to ſeditious people and foreigners, might endanger the peace and ſafety of the kingdom: with which excuſes he endeavoured to ſave his credit, whilſt he artfully held the King in ſuſpence, till the events that afterwards happened in ſome meaſure verified his profeſſions. 1572.

This was the ſecond error committed at court, in their meaſures, to reduce *Rochelle*: for inſtead of uſing force at the beginning, whilſt the reſolution of the citizens was fluctuating and unſettled, and the city not ſo well fortified, nor provided with ammunition and other neceſſaries, they, either out of fear of renewing the war, or, perhaps, deſpiſing it as a thing that might eaſily be effected at any time, endeavoured to do it by a treaty: and firſt, by employing Monſieur *De Biron*, they increaſed the obſtinacy and courage of the inhabitants, and then, by ſending *La Noüe*, they furniſhed them with a commander, of which they were in the greateſt want. At laſt, therefore, when they perceived it was neceſſary to uſe force, now perſuaſions and gentle means had failed, and found that their example encouraged *Niſmes*, *Sanſerre*, *Montauban*, and ſome other places of leſs conſequence, that had been ſurpriſed by the *Hugonots*, to make the like reſiſtance, the King reſolved (though too late) to put an end to the affair by other methods, and gave orders that Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, Governor of *Berry*, ſhould immediately lay ſiege to *Sanſerre*: that the Marquis *De Villars*, who was at laſt declared the King of *Navarre's* Lieutenant, ſhould go into *Guyenne*: that Monſieur *De Joyeuſe*, in whom the King and Queen very much confided, ſhould undertake *Niſmes* and other adjacent places: and that *Philippo Strozzi* and Monſieur *De Biron* (whoſe deſigns they either were not thoroughly acquainted with, or did not care to deprive themſelves of his valour) ſhould lay cloſe ſiege to *Rochelle*, whither alſo the Duke of *Anjou* was ſoon to follow him, with all the forces of the kingdom.

In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, Monſieur *De Chaſtre*, a man very well affected to the Catholick religion, and a dependant of the *Guiſes*, immediately encamped before *Sanſerre*, a city in his government of *Berry*, near the *Loire*, by the help of which river it is eaſy to be relieved from many places; but when he ſaw that all the aſſaults that he made upon it were in vain, though very fierce and bloody, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and blocked it up ſo cloſely on every ſide, that, after the inhabitants had, with incredible patience, ſuſtained a tedious ſiege of eight months, and experienced every want and miſery that are poſſible to be endured by human nature, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender.

The Marquis *De Villars*, once more made Admiral, in the room of *Jaſper de Coligny*, went into *Guyenne* for the ſame purpoſe, where he chaſed the *Hugonots* from place to place, and having recovered the towns

1572. that they had taken, he drove them all into *Montauban*, where he ſhut them up ſo cloſe, that they were reduced to the laſt neceſſity, and ſupported themſelves more by reſolution and obſtinacy than by their ſtrength.

On the other hand, the Marſhal *D'Anville*, without whoſe aſſiſtance *Joyeuſe* could do little or nothing, had left the court, and reſided in his own government: and being unwilling to ſee the *Hugonots* totally ruined, becauſe he knew the King did not much like him, and had almoſt conſented to have him included in the late maſſacre, had different views; and endeavouring to ſpin out the affair by artful delays, he paſſed by *Niſmes*, the chief ſeat of the *Hugonots* in that country, and beſieged *Sommiere*, a little inconſiderable town, contrary to the opinion of Monſieur *De Joyeuſe*, and many other commanders: and though he took it at laſt, to ſave his own reputation, yet he loſt ſo much time, and ſo many men before it, that he was obliged afterwards to be only an idle ſpectator of the things that followed.

But the greateſt expectation was from the ſiege of *Rochelle*, as every one knew that the taking of it would be attended with the utter deſtruction of the *Hugonots:* wherefore, after it had been already cloſely beſieged many weeks by *Strozzi* and *Biron*, the Duke of *Anjou* likewiſe
1573. came thither, in the beginning of *February*, one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-three, and brought with him all the troops of Gens d'armes, with the whole body of the infantry, both *French* and *Swiſs*, and the greateſt part of the Catholick nobility, with an amazing apparatus of all things neceſſary for reducing a ſtrong place. The Duke of *Alençon*, the King's third brother, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, were ſent in this army, to ſhew the *Rochellers* that they muſt no longer hope for any protection from the Princes of the blood: there were alſo the Dukes of *Montpenſier*, *Aumale*, *Guiſe*, and *Mayenne* his brother; of *Nevers*, *Bouillon*, *D'Uſez*, and *Longueville*; the Prince Dauphine, the Count *De Maulevrier*, the Marſhal *De Coſſé*, the baſtard of *Angouleſme*, the Count *De Retz*, Monſieur *De Montluc*, and all the commanders and gentlemen that had any reputation in war; ſo that it plainly appeared, they thought the ſafety of the kingdom wholly depended on the ſucceſs of that undertaking. The *Rochellers* having had time to fortify the city very ſtrongly on every ſide, and to provide themſelves with all things neceſſary againſt ſo great preparations, were reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity: and had committed the charge of the civil government to *James Henry* the Mayor, and the care of their defence to Monſieur *De la Noüe*.

The ſituation of *Rochelle* is wonderfully advantageous; for it is ſurrounded with fens for the ſpace of many miles towards the land, and has only one avenue to it on the north ſide that leads to one of the gates of the

the city, which is fortified in the modern way, with foſſes, walls, baſtions, and ramparts, all exceedingly ſtrengthened by their ſituation, and laid out in an excellent manner to guard and flank each other; art and nature equally concurring to make it impregnable. Toward the ſea it has a moſt capacious harbour, the entrance into which is through ſeveral channels, that are commanded by different winds; ſo that veſſels may come in almoſt at any time from one place or other, without being prevented, even by a great and powerful fleet; for the coaſt being ſhoaly for a long way together, and without other ports, ſhips could not lie there with any ſafety, nor ride at anchor to block up the harbour, on account of the variable winds and long and frequent ſtorms that are uſual in that ſea; for which reaſon it is in a manner impoſſible to prevent the city from being relieved that way: and as it is very eaſy to beſiege it by land, ſo it is moſt difficult to ſtorm or aſſault it: for though the ground without is ſo high, in that part which is firm and dry, that it almoſt commands the town, yet the fortifications in that little ſpace were ſo many, ſo lofty, and ſo well connected, that it was exceeding difficult to make any approach there; beſides, juſt within the fortifications there is a large open parade, where the beſieged might draw up all their forces, and proceed in order to receive the aſſault. 1573.

Such was the ſituation and ſtrength of that place, and ſuch the preparations that were made againſt it. Nor was the progreſs of the ſiege different from what was expected: for the aſſaults made upon the city in the ſpace of five months were almoſt innumerable, the Duke of *Anjou* ſparing no pains nor expence, nor declining any ſort of danger, but making uſe of all military ſkill and force to ſtorm it: yet the ſoldiers and citizens, and even the very women, defended it with wonderful valour and reſolution, ſuſtaining alone the force and power of a whole kingdom, and holding out againſt famine and neceſſity, as well as againſt the batteries and aſſaults of the enemy.

Amongſt the various events that happened during this ſiege, Monſieur *De la Noüe* had an opportunity of regaining the King's favour, and obtained leave to live privately at his own houſe: for whilſt the council of the citizens began to treat of yielding to that power, which they ſaw they could not much longer reſiſt, he having entered into a diſpute with ſome of the miniſters, whoſe authority was infinite over the common people, and who, without any regard to reaſon, ſtill exhorted them to conſtancy; one of them, whoſe name was *La Place*, was ſo raſh and inconſiderate, that, after he had vilely abuſed him, and many times called him *traitor*, he inſolently offered to give him a blow in the face with his fiſt; which affront inwardly provoked him to a great degree, though the miniſter was confined many days as a madman: but he ſeemed to take little notice of

1573. it for the ſake of peace and the publick good. He likewiſe foreſaw, that at the arrival of the Count of *Montgomery*, who was expected with ſupplies from *England*, the chief command would be taken from him and conferred upon the Count, with whom, upon account of an ancient emulation, he had no very good underſtanding. For theſe reaſons he determined within himſelf to leave the town: and the next day, when he ſallied out of the fortifications, as he often did, to ſkirmiſh with the enemy, he went over, with ſome few others, to the Duke of *Anjou's* camp, pretending that it was to fulfil the promiſe which he had made to the King, though he was moved to it by other conſiderations; either to revenge the affront that he had received, or to ſecure his own perſon, which he ſaw expoſed to the calumnies and inſults of the miniſters. Whatever the motive was, his example was followed by a great many other gentlemen and officers: yet all this did not ſhake the reſolution of the citizens, nor abate the courage of the ſoldiers, who bravely ſupported the furious and bloody aſſaults that were made upon them, night and day, on every ſide, and bore the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions, and the inceſſant duty they were obliged to undergo, with admirable patience and conſtancy. For towards the ſea the Catholicks had raiſed two forts, one at the point *De Coreille*, the other over-againſt it, at a place called *Portneuf*, which being able to receive a thouſand ſoldiers, were put under the command of Captain *Coſſein* and Captain *Gas*, each of whom had fifteen pieces of cannon, and betwixt them there was a huge carrack moored, and mounted with culverins, which fired through the mouth of the harbour, and hindered all entrance into it; ſo that by conſtant labour and toil, it was at laſt blocked up on that ſide: and on the other, towards the land, the Princes and Lords of the army had laid out their works in ſuch a manner, that the trenches and redoubts were joined together in all parts, from whence they renewed their aſſaults every hour: and yet the defence and reſiſtance that was made by the beſieged, was not at all inferior to the vigour and induſtry of the beſiegers. They were much animated by the ſecret intelligence which they had from their friends in the camp: for there were ſome, not only amongſt the private ſoldiers there, but alſo amongſt the commanders, that did not deſire the deſtruction of *Rochelle*, nor the extirpation of the *Hugonots:* and *Biron*, who commanded the artillery, in purſuance of his former deſigns, artfully retarded the progreſs of the batteries, as many imagined, and increaſed the obſtinacy of the beſieged. But, notwithſtanding this, their braveſt citizens and ſoldiers were killed: the hopes of relief from *Germany* and *England* were vaniſhed: for the Proteſtant Princes, at the perſuaſion of *Jaſper* Count of *Schomberg*, who was ſent to them by the King, had reſolved not to interpoſe in the affairs of *France*, as there was now no longer

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any Prince of the blood to furniſh money, or give countenance to the war: and the Queen of *England*, to whom the King had ſent *Alberto Gondi* for the ſame purpoſe, had refuſed to aſſiſt them with either men or ſhipping under her colours: and though the Count of *Montgomery*, who had ſailed to the relief of the beſieged, with ſeveral other veſſels, but ill manned and armed, had, with much difficulty, puſhed a ſtore-ſhip into the harbour; yet, being chaſed by the King's fleet, and deſpairing of doing any farther ſervice, he ſtood out to ſea again, and laid aſide all thoughts of raiſing the ſiege, or relieving the city, now reduced to extremities, without being able to do any thing more than plunder and infeſt the coaſts of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*. Their proviſions were likewiſe conſumed, and their ammunition almoſt totally expended. On the contrary, though the Duke of *Anjou*, in a ſiege of ſo many months, had not only loſt the Duke of *Aumale*, who was killed in the trenches by a cannon ball, but an infinite number of other noblemen and commanders, and above twenty thouſand ſoldiers were either ſlain or dead of ſickneſs: and notwithſtanding the Duke himſelf was wounded, whilſt he was viewing the works, though but ſlightly, in the neck, ſide, and left hand, by a muſketoon loaded with ſlugs and pieces of iron, and had more need of reſt than continual action; yet neither the fury nor the frequency of the aſſaults was at all abated; but, as freſh forces arrived daily at the camp, (amongſt whom there were ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, lately taken into pay) the ſiege was carried on with ſtill greater vigour than before: ſo that the city was reduced to an impoſſibility of holding out any longer, and would at laſt have been taken by force, and utterly deſtroyed, if a diſtant and unexpected call for the Duke had not delivered it from ſo imminent a danger. 1573.

There had been ſome ſteps taken, many months before, for electing him King of *Poland:* which was firſt talked of in the life-time of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, King of that nation; who propoſed, that if the Duke would take his ſiſter *Anne* to wife, he ſhould be declared ſucceſſor to the crown by the eſtates of the kingdom. The hopes of this were much increaſed after the death of *Auguſtus:* for though *Erneſt*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, and *Sigiſmund*, King of *Sweden*, were both competitors for the ſame crown, yet neither of them ſeemed comparable to the Duke of *Anjou*, the fame of whoſe victories and ſingular valour had filled all parts of *Europe* with admiration. The King of *France*, therefore, turned all his care and attention upon this object; and much more the Queen Mother, out of the extraordinary affection that ſhe had for this ſon: upon which account they neither ſpared money nor promiſes, nor any ſort of pains that were neceſſary to carry the election, which was in a likely way to be effected, by the management and intrigues of the Sieur *De Balagny*; who,

under

1573. under a pretence of travelling to ſee the world, ſtaid ſome time in that kingdom, and entered into a negociation with the principal men of it, that was afterwards carried on with more life and vigour by *John de Montluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, *Guy*, Sieur *de Lanſac*, and other perſons of leſs quality, but no leſs eſteem, who were appointed to treat with the ſtates of that kingdom.

The greateſt impediment which the King's agents met with, was the oppoſition of the *Evangelicks*, or followers of new doctrines in that kingdom, who had but an indifferent opinion of the Duke, partly, becauſe the victories that he had obtained had been over thoſe of the ſame faith with them; partly on account of the maſſacre at *Paris*, which being bitterly complained of by the Proteſtants, in thoſe diſtant parts, made them fearful, that, if he was choſe King, he would perſecute and diſturb thoſe that did not acknowledge the authority of the apoſtolick ſee, and had ſeparated themſelves from the Catholick religion, of which they knew he was ſo zealous a profeſſor. The fears of the Evangelicks were fomented by letters and embaſſies from many Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, who were much offended at the ſlaughter of the *Hugonots* in *France*, and looked with an evil eye upon the Duke of *Anjou's* greatneſs. For theſe reaſons the King took great pains, both in writings that he ordered to be publiſhed, and by means of his ambaſſadors, to refute the opinion, which was commonly received, that the maſſacre at *Paris* was a deſign long premeditated, by repreſenting that it was a ſudden and accidental thing, and entirely owing to the temerity of the Admiral, who, ſeeing himſelf wounded by his enemies, had raſhly entered into a new conſpiracy againſt the whole royal family; and declaring that he would tolerate a liberty of conſcience, though not a publick profeſſion of *Calvin's* doctrine. But this did not ſeem ſufficient; for being afraid of exaſperating the Proteſtants and Evangelicks ſtill more, he began to grow cooler in the enterpriſe of *Rochelle*, leſt, if the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould take the city by force and deſtroy it, it might make him more odious, and raiſe freſh difficulties in his election, which otherwiſe ſeemed likely to ſucceed to his ſatisfaction. Nor was the King alone of this opinion; for his Ambaſſadors in *Poland*, and particularly the Biſhop of *Valence*, earneſtly perſuaded him to proceed with leſs rigour againſt the *Hugonots* in *France*, for fear of defeating his brother's pretenſions: upon which conſiderations, a new treaty of agreement was ſet on foot with the *Rochellers*, though the Catholick commanders ſtill continued their aſſaults upon the city, till news arrived, that on the ninth of *May*, *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, was, by general conſent, elected King of *Poland*. Therefore, as he determined to take an opportunity of raiſing the ſiege with ſuch a ſhew of lenity as might ſave his own reputation, and at the ſame time be highly pleaſing to his

new ſubjects, and remove all ſuſpicions of his taking away their liberty of conſcience, he began to liſten to the propoſals of the *Hugonots*, who, being now quite tired out, and in deſpair of defending themſelves any longer, were deſirous of making their peace. 1573.

This was likewiſe much forwarded by the natural inclination of the Duke, who was weary of the toils of war, and deſirous not only to return to the pleaſures of the court, but alſo to go and take poſſeſſion of his new kingdom as ſoon as he could. So that the city, having often ſent deputies to treat, it was at laſt agreed, upon the 11th of *July*, after many difficulties, that the city ſhould ſubmit to the King upon theſe conditions: That his Majeſty ſhould declare the inhabitants of *Rochelle*, *Niſmes*, and *Montauban*, to be his good and faithful ſubjects, and ſhould approve of all that they had done, from the month of *Auguſt* laſt till the preſent time, pardoning all offences and tranſgreſſions of what kind ſoever, that had been committed during the civil war by the ſaid inhabitants, their ſoldiers, or adherents, with a declaration that all was done by his order: That in thoſe three cities he ſhould allow the free and publick exerciſe of the religion called the *reformed*, provided they met together in ſmall numbers, without arms, and ſuffered the officers, appointed for that purpoſe, to be preſent at their aſſemblies: That they ſhould keep the holidays, and obſerve all other outward rites and ceremonies that are obſerved and preſcribed by the *Roman* Catholick church, except in baptiſm and matrimony: That the King ſhould confirm all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of thoſe three towns, and not ſuffer them to be in any wiſe diminiſhed, altered, or violated: That the *Rochellers* ſhould receive a governor of the King's appointment (but without a garriſon) who might freely ſtay there, or go out of the city, or return to it when he pleaſed: And that they ſhould be governed by the laws, ordinances, and cuſtoms, by which they had been governed under the Kings of *France* ever ſince they were ſubjects to that crown: That they ſhould diſſolve all manner of leagues, alliances, correſpondence, and confederacies whatſoever, both within and without the kingdom; and not give any aſſiſtance or relief to thoſe that ſhould continue in arms, though they were of the ſame religion: that the uſe and exerciſe of the Catholick religion ſhould be reſtored in thoſe cities, and all other places where it had been interrupted; and not only the churches, monaſteries, and hoſpitals, but likewiſe all the profits and revenues belonging to them ſhould be freely delivered up again to the Eccleſiaſticks: That all Lords of free juriſdictions might celebrate baptiſm and matrimony, after the manner of the *Hugonots*, in their own houſes, provided there were not above ten perſons in ſuch aſſemblies: That there ſhould be no inquiſition, or reſtraint upon men's conſciences: And that thoſe who had not a mind to live in the kingdom, might ſell their

1573. their eſtates and go whither they pleaſed, except into countries that were enemies to the crown: And that for the performance of theſe articles, each of the ſaid three cities ſhould give four hoſtages, which ſhould be exchanged every three months, and always attend the court. When theſe conditions were agreed to, and the hoſtages given, who were ſent by the Duke to court, Monſieur *De Biron*, the Governor appointed by the King, made his entrance into *Rochelle*, with one of the publick heralds, and took poſſeſſion of his government, having firſt cauſed the peace to be proclaimed there: after which the new King of *Poland* diſmiſſed his army, and went, with a noble train of Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen to *Paris*; where, when he had received the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors, and aſſumed the title of that kingdom, he prepared to go and take poſſeſſion of the crown.

In the mean time *Sanſerre* (which was not included in the treaty with the *Rochellers*, becauſe it was not a free town under the abſolute dominion of the King, like the reſt, but under the ſigniory of the Counts of *Sanſerre*) being reduced to extreme miſery by famine, and without any hope of relief, ſurrendered to Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, who, having ſpared the lives of the inhabitants, by the King's order, to gratify the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors, laid a pecuniary fine upon them, to be diſtributed amongſt the army: after which he ordered the town to be diſmantled, the gates, clock, and bells to be removed, in order to deprive it of all appearance of a city, and reduce it to the condition of a village, putting a garriſon into the caſtle, and cauſing the goods and revenues of the clergy to be reſtored, and the churches given up for the exerciſe of the Catholick religion: and ſoon after, as it was reported, he ſecretly commanded *William Joanneau*, Bailiff of that town, who had been a principal leader in the late ſedition, to be thrown headlong into a well: though many ſay, that *Joanneau* did it himſelf out of deſpair.

Such was the end of the inſurrection that began after the Admiral's death; in which, either for want of care in thoſe that were at the head of affairs, or fidelity in thoſe that were to execute their commands, a ſufficient degree of ſeverity not being made uſe of, which, with little difficulty, would have totally extinguiſhed thoſe evils, the embers were now only covered for a while, from whence there afterwards broke out a more laſting and dangerous flame. But there ſeemed to be little apprehenſion of this at court, where they were buried in ſecurity, amidſt the pleaſures and rejoicings for the coronation of the new King: which having laſted more than two months, the King of *Poland*, being accompanied by the Queen his mother, and the King his brother, to the confines of *Lorrain*, went, about the beginning of *October*, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom. But the King, who was intent only upon hunting and other

youthful

youthful recreations, had no ſooner returned to his diverſions, but thoſe humours began to diſcover themſelves, which were to diſtract his kingdom with greater troubles and commotions than ever. 1573.

After the departure of *Henry* King of *Poland*, the firſt place of dignity and pre-eminence belonged to *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, the King's next brother, who was not only very young, and conſequently void of experience, but alſo endowed with no great degree of underſtanding, of ſo fickle a diſpoſition, and ſo haughty, that he ſeemed more inclinable to turbulent and raſh undertakings, than to a moderate and even courſe of life: and as he had been inwardly very much diſpleaſed at the power which had been given to his brother the Duke of *Anjou*, and was ſtung to the quick with envy at his valour and glorious actions, the greatneſs and renown of which he thought was a diminution and diſhonour to himſelf: ſo he bore a concealed hatred to all thoſe that had any relation to, or dependance upon *Henry*, careſſing and admiring the Admiral *De Coligny* and his adherents (as was often plainly perceived) whilſt he thus tacitly reprehended the King's actions, and eagerly aſpired to be the head of that faction: and though the Queen his mother, who was well acquainted with his diſpoſition, always endeavoured to keep perſons of prudence and moderation about him, to moderate his humours and deſigns, yet he could not by any means endure them, and, through a conformity of tempers, rather ſuffered himſelf to be wholly guided by *Boniface* Sieur *De la Mole*, a man of no great abilities, but of vaſt and unbounded deſigns: and by *Hannibal* Count *De Coconas*, a baniſhed *Piedmonteſe*, who, according to the cuſtom of exiles, not being able to enjoy any quiet himſelf, endeavoured to moleſt and diſturb the repoſe of others.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* had attached themſelves to the Duke of *Alençon* from the beginning, becauſe they ſaw themſelves but ſlightly eſteemed by the Duke of *Anjou*, head of the Catholick party, and becauſe they watched all occaſions to revive and reſtore their drooping and perſecuted faction: and not they alone, but alſo the Marſhals of *Montmorancy* and *D'Anville*, *William* Lord of *Toré*, and *Charles* Lord of *Meru*, all brothers, who not being able of themſelves to attain to the dignity of their father, nor to the credit and authority that he had in his life-time, but continuing (eſpecially after the death of the Admiral) to be little regarded, or rather hated and ſuſpected by the King, on account of their near relation to him, and apprehenſive that their deſtruction had been intended as well as that of others, endeavoured to unite themſelves to that party whoſe power might advance them to better fortune. To theſe alſo was joined the Marſhal *De Coſſé*, who was not much reſpected by the Catholick party, and all thoſe that had either ſecretly or openly adhered to the Admiral: and not they only, but likewiſe all who either

1573. out of private intereſts, or diſguſt to the preſent adminiſtration, were deſirous of ſeeing a change of government. Theſe being encouraged and filled with hopes, chiefly by the Lords of *Montmorancy* (who yet behaved with great circumſpection in the affair) formed a third party, who made no account or difference of either religion, but wholly applied themſelves to the reformation of the ſtate, and began to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *politicks* or *malecontents*.

But theſe new practices and machinations, which were carried on with more ſecreſy whilſt the Duke of *Anjou* was preſent, for fear of his valour and authority, began to be avowed more openly now that reſtraint was taken away: not only becauſe the Duke of *Alençon*, who favoured them, was become the firſt Prince at court, but becauſe the power over the Catholick party ſtill continued in the hands of the Duke of *Guiſe* and his brothers, the ancient rivals and inveterate enemies of the *Bourbon* and *Montmorancy* families; which ſeemed to make their uniting themſelves the more excuſeable and neceſſary, to balance and reſiſt the exceſſive greatneſs of their adverſaries.

The King's ſickneſs afforded a very favourable opportunity for the breaking out of this miſchief: for being taken with a long and dangerous illneſs, that was occaſioned by too much exerciſe in hunting, running, wreſtling, and riding the great horſe, of which he was paſſionately fond, he could not attend to the rooting up of theſe growing diſorders with his natural vigour, but gave a fair opening to the Duke of *Alençon* to diſcover and promote his own deſigns. The Duke of *Anjou* therefore being gone, he began publickly to claim and pretend to the ſame title and authority, that his brother had enjoyed ſeveral years, being ſpurred up to it by the councils of the Marſhals *De Coſſé* and *Montmorancy*. But this was not only oppoſed by the King and Queen Mother, who neither liked his temper nor his actions, but in a great meaſure rendered impoſſible by his own incapacity: for he was much inferior to the Duke of *Anjou* both in valour and underſtanding, and by no means qualified to fill a poſt of ſo great weight and importance. Beſides, the King, being now of a maturer age, and of a jealous and ſuſpicious diſpoſition, was not at all inclined to give ſo great a power to any of his family again, having laboured more earneſtly, perhaps, for the election of the King of *Poland*, becauſe he thought he could neither ſo eaſily, nor ſo handſomely, by any other means get quit of him, nor deprive him of that power and authority, which, being voluntarily given him at the firſt, he afterwards confirmed to himſelf by his own valour and the glory of his victories. For all theſe reaſons the King refuſed him the title and command of his Lieutenant-General, whilſt his mother began to amuſe him with hopes of procuring ſome independent ſtate for him, as they had done for his brother,

ther, and propoſed a marriage to him with the Queen of *England*, or the command of the States of *Flanders*, which had ſhaken off their obedience to his Catholick Majeſty: for both which purpoſes treaties were actually ſet on foot, but more with a deſign to feed him with hopes, and to keep him united and upon good terms with his brother, than out of any real perſuaſion or opinion that either of them could be accompliſhed. 1573.

But his haſty and impatient temper did not give time for her artifices to take effect: for as ſoon as the *Hugonots* and malecontents perceived that he was outrageouſly exaſperated at this repulſe, and ready to engage in any new attempt, they unanimouſly offered him the command of their party; repreſenting to him, that he might, by this means, open himſelf a way to a more abſolute power than that which his brother had injuriouſly refuſed him. The King of *Navarre* conſented to this expedient, becauſe he had, from the beginning, ſought for an opportunity of advancing his own fortune, and was deſirous of delivering himſelf out of that ſubjection, or rather impriſonment, in which he lived under the King and Queen, his brother and mother-in-law: beſides, as he was now diſguſted, and diſagreed with his wife, he hoped, by freſh tumults and revolutions, to remedy all theſe inconveniencies, and find ſome means of advancing himſelf, or at leaſt of recovering his liberty, which he vehemently longed for. The Prince of *Condé* likewiſe approved of it; for he was well aſſured he ſhould have great authority amongſt the *Hugonots*, if they could by any means riſe again; whereas he was now very much depreſſed amongſt the Catholicks, on account of his father's memory. But above all the reſt, this deſign was eagerly embraced by the three Marſhals, *De Coſſé*, *Montmorancy*, and *D'Anville*, the chiefs of the malecontents, as they knew they ſhould entirely influence and direct the Duke of *Alençon*, who, being unable to govern of himſelf, muſt of neceſſity give them the ſame power that the Admiral had in the minority of the Princes of *Bourbon*.

After many conferences and ſecret practices, the plan of their operations was ſettled in this manner; that the Duke of *Alençon* ſhould ſuddenly and privately leave the court; and, to ſecure his retreat, ſome troops of *Hugonot* cavalry, that were drawing together, ſhould come to meet him: that the Marſhals *De Coſſé* and *Montmorancy* ſhould attend him, to aſſiſt him with their advice and direction in his proceedings: that the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* ſhould get ſecretly away, and take the ſame rout, two days after: that the Marſhal *D'Anville*, Governor of *Languedoc*, ſhould go into that province a while before, and not only contrive to ſecure the ſtrong towns there, but aſſemble as many of the nobility as he could, and endeavour to do the ſame in *Guyenne* and the adjacent parts, by means of his nephew the Viſcount *De Turenne*, and his

1573. brother-in-law the Duke of *Ventadour*, that the Princes might have ſome place of ſafety to retire to, and forces to defend themſelves when they left the court. To theſe provident and well-laid deſigns, were added ſome ridiculous and youthful conceits, by certain of the Duke of *Anjou's* confidents, who propoſed to haſten the King's death by charms and enchantments, though he was already in great danger from his illneſs; that when he was dead, and the King of *Poland* at ſo great a diſtance, they might eſtabliſh the Duke of *Alençon* in the throne. Upon theſe foundations they proceeded to raiſe freſh troubles and commotions.

The Marſhal *D'Anville* went into *Languedoc*, with the King's conſent, under a pretence of viſiting his government, where he artfully began to ſound the inclinations of the nobility and governors of places: but as a man of great caution and diſcretion, and apprehenſive that his practices might be diſcovered, he ſent his ſecretary *Chartier* to the King and Queen Mother, to acquaint them that he was treating with the *Hugonots* of *Niſmes*, *Montpelier*, and other places, in order to bring them back to their duty; and that, if proper people were ſent to aſſiſt him in his negociations, he made no doubt but he ſhould be able to prevail upon them to make their ſubmiſſion upon honourable conditions: in hope of which, the King immediately diſpatched Monſieur *De St. Sulpice* and Secretary *Villeroy*, to treat jointly with *D'Anville* of an accommodation with the *Hugonots*. But he having, by this artifice, obtained an opportunity of treating with that party without occaſioning any ſuſpicion at court, ſent the ſame *Chartier* to the King's commiſſioners, when he heard they were arrived at *Avignon*, to let them know, that as matters were not yet quite ripe, he thought it would be better for them to ſtay a while there, and defer their coming to him till he had eſtabliſhed a ſurer foundation to proceed upon. In this manner he amuſed the commiſſioners, whilſt he was carrying on his negociations in different parts, and by little and little ſecured an abſolute ſuperiority in *Languedoc*, as the Viſcount *De Turenne* and the Duke of *Ventadour* did in other places.

But the reſt did not behave with the ſame circumſpection; for *Coconas* and *La Mole*, who had the higheſt views, and conſpired the King's death, and the uſurpation of the kingdom, diſcovered their deſigns by communicating them to all the *Hugonots* in the kingdom. The Duke of *Alençon* likewiſe, who was very fickle and irreſolute, and by no means equal to ſo great an undertaking, imprudently dropped ſome hint of it to his mother; and whilſt ſhe, with her uſual arts, was endeavouring to penetrate into theſe ſecret treaties, and ſearch to the bottom of their deſigns, the impatience of the *Hugonots* compleated the diſcovery of the plot. For the Duke having given them notice, that he, with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, intended to leave the court and re-

tire into places that adhered to their party, where he would declare himſelf protector of the reformed religion and of the malecontents of the kingdom, they did not ſtay for more certain advice, nor a better opportunity, but unexpectedly made their appearance upon *Shrove Tueſday*, to the number of about two hundred horſe, under the command of the Sieur *De Guitry*, ſcouring up and down the country round *St. Germain's*, where the court then reſided, to ſecure the retreat of the Princes, who were ſecretly to leave the court. At the news of this, the Duke of *Alençon* and his counſellors were confounded and diſmayed (as their deſigns were not yet ripe, and they did not think ſo ſmall a number ſufficient to execute their reſolutions) and ſo different and undetermined in their opinions, that they did not make any attempt at all. The King and Queen, therefore, being now certain of what they only ſuſpected before, retired immediately to *Paris*, where he ordered the Duke of *Alençon*, the King of *Navarre*, and all his counſellors and dependents, to be arreſted and impriſoned, together with the Marſhals *De Coſſé* and *Montmorancy*, and many others, whom they thought privy to their deſigns. The Prince of *Condé* only and Monſieur *De Toré* made their eſcape, and fled firſt to thoſe places that belonged to the Prince in *Picardy*, and from thence, without delay, to the free towns in *Germany*, which adhered to the proteſtant party. 1573.

The Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, either truſting to their nearneſs of blood, or to ſhift off the imputation of this conſpiracy from themſelves, and lay it (as it is uſual) upon the weakeſt, freely confeſſed that they had been ſollicited to leave the court, and take upon them the protection of the *Hugonots* and malecontents; and that ſometimes they had lent an ear to thoſe propoſals, rather to diſcover the intentions of ſuch ſeditious people, than out of any inclination to adhere to them, and waited for an opportunity of diſcloſing the whole conſpiracy to his Majeſty, as ſoon as they were fully informed of the particulars: that in the mean time the Duke had given ſome hint of it, though but obſcurely, to his mother, which might ſerve to prove the ſincerity of their intentions. Upon the ſtrength of theſe confeſſions, which contained many circumſtances, the accomplices of meaner quality being put to the torture, and ſtrictly interrogated, *La Mole*, about whom were found certain images of the King in wax, with characters, and charms, and other fooleries round them, the Count *De Coconas* convicted of many crimes, and ſeveral others were condemned to die: the Marſhals of *Montmorancy* and *Coſſé*, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Pariſians*, were committed to the *Baſtile*: and for the Princes, it was thought ſufficient to convince the world, by a declaration, that it was never their deſign to throw off their obedience to the King, nor to offend his perſon in any manner whatſoever, much leſs

to

1573. to make themſelves heads and protectors of the factious and ſeditious party in the kingdom: bnt that it had been falſly and artfully propagated by men of turbulent and malicious ſpirits, to ſtir up and ſeduce the people, under that pretence, a thing utterly diſapproved of and deteſted by them, who earneſtly deſired that ſuch ill deſigning perſons might be brought to condign puniſhment, that by their extinction the fuel might be taken away from that flame, which they had endeavoured to raiſe in the kingdom. After this declaration, they were not, however, reſtored to their former condition; but, whilſt they were treated as kinſmen in ſome reſpects, they were at the ſame time ſtrictly guarded and kept as priſoners. Thoſe that put a ſiniſter conſtruction upon all the actions of Princes, ſay, that the Duke of *Alençon* had no other deſign but to make himſelf King, after the death of his brother, which he ſaw drew near, and that the councils of the Marſhals and his other adherents tended to the ſame point: but that the Queen Mother, who had a much greater affection for the King of *Poland*, and promiſed herſelf the abſolute direction of the government under his reign, repreſented the affair quite different from the truth, and perſuaded the King to impriſon the Princes and Marſhals, in order to ſecure the kingdom to the true heir, which was the King of *Poland*, the thoughts of whoſe reign were abhorred by all thoſe that were enemies to the Duke of *Guiſe*, or had any connection with the *Hugonots*.

1574. Theſe things, whatever was their deſign, or from what ſource ſoever they were derived, happened in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four, a year deſtined to rip up the old wounds of *France*. For towards the latter end of *March* and all the month of *April* following, the *Hugonots* being already up in arms, to have carried the late deſigns into execution, and knowing they were diſcovered to be the authors and abettors of the conſpiracy, once more threw off all manner of reſtraint, every where attempting to ſurpriſe forts, caſtles, and cities: and, as if the affair at *St. Germain's* had actually ſucceeded according to their own deſire, they ran tumultuouſly into arms in all the provinces; and with ſo much the greater boldneſs and ſecurity, as they were now freed from the awe they uſed to ſtand in of the valour and activity of the King of *Poland*, whom they had, to their exceeding loſs, found ſo reſolute and powerful an enemy.

The firſt commotion was begun by Monſieur *De la Noüe*, who, living in *Poictou*, aſſembled ſome forces there, and ſuddenly poſſeſſed himſelf of *Luſignan*, *Fontenay*, *Meſle*, and, with the aſſiſtance of the *Rochellers*, raiſed the whole country, and threw every thing into tumult and diſorder, manifeſtly ſhewing, by that action, that neither any deſire of peace, nor the promiſe which he made to the King, had induced him to leave *Rochelle*, when it was beſieged, but reſentment of the affront that he had received

received from the miniſters, and jealouſy, that the citizens would confer the chief command upon the Count of *Montgomery*. 1574.

The ſignal for war being now given, as it were, by this inſurrection, it was followed by many others in *Dauphinè*, *Provence*, *Gaſcony*, and *Languedoc*, every private captain and every gentleman amongſt the *Hugonots* endeavouring, with his own forces, to ſeize upon ſome ſtrong place, from whence they made excurſions, plundered the country, broke up the roads, laid the people under contributions, robbed the rich houſes, and in a few days brought the whole kingdom of *France* into great confuſion.

But a more dangerous fire was kindled upon the ſea coaſts of *Normandy*: for the Count of *Montgomery*, after he was prevented by the King's fleet from relieving *Rochelle*, returned to *England*, where he recruited his forces, and then made a deſcent upon the country that is called *Le Coûtantin*, in the province of *Normandy*, and bordering upon *Bretagne*; in which, being welcomed by numbers of the *Hugonots* and the diſcontented party of that place, he in a few days made himſelf maſter of *Danfront*, *Carentan*, *St. Lo*, and *Valognes*: and, as ſeditious people flocked to him from all parts, as a chief of great authority, it began to be ſuſpected that Queen *Elizabeth*, being invited by this opportunity (though ſhe pretended not to favour or aſſiſt the Count in any degree) had again reſolved to get ſome footing in that province, which lies juſt over-againſt her kingdom, and in time paſt had been long in poſſeſſion of the Kings of *England*, her predeceſſors. At the repeated news of theſe tumults and inſurrections, the King, who was by nature very cholerick, grew ſo frantick and outrageous, that his illneſs daily became more violent and dangerous: ſo that, having neither ſtrength of body nor mind equal to ſo great an undertaking, he often changed his reſolutions, and by that unſteddy manner of proceeding, gave thoſe that were up in arms a fairer opportunity of increaſing their forces. When he perceived this, and that his diſeaſe ſtill gained upon him and baffled all remedies, he reſolved to leave the conducting of the whole affair to the prudence and authority of his mother, conſtantly exhorting her to uſe the ſevereſt methods: which hardly could be done at that time, as the ſituation of affairs would not admit that armies and governments ſhould be truſted in the hands of any but perſons of great maturity and long experience, who, on account of their age and gravity, would be averſe to bloody and violent reſolutions. Wherefore the Queen, being reduced to great ſtraits and difficulties, and to a neceſſity of proceeding not only againſt her ſon-in-law, but even againſt her own ſon, endeavoured to take a middle courſe, and to interpoſe herſelf as a barrier betwixt the King's fury and the reſtleſs and ambitious deſigns of the others, which yet could not

1574. not be effected according to the uſual order of things, and the common rules of prudence: for though it is certain that, in order to remove the effect, it is neceſſary to take away the cauſe, ſhe, on the contrary, was abſolutely obliged to endeavour to prevent the effect of thoſe tumults and inſurrections in the ſeveral provinces, that ſhe might thereby ſave the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, from whom they proceeded as their principal and original cauſe.

With this view ſhe reſolved to ſend three armies into three different parts of the kingdom: one commanded by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, to oppoſe Monſieur *De la Noüe* in *Poictou*; another by the Prince Dauphine his ſon, which ſhould march into *Dauphinè* and the parts thereabout: and the third, to make head againſt the Count of *Montgomery*, under the conduct of *James* Sieur *De Matignon*, a man of approved valour and fidelity, who was then Lieutenant to the Duke *De Boüillon* in the government of *Normandy*. In the mean time ſhe endeavoured to take away the government of *Languedoc* from the Marſhal *D'Anville*: for which purpoſe the Count *Siarra Martinengo* was ſent, with all ſpeed, to *St. Sulpice* and *Villeroy* (who were ſuppoſed to be with him) with orders to get him aſſaſſinated; or, if that could not be done, at leaſt to wreſt a government of ſo much importance out of his hands by ſome other means. But *Martinengo*, finding thoſe commiſſioners ſtill at *Avignon*, and incapable of executing the King's commands, it was neceſſary to purſue the ſecond inſtructions, and try to take from him all, or at leaſt ſome of the cities in that province; which point was diligently laboured by the aſſiſtance of Cardinal *Armagnac*, the Duke of *Uzez*, the Viſcount *De Joyeuſe*, and the Sieurs *De Maugiron*, *De Quelus*, *De Rieux*, and *De Suze*, who all had very great intereſt in thoſe parts.

But the policy of *D'Anville*, and the love which the people bore to his name, was very great, as he had in general engaged their affections by his liberality and inſinuating behaviour; ſo that when he received the news of what had happened at court, he pretended not to be at all diſguſted at his brother's impriſonment, and that he was not in any wiſe privy to his deſigns; publickly proteſting, that he was ready not only to reſign his government, but likewiſe his office of Marſhal, till ſuch time as the King ſhould have a better opinion of his loyalty, and voluntarily reſtore him to his former dignities; whilſt he ſpared no pains, at the ſame time, as much as poſſible, to engage the nobility and ſoldiery in his intereſt: by which arts he ſoon put himſelf in a poſture of defence; and the commiſſioners, not being able to do any ſervice, were obliged to return to court, and make their report of it to the King; who was ſo enraged at it, that he ordered him to be deprived of all his dignities, by a publick decree, and immediately commanded the Prince Dauphine to march thither with his army.

The

The Duke of *Montpenſier* had now entered *Poictou* with his forces, and not only taken *Talmont*, but laid ſiege to *Fontenay*, and endeavoured, by all means, to draw Monſieur *De la Noüe* into the field, who being again declared General of the *Rochellers*, was exceedingly active in aſſembling the nobility and ſoldiers: but finding himſelf not able to keep the field, he reſolved to defend the ſtrongeſt places, which he had furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and endeavoured, by advantage of ſituations, by artifice, by vigilance and induſtry, and every other way to annoy the enemy. In this interval Monſieur *De Matignon*, being deſirous to ſhew his fidelity to the King and Queen, by whom he found he was very much eſteemed, and, ambitious to raiſe himſelf to a higher degree of honour, marched with the third army directly to the place where the Count of *Montgomery* lay, who had greatly increaſed his forces, and was grown bolder and more reſolute. *Matignon's* army conſiſted of five thouſand *French* foot, and twelve hundred horſe, to which were added many gentlemen and voluntiers, who, being animated by letters and commands from the King and Queen, and very ſollicitous for the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, came thither to ſerve without any pay. There were likewiſe fourteen pieces of cannon in this army, which had been drawn out of the fortreſs of *Caen*, and other neighbouring cities, with a ſufficient quantity of all ſorts of ammunition. The Field-Marſhal was *John d'Emery*, Sieur *De Villars*, who being a man of great honour and natural bravery, far from that diſſimulation and double dealing which was then every where ſo much practiſed, and heartily concurring in the ſame deſigns with his General, who was alſo a ſoldier of clear and uncorrupted loyalty, endeavoured to amuſe the enemy by a feint of moving towards *Valognes*, (a place leſs defenſible, though more abounding in ſpoil and plunder) but changed his rout after ſun-ſet, and marched all night, with the utmoſt expedition, towards *St. Lo*, in which place the Count of *Montgomery* at that time lay, with his ſon and ſon-in-law. 1574.

St. Lo is a town in the lower *Normandy*, not very large, but tolerably ſtrong, being ſituated near the ſea, upon the river *Vire*, which emptying itſelf into the *Engliſh* channel not far from thence, is navigable, by the help of the tide, up to the very gates of the town, and affords a ſecure retreat to ſuch ſhips as put in there to avoid the ſtorms that are ſo frequent upon that coaſt. Here lay thoſe veſſels, which had tranſported the Count of *Montgomery* from *England*, ready upon all occaſions to weigh anchor and put out to ſea. But *Villars*, arriving unexpectedly with the van of the army at the break of day, ſent the Sieur *De St. Colombe*, with his regiment, which conſiſted of about twelve hundred *French* foot, with four ſmall pieces of cannon, to poſſeſs himſelf of the bank below the place where the ſhips lay at anchor, to prevent them from getting out

1574. of the river. *St. Colombe* advancing with the expedition that was neceſſary upon ſuch an occaſion, immediately took poſt there, as he was ordered, and began to intrench himſelf, and plant his cannon, which he did ſo effectually, that the paſſage of *Montgomery's* ſhips being ſoon cut off in that narrow channel, and he much inferior in ſtrength, could no longer hope to ſave himſelf by his fleet. As ſoon as *Villars* ſaw that paſs ſtopped, in which the main point of the enterpriſe conſiſted, he placed himſelf, with the light horſe and *Lavardine's* regiment, at the foot of a hill, over-againſt the gate that looks towards the ſea, and began a ſkirmiſh with thoſe that came out of the town to reconnoitre his forces: and whilſt they were warmly engaged on that ſide, Monſieur *De Matignon* arrived on the other, with the reſt of the army, and preſently ſecured thoſe paſſes towards the land: ſo that in leſs than three hours the city was blocked up and beſieged on every ſide. In the mean time, the ſquadrons under *Malicorne* and *Meleraye* being come up, thoſe that had ſallied out of the town to ſkirmiſh were ſoon driven back again, though with ſome loſs on both ſides, above ſixty of the Catholicks, and about eighty of the *Hugonots* being ſlain. The King's army being divided, lodged itſelf in two different quarters, and ſhut up all the paſſages, both by ſea and land: for it was their chief deſign to prevent the Count from making his eſcape by any means: and as ſoon as it was ſo ſtationed, they immediately began to open their trenches and plant their artillery, hoping to make themſelves maſters of the town in a very few days. But the Count, being ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation he was in, and ſtudying chiefly how to ſave himſelf, having made ſeveral ſallies the night following, to alarm and employ the Catholick camp, at laſt, with a few of his ſoldiers, forced a corps du garde belonging to the Sieur *De Luſſe's* regiment, which defended a paſs towards the land; and, being very well acquainted with the country, he eſcaped undiſcovered, by the favour of the night, into ſome low and marſhy grounds that are ſometimes overflowed by the tide; from whence he paſſed an arm of the ſea, in ſome little fiſhing boats, which he found there by chance, and went to *Danfront*, having left his ſon and ſon-in-law at *St. Lo*, in good hopes of relieving them in a few days.

The darkneſs of the night, the ſmall number of his followers, and the manner of his getting away, concealed his eſcape; and his flight was not known to the Catholicks, till he was grown ſtrong in cavalry, and joined by many gentlemen of his party, when he began to ſcour the country, break up the roads, and make a ſhew as if he intended to come to the relief of the beſieged. By theſe excurſions, and the grievous devaſtation that he made in the adjacent parts, they were convinced he had ſlipped out of the net. For this reaſon they called a council of war, in which

the opinions were various. The Sieurs *De Fervaques* and *Ruberpré*, and many others, adviſed the proſecution of the ſiege of *St. Lo*, which they thought could not hold out many days, to deprive the enemy of ſo ſecure a retreat, and cut off all hopes of ſaving themſelves by ſea. But *Villars* and *St. Colombe* were of opinion, that they ſhould leave *St. Lo* ſtill inveſted, to divide the enemy's forces, and follow the Count of *Montgomery*, with the ſame expedition that they had come thither, imagining, that if he was deſtroyed, the war would be totally extinguiſhed. This advice being approved by *Matignon*, he left *Fervaques* and *Malicorne* to block up *St. Lo*, whilſt he himſelf, with *Villars* and *St. Colombe*, taking with them two regiments of foot, ſix hundred horſe, and only four pieces of ſmall cannon, marched with ſo much ſpeed to *Danfront*, that they prevented any intelligence of their deſign from being carried to the enemy: who, though the walls of the city were very weak, yet, truſting to the river *Mante*, which runs near one ſide of it, and to a fort on the top of a hill, that guards it on the other, were reſolutely determined to defend the place. 1574.

The night following the cannon were planted, and in the morning, when hardly forty yards of the wall were beat down, *Villars*, notwithſtanding the impediment of the river, paſſed over, at the head of the infantry, up to the breaſt in water, and made ſo furious an aſſault, that the garriſon being daunted, immediately fled, without making any reſiſtance, into the caſtle, and abandoned the town to the Catholicks, which was almoſt totally deſtroyed by the fury of the ſoldiers. But they found it a much more difficult undertaking to aſſault the caſtle, as it was ſituated upon a ſolid rock, where little progreſs could be made by ſapping, and ſo high above the plain, that they were obliged, with infinite labour, to raiſe cavaliers for the planting of their artillery, which was executed with the ſame ſpirit and expedition, whilſt the *Hugonots* ſtill annoyed them very much by frequent and deſperate ſallies, though they were ſoon diſcontinued: for when one cavalier was finiſhed, the Catholicks began to batter the curtain very warmly, and then made a fierce aſſault, in which, though they loſt *St. Colombe*, with a number of voluntiers, and about two hundred of their braveſt ſoldiers, yet the *Hugonots* ſuſtained ſo much loſs, by the death of many gentlemen and the greateſt part of their ſoldiers, that they were not able to hold out any longer: upon which account, and for fear the aſſault, that was preparing, ſhould be renewed the next day with ſtill greater vigour than before, they ſurrendered that night at diſcretion: and Monſieur *De Matignon*, having taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle, ordered the ſoldiers to be ſtripped and diſmiſſed, retaining only ſome few gentlemen as priſoners, with the Count of *Montgomery*, who was ſent to court un-

1574. der a very ſtrong guard, and ſoon after publickly executed as a rebel, by a decree of the *Pariſian* parliament, at the place where common malefactors uſually ſuffer death, to the great ſatisfaction of the King and Queen Mother, who rejoiced that they were not only delivered from the fear of ſo dangerous an enemy, that held a continual correſpondence with foreign Princes, but that they had revenged the death of *Henry* the ſecond, killed by him, though accidentally, in a tournament, as we have related, whoſe death gave occaſion to all the ſubſequent calamities.

As ſoon as *Danfront* was taken, Monſieur *De Matignon* returned to *St. Lo*, which he began to beſiege more cloſely: and the ſeventh day, *Villars*, having made an aſſault upon it, with the flower of all his infantry, got poſſeſſion of the wall (though with the loſs of much blood) and of a tower in the flank, which defended the avenue that led to the gate. The aſſault being renewed at day-break, the Catholick army entered victoriouſly into the town, where the ſon-in-law of *Montgomery* was ſlain, with Monſieur *De Colombiere*, a ſoldier of great bravery and noble birth. Monſieur *De Lorges*, ſon to the Count, was taken priſoner, and condemned to the ſame puniſhment which his father had ſuffered; but afterwards corrupted his guards, and made his eſcape. *Carentan* and *Valognes* alſo ſurrendered, without ſuſtaining a ſiege: and thus that dangerous fire was extinguiſhed, which had been lighted up in the moſt ſuſpected parts of the kingdom.

But at that time the King's life was drawing very faſt to a period: for he had began to ſpit blood ſome months before, and being worn out with a ſlow but continued internal fever, he had now entirely loſt all his ſtrength: and, finding his end was not far off, he ordered all the lords and great officers of the crown, that were then at court, to be called in to his preſence. When they were aſſembled, he told them, the nature of his diſeaſe was ſuch, that he had no longer any hopes of life, and declared his brother *Henry*, King of *Poland*, ſucceſſor to the crown, and the Queen Mother regent of the kingdom during his abſence; ſtrictly enjoining the Duke of *Alençon*, the King of *Navarre*, and all others, on pain of being treated as rebels, to ſerve and obey her faithfully till the arrival of their lawful ſovereign. After this, when the Secretaries of State and *Renè de Biragne* (who not long before was made High Chancellor, in the room of *Michael de l'Hoſpital*, now dead) had paſſed the neceſſary patents and regiſtered them in parliament, he recommended the peace of the kingdom to the Privy Council, the education of his little daughter, which was the only child he had by the Queen his wife, and *Charles* his natural ſon, who was yet a child, to the care of his mother:

mother: and having diſmiſſed all the reſt that were preſent, with weighty and affecting admonitions, he ſtill continued to hold his mother's hand faſt in his own, and ended the courſe of his troubleſome reign on the thirtieth day of *May*, before he had finiſhed the twenty-fifth year of his age, leaving his kingdom, after ſo many wars and revolutions, in no leſs danger and confuſion than he found it fourteen years before, when he ſucceeded to the crown. 1574.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK VI.

ARGUMENT.

The means uſed by the Queen Regent to keep the kingdom quiet till the arrival of King Henry the third from Poland. He departs ſecretly from thence, and, paſſing through Italy, comes to Turin. The Queen ſends thither to inform him of the affairs of France. The Marſhal D'Anville likewiſe comes to him from the other party. The King will not determine upon any thing, till he has ſeen his mother. He reſtores thoſe places to the Duke of Savoy, which till then had been kept from him as a ſecurity. He paſſes into France at Pont Beauvoiſin, and is met by the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, who are ſet at liberty by him. He meets the Queen Mother, and makes his entrance into the city of Lions with her. The King's deſigns and maxims, by which he intends to govern. He is deſirous of peace, and for that

that reaſon reſolves to carry on the war but coolly. He treats of marriage with Louiſa of Lorrain, daughter to the Count De Vaudemont. He is crowned at Rheims and there marries her. He endeavours to get his brother elected King of Poland, but is diſappointed. The war ſtill continues, and Montbrun, chief of the Hugonots in Dauphinè, is defeated, taken, and executed. The King makes an alteration in the government, to leſſen the authority of the grandees. The Duke of Alençon, being diſappointed in his hopes of Poland, and not able to obtain the title of Lieutenant-General, flies from court, and becomes head of the Politicks and Hugonots. All the other lords of that party put themſelves under his protection: and the Prince of Condé ſends him great ſupplies, which paſſing through Champagne, are routed and diſperſed by the Duke of Guiſe. The Queen Mother has a conference with the Duke of Alençon, and concludes a truce. In the mean time the King of Navarre leaves the court, retires into Guyenne, and declares himſelf a Hugonot. The Prince of Condé advances with the German army, and joins the Duke of Alençon at Moulins. The Queen returns and concludes a peace, but upon ſuch conditions, that all the Catholicks are offended at it. The Duke of Guiſe and his brothers take that optunity of declaring themſelves heads of the Catholick party, and make a league to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the Hugonots. The foundation and progreſs of that league. The King of Navarre, upon this, pretends that the Catholicks began firſt, and takes up arms by the aſſiſtance of the Prince of Condé. The King aſſembles the States-General at Blois to compoſe matters, but, after various propoſals and conſultations, they break up, without coming to any determination. The King deſires peace, but ſeeing the Hugonots inclined to war, he raiſes two armies. The Duke of Alençon with one of them takes La Charité, Iſſoire, and other places: the Duke of Mayenne with the other takes Tonnains, Charantè, and Maran. They come to a treaty of accommodation, peace is concluded, and the Queen Mother has an interview with the King of Navarre to confirm it. The King, intent upon a ſecret deſign, employs his time wholly in religious exerciſes, takes all offices into his own hands, and diſpoſes of them to his favourites: amongſt whom the Dukes of Joyeuſe and Eſpernon are particularly diſtinguiſhed and advanced by him. He creates a new order of knighthood, entitled, Du St. Eſprit. *The Queen Mother leaves the King of Navarre, and viſits a great part of the kingdom. The Duke of Alençon goes over into England, with a view of obtaining Queen Elizabeth in marriage: is much honoured there; but nothing is concluded upon. The Hugonots renew the war. The Prince of Condé takes La Fere in Picardy, and the King of Navarre makes himſelf maſter of Cahors and other places. The King ſends ſeveral armies againſt them, by which La Fere is recovered, but little effected in other parts. The Duke of Alençon interpoſes and eſtabliſhes peace again. He*

goes

goes into Flanders to take upon him the government of the States that had thrown off their obedience to the crown of Spain; makes but little progreſs there, returns into France, and dies.

1574. THE death of *Charles* the ninth, happening at that very time, when the remedies uſed by him to purge the kingdom of bad humours, were in the height of their operation, he left not only every part of *France* in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, but the ſtate of the crown alſo in imminent danger and uncertainty, from the ſubverſion or extreme weakneſs of all the foundations of the government. For beſides the abſence of the lawful ſucceſſor, ſo far diſtant in a ſtrange country (who, if he had been preſent and at the helm, might have ſteered the difficult and uncertain courſe of the commonwealth in ſo perilous a time) all the ſprings that were neceſſary to actuate the machine were likewiſe either very much weakened, or utterly miſapplied; and even thoſe means which uſually maintain and preſerve others, were univerſally bent to the ruin and diſtraction of that kingdom.

The Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, who were the neareſt of the royal blood, and conſequently had a right to the firſt places in the council of ſtate, were deemed guilty of the moſt heinous crime, and ſtrictly guarded as priſoners. The Prince of *Condé*, though very young, had yet a reputation eſtabliſhed by the name and authority of his anceſtors, and was not only abſent and fled from court, but protected by the favour of the Proteſtant Princes, and ready, upon any occaſion, to pour an inundation of foreign troops into the kingdom. The *Hugonots* were up in arms in every province, and narrowly watched all opportunities of ſurpriſing the principal cities and fortreſſes. Of the chief nobility ſome were ſecretly, and others openly diſguſted and alienated from the court: and many of thoſe who had the moſt experience in affairs, the greateſt authority with the people, and the higheſt reputation in war, had retired to their ſeveral provinces and governments. The treaſury was empty, the gentry tired out and impoveriſhed, the ſoldiery worn down and exhauſted, the people ruined and undone: and yet not only the diſſenſions in matters of religion, but alſo the jealouſies and animoſities amongſt the great men, were carried on with more fury and virulence than ever. In theſe miſerable circumſtances, no other ſupport upheld the ſtate from the utter ſubverſion that was plotted and contrived by ſo many, but the wiſdom and magnanimity of the Queen Mother alone, who, having been long accuſtomed to reſiſt the heavieſt ſtrokes of fortune, took poſſeſſion of the regency immediately after the King's death, and laboured ſtrenuouſly, by the beſt means that ſhe could, to avert the impending ruin.

But

But the diſeaſes of the kingdom were not ſo ſlight, nor the humours 1574.
that diſtempered it ſo weak, as to be overcome, in a ſhort time, and by gentle medicines, eſpecially in the King's abſence: upon which account, the Queen, who was well acquainted with the nature and quality of the evil, from the experience of ſo many years, not preſuming upon her own ſtrength more than ſhe might do in reaſon, thought it would be ſufficient, at that juncture, if ſhe could keep the ſtate of the kingdom from growing worſe, and preſerve it from falling into greater diſtractions, by palliating the preſent diſorders till the arrival of the King, who, afterwards, upon mature deliberation, might apply ſuch remedies as he thought moſt proper: imitating, in this, the uſual practice of phyſicians, in the cure of the moſt dangerous maladies, who, having a patient full of groſs and corrupt humours, either in the heat of the dog-days, or the extreme cold of winter (times very unfit to cleanſe and purge them away) endeavour, by gentle and lenitive medicines, to allay the violence of the diſeaſe, till the temperature of the ſeaſon gives them an opportunity of making a perfect cure. She was the more inclined to take that courſe, becauſe ſhe did not know what the King might reſolve upon: for though he had ſeverely perſecuted the *Hugonots* during the reign of his brother, yet, as men often change their opinions and reſolutions, according to the alteration of affairs, ſhe could not be certain whether he would incline to peace or war; and therefore ſhe thought it the beſt way to make ſuch a diſpoſition of affairs as might enable him to purſue the reſolutions that ſeemed moſt convenient to him. For theſe reaſons, being reſolved to diſſemble, and ſet a greater value upon the ſubſtance than the appearance of things, ſhe determined in the firſt place to make preparations for war, that ſhe might not be taken unprovided: and in other affairs, to ſecure the affections and feed the hopes of the great men, by diſtant promiſes and artful delays, making it her chief endeavour to keep foreign armies from invading the kingdom.

With this reſolution ſhe ſent *Jaſper* Count of *Schomberg*, with all ſpeed, to hire ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, and ſome troops of *German* cavalry: to the Duke of *Montpenſier* (who was come to court on account of the King's illneſs) ſhe gave orders to return immediately to the camp in *Poictou*, and recruit both the horſe and foot as much as poſſible: the ſame commiſſion ſhe gave to the Prince Dauphine, who, with the other army, was on the confines of *Dauphinè* and *Languedoc*. She likewiſe began to treat the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* with much reſpect and affection, though ſhe would not take away the guards that were ſet over them, having ſtill a regard to thoſe ends which ſhe had ſecretly propoſed to herſelf, and pretending, that it was not conſiſtent with their reputation to be ſet at full liberty, without ſome previous teſtimony of their inno-

1574. cence, and without the conſent of their lawful King, leſt nearneſs of blood and relation might ſeem to have had more weight with her than either truth or reaſon. In all other things ſhe ſeemed to repoſe ſuch an entire confidence in them, that ſhe did nothing of importance without their knowledge and conſent; and promiſed likewiſe to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to forward their hopes and pretenſions. The Duke of *Alençon*, who was of an inconſtant temper, and allured by the flatteries of his mother, eaſily ſuffered himſelf to be ruled by her artifices; and the King of *Navarre*, ſeeing no other opportunity of advancing his fortune, ſeemed to give credit to all that ſhe ſaid. Theſe two Princes being in this manner either drawn, though not ſincerely, to her party, or quieted and lulled aſleep for a while, and the regency confirmed to her, ſhe jointly, with her ſon and ſon-in-law, wrote to the magiſtrates, governors of provinces, and other officers of the crown, not becauſe their aſſent was neceſſary to make her orders valid, nor becauſe ſhe had any great confidence in them, but to ſhew that thoſe Princes were heartily united to her, and to take away all hopes of protection from thoſe who were deſirous of a change of government, and had fixed their eyes upon them with the higheſt expectation. Theſe letters not only notified the King's death, and his choice of the Queen Mother to be regent, but contained alſo a confirmation of ſuch edicts as had been granted by *Charles*, lately deceaſed, to thoſe of the reformed religion, as liberty of conſcience, a free exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical rites, and, finally, an earneſt exhortation to them all to live in obedience to thoſe edicts, and the ordinary magiſtrates, in quietneſs and tranquillity: with an admonition to the magiſtrates, on the other hand, to maintain all perſons in their own rights, and to prohibit any kind of injury or moleſtation to all ſorts of people whatſoever. Theſe inſtruments were drawn up by Monſieur *De Villeroy*, Secretary of State, her moſt intimate confident, with great art, and in terms very favourable to the *Hugonots*, to withdraw the fuel from that fire which ſhe apprehended: and, amidſt ſo much diſcord, in ſome meaſure to mitigate and allay thoſe turbulent diſſentions (at leaſt in the breaſts of the more credulous ſort of people) that had been kindled in matters of religion.

To theſe ſoothing declarations, ſhe endeavoured to gain credit by a ſimilar behaviour: and diſpatched the Abbe *Giovanni Baptiſta Guadagni* to Monſieur *De la Noüe*, to treat of a ceſſation of arms in *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*, where the Duke of *Montpenſier* ſtill continued to augment his forces, though he purpoſely made but little progreſs, it being the intention of the Queen Regent rather to ſuſpend the cauſes, than to forward or haſten the effects. With the ſame inſtructions ſhe ſent Monſieur *De St. Sulpice* to the Marſhal *D'Anville*, that, by giving him hopes of his brother's

ther's liberty, and of being himſelf confirmed in his government of *Languedoc*, he might be prevailed upon to uſe his endeavour to retard the preparations that were making in thoſe parts, and bring about a truce, which ſhe was reſolved to accept of, though upon diſadvantageous conditions. The Abbe *Guadagni's* negociation produced it's deſired effect. For the *Rochellers*, and other people thereabout, who had ſufficiently experienced the valour and ſevere reſolutions of the new King, when he carried on the war againſt them, as his brother's Lieutenant-General, ſtanding in very great awe of him, were not a little inclined to the truce, as it ſeemed to be a forerunner and preparative to a peace: upon which account it was agreed, that there ſhould be a ceſſation of arms for the two next months of *July* and *Auguſt*, and for as much longer as the King ſhould think fit, to whom they referred themſelves in that affair: and that twelve thouſand crowns ſhould be paid them by the Regent, to maintain their garriſons, without annoying or moleſting the country. 1574.

But the treaty of *St. Sulpice* did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs: for though the Marſhal *D'Anville* was more diſpoſed to maintain himſelf by art and diſſimulation than by force, and therefore inclined to a truce; yet *Montbrun*, one of his party in *Dauphinè*, who made war rather like an out-law againſt every body, than like a ſoldier againſt a particular enemy, would not hearken to any agreement that would oblige him to lay down his arms, and ceaſe to over-run and plunder the country. And, on the other hand, the Catholicks in *Languedoc*, and eſpecially the parliament of *Tholouſe*, were ſo enraged at the Marſhal *D'Anville*, that they agreed to the ſuſpenſion of arms with great reluctance, though ſtrictly commanded by the Queen Regent: yet it would have been effected at laſt, if *D'Anville*, who endeavoured, by any means, to ſecure and poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe towns that depended upon him, had not, at the ſame time, uſurped the King's authority, by a behaviour contrary to his profeſſions, and called the States of that province together, where he publiſhed decrees and ordinances, by means of his adherents, that ſeemed more like the edicts of an abſolute Prince than the orders of a governor. So that the parliament of *Tholouſe*, being more and more enflamed at theſe proceedings, which were a manifeſt violation of their privileges, not only refuſed to accept the truce themſelves, but forbid all thoſe of the Catholick party to obſerve it.

But neither the injuries of her enemies, nor the diſobedience of her friends, could alter the Queen's determination, who made but little account of outward appearances, and attended only to the accompliſhment of her deſigns. Wherefore ſhe continued the negociations that were ſet on foot, and ſtill treated with him and his agents to gain time by the ſame arts with which he endeavoured to ſecure and eſtabliſh him-

1574. ſelf. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the *Rochellers*, ever fickle and inconſtant in their reſolutions (either becauſe they were excited by thoſe of *Languedoc*, or becauſe the twelve thouſand crowns that were paid them were not ſufficient to maintain their ſoldiers, who now, being deprived of their uſual plunder, daily diſbanded and forſook them) ſuddenly broke the truce, which they had ſo willingly accepted and concluded but a little before, and committed the moſt grievous and cruel outrages all over the country; yet even this did not diſmay the Queen, who diſſembled all injuries with wonderful patience, in order to ſucceed in her deſigns, and ſent freſh agents to renew the treaties with the *Rochellers* and *D'Anville*; thinking it ſufficient for her, if ſhe could not abſolutely effect that, to ſpin out the time, without new troubles and diſtractions, till the King's arrival; ſo that both ſides proceeded with equal ſlowneſs, and joined treaties of agreement with military operations, and not being able to come to any concluſion, employed their armies in undertakings of ſmall importance.

Affairs were now brought almoſt to the point which the Queen deſired: for the Duke of *Montpenſier* kept the *Hugonots* at bay in *Xaintoigne* with his army: the Prince Dauphine, with another, oppoſed their attempts in *Dauphinè:* and *D'Anville*, who was not yet come to any reſolution, was rather deſirous to eſtabliſh himſelf than to make any new conqueſts; and, being amuſed with various arts and promiſes, drew out the time without making any more explicit declaration. But the Prince of *Condé* reſiding in *Straſbourg*, one of the free towns in *Germany*, had now reſolved, in imitation of his father, to make himſelf head of his party: in conſequence of which, he began to treat with the Proteſtant Princes about raiſing new forces, and ſollicited the *Hugonots* of *France* to unite and gather themſelves together, and aſſiſt him with ſuch a ſum of money, as might enable him to enter *Burgundy*, with a powerful army, whilſt the King was abſent.

For this purpoſe, the deputies of the *Hugonot* provinces, which were then called the reformed churches, being met together at *Millaut* with the agents of the Marſhal *D'Anville* (who, though he pretended the contrary, and amuſed the Queen Regent with promiſes and profeſſions, was yet ſecretly united to them) they conſulted not only about the means of raiſing the money, but the conditions upon which they ſhould admit the Prince to that command. As ſoon as the Queen knew this, ſhe immediately diſpatched ſome proper perſons (of whom ſhe had judiciouſly choſe a great number, and maintained them by her liberality) who, under a pretence of treating of an agreement, ſhould raiſe objections and ſow diſcord, in order to prevent, at leaſt to delay, the reſolutions of that meeting. Nor did the deputies agree very well amongſt themſelves: for

though they all knew, that without the name of a Prince of the blood, they ſhould want authority and reputation, and conſequently forces, both within and without the kingdom: yet their opinions were various concerning that Prince: for many had fixed their eyes upon the Duke of *Alençon*, many deſired the King of *Navarre*, and ſome objected to the Prince of *Condé's* youth, leſt his want of years and experience might be treated with contempt, and diſcourage their friends from joining him. To this was added the irreſolution of *D'Anville*, who, though his chief aim was to preſerve himſelf and his government of *Languedoc*, yet could not altogether give up his pretenſions to the firſt place, and, if he could not obtain it himſelf, was deſirous at leaſt that whoever had it, ſhould acknowledge it as chiefly owing to him. Nor could it be agreeable to *La Noüe*, whoſe power over the *Rochellers* was very great, to ſee a ſuperior choſen, whoſe eminence and reputation would much eclipſe and diminiſh the authority of his command. But neither the Queen's policy, nor their own particular diviſions, could reſtrain the general ardour and inclination with which moſt of them voluntarily concurred to put themſelves under that Prince; whoſe anceſtors they were accuſtomed to obey, and whoſe very name alone made a deep impreſſion on their minds, on account of the ſo much renowned, and ſo much deplored memory of his father. The articles of this agreement, therefore, were drawn up in the name of the provinces (*D'Anville* and *La Noüe* aſſenting, though ſecretly, and out of neceſſity) in which, after their uſual pretences and proteſtations, they conferred the power and command of the party upon the Prince of *Condé*, committing to his protection both the liberty of their conſciences and the conducting of the war, which was thought ſo neceſſary for their common ſafety. After this they advanced a handſome ſum of money, and ſent it by three deputies, who were to aſſiſt the Prince not only in the ſpeedy aſſembling and conducting the *Germans*, but to report the ſtate of their affairs and common reſolutions to him. 1574.

At the ſame time, the *Hugonots*, taking all poſſible means to ſtrengthen themſelves, publiſhed an infinite number of little pamphlets, under different titles, but all full of bitter invectives againſt the Queen Regent, and miſrepreſentations of her government and actions: many of which being brought to her, the council adviſed her to proceed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, againſt the authors and printers of ſuch defamatory and ſeditious libels: but ſhe oppoſed it, and ſaid, that to take notice of them was a certain way to make them credited; and that there was no greater proof of merit and goodneſs, than to be hated and vilified by thoſe that are bad: and perſevering in her reſolution not to regard outward appearances, ſhe diſſembled all thoſe injuries with admirable patience: but when ſhe heard the *Germans* were ready to march, ſhe firmly reſolved to

oppoſe

1574. oppoſe them by force, ſince policy was not ſufficient, and left *Paris*, accompanied by the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, who were not yet fully ſet at liberty, though now under little reſtraint: and being come into *Burgundy*, ſhe herſelf reviewed the *Swiſs* and *Germans*, lately taken into her pay, making very large preſents, and behaving with great kindneſs to the commanders, in order to ſecure their affections. After this, ſhe marched with them towards the provinces that were in arms, where ſhe expected the King would arrive, and through which the army of the Proteſtants intended to enter the kingdom, reſolving to ſtay at *Lions*, as a convenient place to move from, to any part whereſoever occaſion required her preſence.

In the mean time the King had received advice of his brother's death, which was brought him, in thirteen days, by Monſieur *De Chemeraut*: and though the nobility of *Poland* were exceedingly charmed with his valour and deportment, and uſed all poſſible means to keep him there; yet he was not willing to give up his hereditary title to *France* for the elective kingdom of *Poland*, as there was ſo great a difference betwixt them; and, being haſtened by the urgency of thoſe motives which called him away, to remedy ſuch violent diſorders, he departed ſecretly by night, with a ſmall retinue, and, paſſing through *Auſtria* with all poſſible ſpeed, took the rout of *France* by way of *Italy*. Whilſt he was upon the road, he was continually ſollicited to loſe no time, by letters and couriers from the Queen Regent, who found it very difficult to ſmother the ſparks of that fire, which was ready to break out, and longed impatiently for the arrival of her ſon, that he might, without farther delay, apply ſuch remedies as were proper for the malignity of the diſeaſe: upon which account, the King ſtaid no longer than was abſolutely neceſſary, out of reſpect to the *Italian* Princes, who ſhewed him the higheſt honours, particularly at *Venice*, in which city he was received with the greateſt pomp and magnificence: and arrived at *Turin* about the end of *Auguſt*, where it was expected he would begin to prepare and ſettle the plan of his future operations.

The Marſhal *D'Anville*, upon the ſecurity of the Duke of *Savoy's* word, came thither to him, as did alſo *Philip Huraut*, Viſcount of *Chiverny*, his old Chancellor, *Jaſper* Count of *Schomberg*, *Bernard de Fizes*, *Nicholas de Neuville*, Sieur *De Villeroy*, both Secretaries of State, who were all ſent by the Queen Regent, to give him an account of the ſituation of affairs in his kingdom. But the King having heard their report, with the ſecret deſigns of his mother; and, on the other hand, the demands and excuſes of the Marſhal, though not only *Roger* Sieur *De Bellegarde*, and *Guy de Pibrac*, his moſt faithful counſellors, but alſo the Duke of *Savoy* and the Lady *Margaret*, uſed all their endeavours in

D'Anville's

D'Anville's favour; yet he artfully concealed his great deſigns, and excuſing himſelf, by ſaying, that he could determine upon nothing without the aſſiſtance and approbation of his mother, to whoſe prudence and vigilance he was ſo much obliged, he diſmiſſed *D'Anville* with ambiguous anſwers, and haſtened his journey ſo much the more, leſt he ſhould be reduced to a neceſſity of taking his meaſures according to the determination of others, in ſuch things as he had before deſigned and reſolved to execute of himſelf. For which purpoſe, as he had ſo many diſturbances to compoſe in his own kingdom, that for many years it would be in vain to think of any enterpriſe on that ſide the mountains, and being deſirous entirely to gain the Duke of *Savoy* and the Lady *Margaret*, that he might afterwards make uſe of their aſſiſtance for the accompliſhment of his deſigns, he reſolved to reſtore *Pignerol*, *Savillan*, and the valley of *Perugia* to them; places which the Kings his predeceſſors had held, by way of ſecurity, for the good behaviour of that Prince; thinking it unneceſſary to keep uſeleſs places, at a vaſt expence, and out of his own dominions, only in apprehenſion of events, which, as affairs then ſtood, were very diſtant and unlikely to happen. Yet many condemned his precipitate reſtitution of them; and *Ludovico Gonzaga*, Governor of thoſe places, and a man of equal wiſdom and loyalty, after he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, at laſt delivered his advice in writing, which he inſiſted ſhould be kept for his diſcharge, amongſt the records of the crown, to the great offence of the King (though he wiſely diſſembled it) who thought it arrogant and preſumptuous in any one, to pretend to be better acquainted with his intereſts and deſigns than he was himſelf. 1574.

The fifth of *September* he came to the confines of his own kingdom, at *Pontbeau Voiſin*, where the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* waited for him, who, having been till then kept priſoners (though with much gentleneſs) were fully ſet at liberty by him, with great ſhew of honour and affection, at their firſt meeting: and, to give a ſtill farther proof of his kindneſs to them, he ſeated himſelf betwixt them, to receive his ſubjects, that came thither to pay their duty to him. The next day he met his mother, who was come, for that purpoſe, to a little caſtle near *Lions*; and having made their entrance together into that city, they immediately began to conſult about meaſures, either for concluding a peace, or carrying on a war with his rebellious ſubjects.

The King knew very well, not only the fluctuating and diſtracted ſtate of his kingdom, but the miſerable condition to which he himſelf was at that time reduced: for the whole kingdom being divided into two different factions, one of the *Catholicks*, the other of the *Hugonots*, both which had their heads appointed and eſtabliſhed long before; and not only the cities and provinces, but alſo particular families and perſons di-

vided

1574. vided betwixt them, by the long and reiterated diſturbances, he found he was left dry betwixt two rivers, as they ſay, and that his power being ſhared and diſmembered by theſe two great parties, he retained nothing but the name of a King, and was utterly deprived of all power and authority; nay, that to avoid diſtreſs and contempt, he was neceſſitated to become factious and partial; and, by mixing in the diſſenſions of his ſubjects, to make himſelf the author of his own misfortunes, and an inſtrument neceſſary to imbroil and deſtroy his kingdom. For though the *Hugonots* and *Politicks* were generally called *the rebels*, becauſe they had firſt ſhaken off their obedience to the King, and openly oppoſed him: and though the *Catholicks* fought under the colour of ſo ſpecious and neceſſary a cauſe as the preſervation of their religion: yet the malice of mankind had mingled the venom of private intereſts with it, and, under a pretext ſo honourable, the ambition of the great had built up their own power, and eſtabliſhed an inſufferable kind of authority, to the prejudice of their Sovereigns.

Whilſt the *Guiſes* bore the principal ſway in the government, during the reign of the late Kings, they had a very fair opportunity of raiſing and confirming their greatneſs, by putting the command of ſtrong places, and the government of provinces, into the hands of their own creatures, by placing their dependents in the courts of juſtice, in the King's council, in the chief poſts at court, in the management of the finances, and by attaching an infinite number of perſons to their intereſts, whom they ſtrictly engaged to them by many favours, gifts, penſions, and dignities, obtained by their means: which proceedings to many ſeemed but juſt and reaſonable, and to others at leaſt tolerable, whilſt they were warmly engaged in party, and impoſed upon by the maſk of religion. But now it was perceived they were all united in a faction, they appeared like a vaſt engine, erected on purpoſe to oppoſe the authority of the King himſelf, whenever they thought fit. On the other hand, the *Hugonots* had no leſs conveniency of eſtabliſhing themſelves, and ſtrengthening their hands: for having, by the oſtentation of liberty, and by promiſing offices and authority, drawn to themſelves all the malecontent and turbulent ſpirits, who could not diſengage themſelves when they were once entangled: and the edicts of ſo many different pacifications having ſtill confirmed thoſe offices and governments to ſuch as they had been conferred upon, by the Princes and heads of the faction, in courſe of time the provinces were ſecured, the places of ſtrength firmly poſſeſſed by them, many chief employments under the crown filled with their adherents, and a conſiderable part of the nobility, with many popular men, were united and connected by intereſt with them, in all parts of the kingdom. The late Kings, therefore, who, by the ſhortneſs of their reigns, had given

greater

greater opportunity for the building up of thoſe two powerful factions, being utterly unfurniſhed with all means and inſtruments of government, were obliged to become champions in the quarrels, and promoters of the greatneſs of other men; ſo that being unable of themſelves to execute any important or reſolute deſign, inſtead of governing, they were governed: and inſtead of bridling their violence, they themſelves were carried away by the impetuoſity of thoſe factions. Theſe indignities, being ſeriouſly conſidered by the preſent King, who had vaſt deſigns, and was of an active, generous ſpirit, made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that, though he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſemble and conceal it, he could not ſometimes help ſighing deeply, when he repeated a ſaying of *Lewis* the eleventh, one of his predeceſſors, *Qu'il étoit tems de mettre les Roys hors de page*, "That it was high time to put Kings out of their pageſhips;" meaning, that, as they had been ſo long ſubject to the laſh and diſcipline of the heads of factions, it was then neceſſary to ſhake off their tyranny and uſurpation. On theſe conſiderations he had begun, even in his brother's reign, to obſerve that weakneſs in the Kings, and that inſolence in the ſubjects; and having reflected more deeply upon it, in his late journey, after the crown was deſcended to him, he reſolved with himſelf to uſe all poſſible means to ſhake off the galling and diſhonourable yoke of thoſe factions, and to make himſelf a free and abſolute monarch, as ſo many of his glorious anceſtors had been. 1574.

But as this reſolution was certainly very neceſſary for one that deſired to reign, and very juſt in the lawful poſſeſſor of the crown, ſo it was likewiſe infinitely hard and difficult to be put in execution. There was no money in the treaſury; the finances were drained and exhauſted: his ſubjects had withdrawn themſelves from their obedience, and were ſo obſtinately engaged to their ſeveral factions, that the Majeſty of the crown, and the veneration due to a King, were now laughed at, and become contemptible: he wanted faithful and truſty miniſters; for every body, on ſome conſideration or other, was ſtrictly attached to one of the parties: and the deſign itſelf, on account of their exceſſive power, required great art, extraordinary caution, infinite application, beſides good fortune, and a conſiderable length of time to bring it to a happy concluſion. But notwithſtanding all theſe weighty obſtacles, the King was ſo thoroughly exaſperated, that he could not forbear perpetually revolving that deſign in his mind, and thinking no enterpriſe, how arduous or difficult ſoever, above a match for his youth and valour, firmly reſolved to exert his utmoſt endeavours to accompliſh his purpoſe, which he was not only perſuaded to by publick motives and former conſiderations, but alſo incited by his own private paſſions and particular reſentments: for having conceived an inveterate hatred to the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of

1574. *Condé*, from the time that he was employed againſt them in that war, which he was trained up in, and educated from his very childhood, he earneſtly deſired to ſee the ruin of them, and all the reſt of their faction, from whom, on account of former injuries, he thought he never could expect any real or faithful ſervice. And on the other hand, when he called to mind the atrocious inſult that he had received from the Duke of *Guiſe*, in the perſon of his ſiſter, Lady *Margaret*, then Queen of *Navarre* (from whom it was reported he had obtained more than ordinary favours) all the affection that he formerly had for him was turned into ſuch an implacable hatred, that, though he diſſembled it, he burned with an impatient deſire of revenge: and, for her ſake, could not endure any one that had the leaſt dependance upon, or alliance or connection of what kind ſoever, with the houſe of *Guiſe*. So that, publick conſiderations concurring with private enmities, he ſo much the more readily determined to deſtroy both factions.

But in concerting proper meaſures to accompliſh that end, the firſt difficulty that occurred, was, whether the eſtabliſhment of a peace, or the continuation of the war, were more conducive to his deſigns. And though, partly to ſound their inclinations, and partly to draw ſomething from them that he might make his advantage of, he aſked the opinion of his council in that point; whilſt ſome exhorted him to incline to peace, and others encouraged him to proſecute the war, he yet concluded with himſelf, that war, continually nouriſhing and increaſing the ſtrength and power of the factions, would not anſwer his purpoſe: and that peace, which might compoſe the turbulent ſpirits, and extinguiſh the paſſions and animoſities of both parties in time, would be more ſerviceable and advantageous to his deſigns. For whilſt the war continued, new abettors and adherents would be daily added to the factions, other places fortified, which were in the poſſeſſion of the heads of thoſe parties, freſh garriſons introduced, the youth bred up in the profeſſion of arms and the obſtinacy of civil diſcords: whereas, by a peace the feuds and enmities betwixt particular perſons would ſubſide, the torrent of the factions be ſtopped, the fortifications already made, go to ruin of courſe, the number of thoſe who wanted other means of living, and ſupported themſelves by war, would be diſſipated, the remembrance of paſt animoſities obliterated, and the old and intereſted commanders, ſo long accuſtomed to diſſentions, dropping off by degrees, young and diſintereſted men, and ſuch as were educated in the bleſſings of peace, would riſe up in their places.

There was likewiſe another reaſon of great weight; for as it was neceſſary, for the execution of ſo great a deſign, to furniſh the treaſury with a large of ſum of money, for the foundation of his own power, and the ſufficient

ſufficient ſupport of a grandeur and forces becoming a King; this could not be done without the benefit of peace, ſince war continually devoured and conſumed the publick revenues, waſting that in a few months, which, with much difficulty, was a whole year in gathering from the people. Beſides this, the old conſideration had likewiſe its effect, which had always produced a peace; for the Prince of *Condé* being ready to march out of *Germany* with a great body of foreign troops, to the evident danger of *France*, it ſeemed much more prudent to divert that ſtorm by an agreement, than to expoſe the kingdom to ſo manifeſt a hazard, by reſiſting it with an unequal force, and before he was well ſeated in his throne. Theſe reaſons, which, perhaps, were enforced by the deſire of repoſe, and the pleaſures of the court (to which he was very much inclined) perſuaded him to embrace an accommodation: yet, becauſe the occaſion of the war was ſo juſt and reaſonable, and as the *Hugonots*, on their part, did not ceaſe to inſult him daily with freſh provocations, and grew ſo audacious, that *Montbrun* plundered his very baggage, as it was carried from *Savoy* to *Lions*: and, on the other hand, becauſe the Catholick Princes unanimouſly exhorted him not to forſake the path of valour and conſtancy, which he had begun to tread with ſo much glory, for the ſuppreſſion and extirpation of hereſy, he was apprehenſive that his deſigns would ſoon be diſcovered, when it was obſerved, that he, who was a young and warlike Prince, refuſed to proceed againſt the rebels, and took no care to puniſh the inſolence and contumacy of his own ſubjects. For, as he had no reaſon to think his former actions could give any one room to think him guilty either of meanneſs of ſpirit, or weakneſs of underſtanding, they would rather imagine he had ſome farther and more important deſigns in view, which he thought it would be impoſſible for him to accompliſh, if once they were laid open by more than probable conjectures. He reſolved, therefore, to make uſe of diſſimulation, which he was maſter of both by nature and practice, and determined in himſelf to continue the war, but in ſo cold and faint a manner as ſhould not alter the ſtate of affairs: and in the mean time to bring on a peace artfully, and by degrees, at proper opportunities, upon which foundation he might proceed to more ſecure and effectual means. For this purpoſe, he ſometimes pretended to be wholly taken up in ſpiritual exerciſes, ſometimes in pleaſures and recreations, thinking, by an appearance of negligence and careleſſneſs, in time to elude the penetration of the moſt quick-ſighted obſervers, and make them believe he was grown effeminate, and had totally given himſelf up to indolence and devotion. 1574.

With theſe arts he thought he might eaſily lull the vigilance of the factions, and afterwards have both time and opportunity to proſecute his deſigns. It was his intention to favour and exalt men of prudence and

1574. ſagacity, to whom he might ſecurely commit the adminiſtration of the government: and in time to throw not only the name and title, but the ſubſtance and eſſence of the greateſt civil and military employments into the hands of his creatures and confidants: hoping, at convenient opportunities, and by degrees, to retrench the grandeur and authority of the factious heads, either by depriving them of their places, diminiſhing their adherents, leſſening their reputation, or, finally, by cutting them off. By theſe means, prudently conducted, he flattered himſelf, though not till after much time, that he ſhould ruin and pull down thoſe powers by little and little, which had been built up to ſuch a height, that they were now become dangerous and formidable: which meaſures, well concerted indeed, and highly proper for the purpoſe, would very likely have ſucceeded happily in the end, if the King had not ſuffered his own natural inclinations to get the better of his prudence.

Upon theſe conſiderations, being reſolved to continue the name, but to ſlacken the operations of war, he recalled the Prince Dauphine from the command of the army, who, with great ardour and ſincerity, had acquitted himſelf ſo handſomely, that having taken and ſacked *Pouſin*, a place of very great conſequence, and over-run all the province of *Vivarets*, he had filled the *Hugonots* with infinite terror. But this progreſs being contrary to the King's intentions, he ſent for him to court, under the pretence of his attendance being neceſſary at the coronation, and committed the charge of the army to *Roger* Sieur *de Bellegarde*, lately created Marſhal; who was not only a friend, and attached by intereſt to *D'Anville*, but a perſon whom the King eſteemed ſo faithful to himſelf, that he was confident he could diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. And becauſe the Duke of *Montpenſier* had, on his part, demoliſhed *Luſignan*, taken *Fontenay*, with other adjacent towns, and puſhed the *Hugonots* ſo vigorouſly, that they were in a manner ſhut up in *Rochelle*; he ordered ſome of his forces another way, pretending they were more neceſſary in *Champagne*, to hinder the entrance of the *German* army, which, under the command of the Prince of *Condé*, was already near the confines of the kingdom. And, becauſe the Duke of *Guiſe*, head of the Catholick party, and Governor of *Champagne*, had the command of the forces in that province, he made *Armand*, Sieur *De Biron*, his Lieutenant, who was equally famed for his prudence and valour, and had ſhewn himſelf before not a little inclined to favour the *Hugonots*.

Affairs relating to the war being ſettled and balanced in this manner, the King began to think of marriage: for the hopes of the family depending only upon himſelf and the Duke of *Alençon*, neither of whom had children, it was neceſſary to provide for the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. Before he went into *Poland* he was much taken with *Louiſa*, daughter

daughter to *Nicholas* Count of *Vaudemont*, and niece to the Duke of *Lorrain*, being infinitely charmed with the modeſty of her diſpoſition and diſcreet behaviour, beſides the beauty of her perſon. But the fear of augmenting the greatneſs of the houſe of *Lorrain*, and bringing the Cardinal into the adminiſtration, whoſe authority uſed to rule the will and affections of his predeceſſors, diſſuaded him from that match: and, recalling to mind the late occurrences under the reigns of *Francis* the ſecond and *Charles* the ninth, and the great pretenſions and authority of the Cardinal, he could not prevail upon himſelf to ſuffer a freſh increaſe of power by that match, in a houſe which he had ſo long and fully determined with himſelf to humble. Upon theſe conſiderations he turned his thoughts another way, and propoſed to demand *Elizabeth*, ſiſter to *John* King of *Sweden*, a Princeſs inferior to none in beauty and merit: for which purpoſe, Secretary *Pinart* was immediately diſpatched to that court, to propoſe a treaty of marriage. But in the mean time, whilſt the King ſtaid at *Avignon*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, whoſe authority and policy, as well as ſpirit, the King ſo much dreaded, happening to die of a violent fever, he ſuddenly changed his reſolution and recalled *Pinart*; and being governed by affection, which, in moſt, but eſpecially in great minds, prevails above all other conſiderations, he eſpouſed *Louiſa de Vaudemont*, who, in the beginning of the next year, was conducted to *Rheims* by the Duke and Ducheſs of *Lorrain*. 1574.

The King's next conſideration was, how to ſatisfy the Duke of *Alençon*; who, being of a ſeditious ſpirit, and a fickle, unquiet diſpoſition, was not likely to be more peaceable in the reign of the preſent King, whom he already hated and envied, than he had been in the late reign of *Charles*, who had not given him ſo much cauſe for hatred and emulation. For this purpoſe he propoſed two expedients: one was, to procure *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, in marriage for him: but that had been often treated of, and always declined by her, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not intend to marry. The other, to reſign the crown of *Poland* to him: but that could not be done without the conſent and election of the people, which was not likely to be obtained, as they thought themſelves ſlighted and ill uſed by the King, in his ſecret and clandeſtine departure from them. But, reſolving not to be diſcouraged by any difficulty from attempting it at leaſt, he ſent two Ambaſſadors to treat about it, *Guy* Sieur *De Pibrac*, a man of great wiſdom and experience, one of his moſt truſty counſellors, and *Roger* Sieur *De Bellegarde*, giving the command of his army to *Alberto Gondi*, Count of *Retz*, who, being an *Italian*, brought up and raiſed by King *Charles* and the Queen Mother, was much confided in by him, and made privy to many of his moſt ſecret intentions.

With

1575. With theſe deſigns, but with a ſhew of feaſts and rejoicings, began the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five. For the King having left *Avignon* to be conſecrated with the uſual ceremonies, was come to *Rheims*, where the holy oil is kept in a phial, commonly called *la ſainte ampoule*, deſtined by ancient veneration for the anointing the Kings of *France*. The ceremony was performed, with great ſtate and ſolemnity, by *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*, brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*: and the next day the King was married to the Princeſs *Louiſa*, all the ſorrow for former troubles being converted into mirth, dances, tournaments, and all manner of jollity and rejoicings: after which, having viſited the church of St. *Maclou*, where the Kings keep a faſt of nine days, and undergo other penances, in order to qualify themſelves for receiving the gift of healing the King's evil by the touch only, his Majeſty came to *Paris* about the end of *March*.

In the beginning of *April*, the deputies of the Prince of *Condé*, the Marſhal *D'Anville*, and of the aſſociated provinces, came thither, by his permiſſion, to treat of peace: to whom were joined the Ambaſſadors of the Queen of *England*, and of the *Swiſs* cantons, to exhort and perſuade the King to grant the *Hugonots* ſuch conditions as they thought neceſſary for their ſecurity. But their demands were ſo exorbitant, that, though the King himſelf was inclined to peace, he could not be prevailed upon to liſten to them: and the Catholick party exclaimed openly and bitterly againſt the inſolence and impertinence of their propoſals. So that, after a tedious and indeterminate negociation, the deputies took their leave, and returned, to make a report of the King's pleaſure to thoſe that ſent them, leaving *Arenes*, one of their number, at court, to keep the affair in agitation, and not utterly to cut off all hopes of peace, which was ſo much deſired by both parties.

At this time the war was carried on with as much vigour as before, though contrary to the King's intention. For the rage of faction being kindled up again, by freſh provocations on each ſide, much blood was daily ſhed in frequent encounters: and it happened that *Montbrun*, now elated by the ſucceſs of many victories, thinking to proceed with his uſual fortune, was not only repulſed in a ſudden and diſorderly attack, which he made upon the forces of Monſieur *Des Gordes*, the King's Lieutenant in *Dauphiné*, but ſo incloſed, betwixt a river and a hill, by numbers of the Catholicks, that, all his men being defeated and diſperſed, he was firſt wounded, and then taken priſoner and brought to *Grenoble*, where he was condemned to die, by a publick decree of the parliament, and the ſentence immediately executed; not only as a puniſhment for the infinite troubles that he had occaſioned in that province, but for audaciouſly plundering the King's own carriages and ſervants. From this battle eſcaped

eſcaped *Francis de Bonne* Sieur *De Leſdiguieres*, a man of great parts, courage, and vivacity, who, in proceſs of time, being made chief of the *Hugonot* faction in *Dauphinè*, advanced himſelf, by his valour and prudence, ſo far above his own private condition, that at laſt he was made High Conſtable of the kingdom, with incredible reputation. 1575.

The ſtate of affairs was no leſs diſcompoſed in other provinces: for the Marſhal *D'Anville*, having ſummoned an aſſembly at *Niſmes*, and another afterwards at *Montpelier*, declared himſelf head of the *Politicks*, and, joining in confederacy with the *Hugonots*, had openly attempted thoſe places that were of the King's party. In the province of *Perigort*, *Henry de la Tour* Viſcount of *Turenne*, had occaſioned many places to revolt to the *Hugonots*. In *Normandy*, the rebels had made themſelves maſters of Mount *St. Michael*, though it was retaken in a few days by the valour and activity of *Matignon*: and in all the provinces there happened daily, but inconſiderable encounters, which, though they did not much alter the ſituation of affairs in the main, yet ſerved to nouriſh diſcord, and increaſe the rancour of the factions. Theſe things confirming the King more and more in his reſolutions to make a peace, he ſent Monſieur *De l'Hunauday*, a man of much popular eloquence, to try if he could, by any means, prevail upon *La Noüe* and the *Rochellers* to recede from thoſe high demands that they inſiſted upon: and ſtill continued the negociation of agreement with the agents of the Prince of *Condé* and Monſieur *D'Anville*. He alſo very artfully began to proceed in thoſe deſigns which had been already projected, and made a ſhew of being averſe to the fatigue of buſineſs and the toils of war, giving himſelf up to a devout, ſolitary life, and relaxing himſelf with ſofter pleaſures, and the peaceable amuſements of entertaining converſations. But in the mean time he had many private conſultations how to forward his deſigns, which he ſtill endeavoured to keep very ſecret, and did not propoſe them openly in the council of ſtate, but conferred privately only with the cabinet council, firſt eſtabliſhed in his brother's reign, and now reduced to a very ſmall number, which conſiſted of the Queen his Mother, *Renè de Birague*, an *Italian* by birth, and High Chancellor, *Alberto Gondi*, Count of *Retz*, *Philip Huraut*, Viſcount of *Chiverny*, *Pompone* Sieur *de Bellieure*, *Sebaſtian de l'Aubeſpine*, Biſhop of *Limoges*, *Renè* Sieur *de Villequier*, and the two Secretaries, *Pinart* and *Villeroy*. To theſe he did not communicate the whole ſecret, but ſuch things only as were to be done immediately, taking afterwards ſuch reſolutions as he thought fit. In the mean time he drew perſons of prudence and valour to court; but ſuch as, being taken from moderate fortunes, might acknowledge their advancement only from his bounty. And, to bring the diſpoſal of the publick money and all grants into his own power, that ſo people might be obliged to him alone, and depend-

1575. ants taken away from the heads of the factions, he ſeemed to find fault with the miſmanagement of thoſe two capital articles in his brother's time, and ordered the treaſurers to cloſe their accounts by acquittances only ſigned with his hand, without being farther accountable to the chamber appointed for that purpoſe, or the ſuperintendant of the finances: by which means he diſpoſed of money according to his own pleaſure, and conveyed it whither he thought moſt convenient, without acquainting any other perſon with it. In the affair of grants and favours, he commanded, that no body ſhould intercede or aſk for another, but that every one ſhould preſent his own petition, which being once ſigned with his own hand, the Secretaries of State were immediately to diſpatch them, without delay, reply, or contradiction. For during the reigns of the late Kings, the Princes and great men of the kingdom, and the favourites at court, uſed to preſent petitions for private men, favouring their requeſts by their authority; theſe petitions were ſent to the Secretaries of State and the High Chancellor, who, if they found any thing in them contrary to law or the inſtitutions of the kingdom, rejected and refuſed them without farther conſultation: but if they were ſuch things as might be granted without inconveniency, they regiſtered them in a roll, article by article; which roll was always read once in ſo many days before the King and his council; and every requeſt being maturely conſidered, thoſe that were granted were ſigned by the King's hand, and thoſe that were denied, were croſſed out of the roll; and that being copied fair over again, was called the counter roll; which was no ſooner done, but the High Chancellor ſealed it, and the Secretaries immediately diſpatched them. But *Henry*, being deſirous to deprive the great men of theſe means of gaining adherents and dependents, reſolved to alter that method, and therefore ordered, that private perſons ſhould bring their own petitions immediately to himſelf, which he read at convenient times; and not only ſigned thoſe which he was pleaſed to grant, but commanded the Secretaries of State inſtantly to prepare the warrants, without farther debate or exceptions: which new cuſtom, though it ſeemed ſtrange to the great men of the kingdom, and gave occaſion of diſguſt to many, yet it brought the granting of all gifts, pardons, and offices into the King's abſolute diſpoſal, taking off the followers that flocked after the heads of the factions, and reducing all petitioners to acknowledge their obligations particularly to himſelf.

In this artful manner *Henry* proceeded to advance his deſigns. But as all things that require length of time to bring them to maturity, are ſubject to divers alterations, according to the variety of worldly accidents, there happened a circumſtance, which, for a while, croſſed and interrupted the King's purpoſes. The Duke of *Alençon* had, till then, been buoyed

buoyed up with the hopes of obtaining the kingdom of *Poland*: for though Monſieur *De Bellegarde* was diſcontented at many things, and, perceiving the King did not look ſo favourably upon him as he uſed to do, had retired into the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, of which he was Governor, and excuſed himſelf from being concerned in the negociation for bringing about that election; yet Monſieur *De Pibrac*, a man of great abilities, went thither, and for a while was in hopes of conducting it to a happy concluſion. But when the nobility and commons of *Poland*, who were much offended at the houſe of *France*, had elected *Stephen Batteri*, an *Hungarian* of great reputation and remarkable valour, and the Duke of *Alençon* ſaw that expectation vaniſhed, not being able to live under his brother, and wait for a change of fortune from his will and pleaſure, he ſtruck out a new deſign, and reſolved to owe his own greatneſs to no body but himſelf. For as he found he was repulſed in his pretenſions to the office of Lieutenant-General, and that, to ſow diſcord betwixt him and his friends, it was ſometimes given out, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſometimes that the King of *Navarre*, ſhould have it, he thought if he put himſelf at the head of the *Hugonots* and Catholick malecontents, as the houſe of *Montmorancy* and the Marſhal *Bellegarde* had done, he ſhould either have an abſolute power amongſt them, or oblige the King to grant him that by force, which he deſpaired of obtaining from his good-will and favour. Having given ſome hint of theſe great deſigns to Madam *De Sauve*, with whom he was paſſionately in love, though ſhe did not love him again; and ſhe having in ſome meaſure ſignified her ſuſpicions to the Queen Mother, his diſcontents increaſed very much, by the harſh expreſſions and cold looks that he daily received. So that, being forced to this violent reſolution by anger and diſdain, he raſhly determined to abſent himſelf from court, and make himſelf the head of thoſe who had often courted and perſuaded him to it. But as he was a man of weak capacity, and more ready to undertake than able to manage ſo great an enterpriſe, this reſolution was executed ſo unſeaſonably, and with ſo little appearance of reaſon, that many ſuſpected it was a contrivance agreed upon by the King his brother and the Queen Mother, that he ſhould pretend to be diſcontented and alienated from them, to deceive the *Hugonots*, and, under a colour of friendſhip, to open a way to the ſuppreſſion and deſtruction of thoſe that were up in arms. But it is moſt certain (and I have heard it affirmed by a perſon who had filled the principal offices of the government, and was privy to the moſt ſecret deſigns that were then in agitation) that this manner of proceeding was ſo far from being contrived by the King and Queen Mother, that, on the contrary, it was ſo unexpected, and affected them ſo much, that being, as it were, aſtoniſhed with the blow, they neglected no poſſible means,

1575.

1575. and reſolved to ſubmit to any indignity, how great ſoever, provided they could withdraw him from the faction, and reduce him to his former duty and obedience.

Now the Duke of *Alençon*, having ſecretly communicated his intention of leaving the court to ſome of his moſt intimate confidents, went, on the fifteenth of *September*, into the Fauxbourg of *St. Marceau*, under pretence of viſiting a certain lady, whom he loved and enjoyed; and going into the houſe where ſhe lived, about the cloſe of day-light, whilſt his gentlemen waited for him in the ſtreet, he went out at a private back gate on the other ſide, which led into the fields, and being come to the place where he was expected by thoſe that were privy to his deſign, he preſently got on horſeback, and with few attendants, but very great ſpeed, rode all night and arrived at *Dreux*, a city under his command, where he publiſhed a declaration the next day; in which he ſet forth, that the reaſons of his departure, were the unworthy treatment that he and other great Lords of the kingdom had met with, who were kept in priſon without any fault or demerit, and the imminent ruin which he ſaw ready to fall upon the nation, from the evil advice of the King's counſellors: exhorting all the good people of *France* to join with him to procure a general aſſembly of the States, and by that means to alleviate the burdens that were unjuſtly laid upon many, to moderate the heavy taxes that were ſo rigorouſly exacted, to regulate the abuſes in the courts of juſtice, to eſtabliſh the liberty of conſcience that had been ſo often and ſo ſolemnly promiſed to thoſe of the reformed religion, by many publick edicts, and to reſtore peace and happineſs to all degrees of men in the kingdom: for which purpoſes, without offence to the King's Majeſty, he proteſted he was ready to ſhed the laſt drop of his blood, as he was in duty bound, by his affection to his country and the love that he bore to all good men. By which declaration, publiſhed particularly in thoſe provinces and cities that moſt abounded with *Hugonots*, it was plain to be ſeen that he aſpired to the command of that party, which, by the authority of ſo great a chief, and the number of his followers, who were many, was like to be very much augmented both in ſtrength and reputation.

When the King heard of his brother's departure, he diſpatched *Ludovico Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, that very night, with ſome horſe, to try if, by any poſſible means, they could take him: which not ſucceeding, on account of the great haſte that the Duke of *Alençon* made, and the advantage of ſo many hours, he being undetermined what to do in his own mind, called his cabinet council together on the 16th of *September* at night, and began to conſider what meaſures were to be taken upon ſo ſudden and unexpected an occaſion: in which conſultation, the Queen's opinion concurring with the King's inclination, and with the advice of the

the major part of the board, it was concluded, that, without regard to any conditions, how hard ſoever, they ſhould endeavour, by all means, to divert the Duke of *Alençon* from his new deſign, and withdraw him from the commerce of thoſe turbulent people. For which purpoſe, though the King was a bitter enemy to the heads of the factions, and could not endure the Marſhals *De Coſſe* and *Montmorancy*, who were ſtill kept priſoners in the *Baſtile*; yet, to appeaſe and mollify his brother, at whoſe inſtigation they had run into that rebellion, and to take away fuel from the fire, they were both immediately ſet at liberty: the Queen intending to make uſe of them as inſtruments of reconciliation with her ſon, to whom ſhe reſolved to go in perſon, imagining that no body could have ſo much power and influence over him, as the authority and careſſes of a mother, joined with ſuch artifices as ſhe uſed to practiſe, on all occaſions, with wonderful dexterity. 1575.

The Duke of *Alençon* was come into *Poictou*, where he was preſently joined by Monſieur *De la Noüe*, *Gilbert* Sieur *De Ventadour*, a nobleman of great diſtinction in *Limoſin*, and the Viſcount *De Turenne*, both allied to the Marſhal *D'Anville*; all the *Hugonot* towns ſending to honour and acknowledge him, by meſſages, full of duty and reſpect.

The Prince of *Condé* alſo (who being joined with Prince *Caſimir*, upon the confines of *Germany*, had drawn together a powerful army) ſhewed himſelf as ready and deſirous to obey him as the reſt. For as he knew his ambitious diſpoſition, and how much credit and reputation they ſhould gain by the name of the King's brother, he thought it would be imprudent to contend with him for the firſt place, being aſſured, that though he bore the name of the principal, yet the real authority and command would ſtill continue in him, not only on account of the ancient intereſt which he had with the *Hugonot* party, but becauſe thoſe foreign troops were both paid and raiſed by his induſtry, ſo that they acknowledged no ſuperior but him only, under whoſe conduct and auſpices they had taken up arms. Wherefore, to anticipate the inſtances, and in a manner the very deſires of the Duke of *Alençon*, he declared him Captain-General of his party, and ſeemed to content himſelf with the title of his Lieutenant in the command of the foreign army: which now drawing near to the confines of *France* with fourteen thouſand *Swiſs* and *German* foot, three thouſand *French* harquebuſiers, and ſeven or eight thouſand horſe, and apprehending too long a delay by the greatneſs of his army, the badneſs of the roads, and the length of his march, he reſolved to ſend *Guillaume de Montmorancy*, Sieur *De Thoré*, before him, with two thouſand *German* horſe, two hundred gentlemen, and two thouſand foot of different nations, through *Champagne*, which is the

1575. neareſt way, to join the Duke of *Alençon*, who, he thought, would have occaſion for preſent aſſiſtance.

Thoré entring the kingdom near *Langres* in *Burgundy*, and then taking the neareſt way through *Champagne*, endeavoured to avoid any oppoſition from the Catholicks, by the ſwiftneſs of his march, and to paſs the river *Marne* as ſoon as he could, where he ſhould be in ſecurity. But being overtaken by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, with his brother *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, *Armand* Sieur *De Biron*, the Count *De Retz*, and a freſh powerful army, followed him to intercept his paſſage, either the temerity of his ſoldiers, as he ſaid afterwards, or his own deſire to fight, prevailed upon him to ſtay near *Dormans*, and altered the thoughts of haſtening his march into a deſign of engaging the enemy. Their forces indeed were very unequal, but their courage ardent and reſolute on both ſides: for the Duke of *Guiſe* had above a thouſand lances, two thouſand other horſe, with ten thouſand good *French* foot: whilſt the ſoldiers of *Thoré* were not only fatigued with the length of their march, but far inferior in number: and yet, though he might have got to the river, which was not far off, by the favour of the woods, and have paſſed it at a ford called *Le guè du Verger*, he courageouſly faced about, and began a ſkirmiſh with the firſt Catholick troops led by Monſieur *Fervaques*, Field-Marſhal, the Rhinegrave, and Monſieur *De Biron*. And, when he ſaw the ſkirmiſh ſucceeded proſperouſly, he drew up his forces in two diviſions, one of which was conducted by himſelf, the other by the Count *De la Val*, and made a fierce attack: and though the place, which was an open field, was very advantageous to thoſe that had the greater number, the event was uncertain for many hours, till the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the van of the cavalry, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with thoſe gentlemen that attended him in the main body, broke into the *German* horſe, who having nothing but piſtols to defend themſelves againſt the violence and fury of the lances, were routed and trodden under foot, and ſlaughtered in a miſerable manner. In this engagement all the *Germans* were utterly defeated and cut to pieces without mercy, by order of the commanders, except one troop of the Reiters, which, being placed in the rear, and ſeeing the ſlaughter of the reſt, ſurrendered at diſcretion, and was ſpared rather by the wearineſs than pity of the conquerors. Colonel *Stinc*, the chief commander of the *Germans*, was ſlain, with many gentlemen of quality, *Clervant*, a valiant leader of the *Hugonots*, taken priſoner, and *Thoré*, paſſing the river with a few horſe, ſaved himſelf by flight. Nor was the victory obtained by the Catholicks without blood; for, beſides the loſs of an hundred and fifty of their beſt ſoldiers, the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, whilſt he warmly purſued the fugitives, who retreated fighting, was wounded in the left cheek by a harquebuſs ball, which left an honourable

nourable ſcar, and afterwards entirely gained him the affections of all thoſe who were zealous for the Catholick religion, and honoured the mark that put them in mind of the blood he had ſhed, and the danger he had undergone, whilſt he bravely fought in perſon for the ſervice of the church of God. 1575.

The news of this victory was carried to court by Monſieur *De Fervaques*, who, having left the field before the Duke of *Guiſe* was wounded, gave but a lame and imperfect account of the affair, yet much to his own advantage. But *Pelicart*, the Duke of *Guiſe's* Secretary, arriving a few hours after, who brought word of his Lord being wounded, and many other particulars of that action, *Fervaques* was not only diſregarded by the King, but laughed at by the whole court, for endeavouring, by a falſe relation of the battle, to uſurp the honour of the day himſelf, which was due to the merit of thoſe that had purchaſed it with their blood: upon which he thought himſelf very hardly uſed, conſidering the valour that he had really ſhewn againſt the enemy, with whom he bravely began the engagement: and was excited by this and his natural inconſtancy, to join in the management of ſome new deſigns, which in a few days after made a great diſturbance and commotion at court.

In the mean time the Queen Mother, attended by the Marſhals *De Coſſé* and *Montmorancy*, arrived at *Champigny* in *Poictou*, to have an interview with the Duke of *Alençon*; who was ſo elated with the great command that he then had, and the near ſupport of a foreign army, which was already come to the confines of *Burgundy*, that ſhe, not being able to prevail upon him to agree to ſuch articles of peace as ſhe propoſed, at laſt procured a ceſſation of arms, about the end of *November*, which was to continue for ſix months; in which time ſhe not only hoped that the *German* army would dwindle away, but alſo that the Duke of *Alençon*, who was of a fickle and inconſtant diſpoſition, might be perſuaded to a reaſonable and laſting peace. The conditions of the truce were, That the King ſhould pay a hundred and ſixty thouſand ducats to the Prince of *Condé* and the *Germans*, provided they did not paſs the *Rhine*, nor enter the frontiers of *France*; that the cities of *Angouleſme*, *Saumur*, *Niort*, *Bourges*, *La Charité*, and *Mezieres*, ſhould be aſſigned to the *Hugonots* and *Politicks*, for their ſecurity; which ſhould be immediately reſtored as ſoon as the truce expired, if a peace were not concluded in the mean time: That the King ſhould allow the Duke of *Alençon* a ſtipend ſufficient to maintain a hundred gentlemen, a hundred Gens d'armes, a hundred harquebuſiers, and fifty *Swiſs*, for the guard of his own perſon: That the deputies of the aſſociated provinces, and of the *Politick* and *Hugonot* Princes, ſhould come to *Paris* in *January* next, to treat about conditions of peace; and in the mean time all acts of hoſtility ſhould

ceaſe

1575. ceaſe throughout the whole kingdom. This truce was publiſhed about the 20th of *December*, but the conditions of it were not very punctually obſerved: for Monſieur *De Raffec*, Governor of *Angouleſme*, and Monſieur *De Montigny*, Governor of *Bourges*, refuſed to reſign thoſe places to the Duke of *Alençon*, pretending they could not be ſecure any where elſe, on account of the hatred they had drawn upon themſelves in the ſervice of their King and religion. But the Queen (by whoſe directions, it was imagined, the Governors had raiſed this difficulty) in lieu of thoſe two cities, gave them *St. John d'Angeli* and *Cognac*, places of much leſs importance. And, on the other hand, the Prince of *Condé* and the *Germans*, fearing the ſame thing which the King's party hoped, could not be prevailed upon not to enter the kingdom, knowing, that if their army lay idle and unemployed, it would certainly moulder away and diſperſe.

The Queen Mother, therefore, leaving the Duke of *Montpenſier* and the Marſhal *De Montmorancy* with her ſon, to amuſe him with the thoughts of peace, returned, with great haſte, to *Paris*, that ſhe might be preſent at the treaty with the deputies, which was begun in *January*,
1576. one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-ſix, with confident hopes of bringing it to a happy concluſion. For the King was already much inclined to peace; and the cabinet council, to deprive the rebels of the perſon of the Duke of *Alençon*, and to deliver themſelves from the imminent danger of a foreign army, were content that very ample conditions ſhould be granted; which afterwards they were reſolved to nullify, either by an aſſembly of the States, or ſome other means.

But whilſt theſe negociations were prolonged, by many demands and pretenſions of the malecontents, behold! a new accident interfered, before the accommodation was concluded. For the King of *Navarre*, being now twenty-two years of age, naturally of a ſpirited diſpoſition, and incited by ſo many examples, and the emulation of other Princes, not enduring to be coldly looked upon and almoſt deſpiſed at court; whilſt the Duke of *Alençon*, a vain, indiſcreet man, and the Prince of *Condé*, his inferior both in rank and years, arrogated to themſelves the chief command of that party which he uſed to govern: and his ſpirit not ſuffering him any longer to bear with the perverſeneſs of his wife, which he was obliged to diſſemble, whilſt he ſtaid at court; being either moved by ſome ſecret and ſupernatural impulſe, or urged forward by his own inclination, to a beginning that was attended with infinite ſucceſs, he formed a reſolution to leave the court, and retire to his government of *Guyenne*, to try if he could ſecure that power to himſelf, which was likely to fall into the hands of the other diſcontented Princes.

The difficulty was, how to put this deſign in execution; for he was

not only carefully watched by his guards, who, under a ſhew of doing him honour, were rather his jailors, but even the neareſt attendants upon his perſon depended wholly upon the King and Queen Mother, who, keeping him in ſuſpence betwixt hope and fear, endeavoured to amuſe him with kind promiſes, and make him believe they deſigned to confer the poſt of Lieutenant-General upon him, which they durſt not truſt a perſon with of the Duke of *Alençon's* unſettled and inconſtant diſpoſition. But he being ſecretly informed by *Daielle*, a Provençal lady, and one of the Queen's maids, whom he privately enjoyed, and by Madame *De Carnavalet*, with whom he had a very great intimacy, that thoſe were but arts to buoy up his hopes, and keep him attached to the court, he reſolved to try his fortune, knowing he ſhould be aſſiſted and followed by *D'Aubigny* and *Armagnac*, one a gentleman, the other groom of his bedchamber, the only men that remained with him of his former houſhold. But this not being altogether ſufficient for the effecting of his purpoſe, he took the opportunity that occaſion preſented, and communicated his intention to the Sieur *De Fervaques*, with whom, by a certain ſympathy of extraordinary ſpirit, he had contracted a familiar friendſhip; who, being highly diſguſted at the court, and a man of a reſtleſs temper, great ſagacity, and courage, approved the reſolution, and ſecretly contrived the manner and time of their eſcape. For which purpoſe they went out of the city on the 13th of *February*, with a few gentlemen and ſervants, under a pretence of hunting the ſtag, a diverſion which the King of *Navarre* much delighted in: and having got clear of their guards, by one means or other, they paſſed the river, with the utmoſt expedition, below *Poiſſy*, and then changing their rout, inſtead of proceeding towards the weſt, they immediately turned to the ſouth, and avoiding the high roads, arrived at *Alençon* without the leaſt ſtop or delay: at which place they ſtaid no longer than was neceſſary to refreſh themſelves, before they paſſed the *Loire* at the bridge of *Saumur*: and having prevented any intelligence of their motions by ſo ſpeedy a journey, came, unexpected, into *Guyenne*; where the King of *Navarre*, taking the advantage of his ſudden arrival, and the uncertainty of the people (who did not know whether he came as a friend or an enemy to the King) proceeded with ſo much vigour and diſpatch, that as he took them unprepared, he gave them no time either to arm or inform themſelves of the truth: ſtill making uſe of his power as governor for the King; and adding ſome force to that authority, he began to make himſelf maſter of the principal towns, calling in and gathering together all ſuch as, out of regard to the memory of his father, or his own late command, were willing to follow and depend upon him. 1576.

This ſudden turn, at firſt indeed, not a little diſconcerted the King and Queen

1576. Queen Mother, who, whilſt they laboured to remedy diſorders, daily ſaw new and unexpected troubles ſpringing up. Yet, when they were recovered from their ſhock, they began to hope they ſhould reap both ſatisfaction and advantage from it, concluding, that a multiplicity of heads would create diſcord and emulation amongſt the malecontents: which would ſo weaken their power and divide them into ſo many parties, every one of which would be governed by ſeparate intereſts, that at laſt they would be unable to ſupport themſelves. Upon this conſideration, and becauſe they would not appear dejected at ſo croſs an event, they ſeemed ſo overjoyed at the King of *Navarre's* departure, that many thought he was induced to take this ſtep by the perſuaſion of *Fervaques*, who acted that part rather in obedience to the orders and directions of the Queen herſelf, than out of any real concern or regard that he had for the welfare and advancement of that Prince. Which was the more firmly believed by ſeveral, who did not know the bottom of the affair, when they ſaw *Fervaques* forſake that party a little while after, and return to his duty. But I have ſince heard Monſieur *Fervaques* himſelf affirm, that the reaſon of his ſo ſuddenly changing his ſide again, was, becauſe he ſaw the King of *Navarre* was forced to ſuffer himſelf to be governed by thoſe who were of the oldeſt ſtanding in the faction, and that many were put over his own head, who were neither ſo warm in his intereſt, nor of equal rank or abilities: whereas he expected to have had the ſecond place in command, as one that had run the ſame riſk, and expoſed himſelf to equal danger.

But it is certain, that this reſolution of the King of *Navarre* produced an effect not much unlike what the King and Queen hoped: for though it was probable that it would at firſt add great weight to the *Hugonot* faction, to which he had joined himſelf by a publick declaration, ſetting forth, that his converſion to the Catholick religion, four years before, had been forced and extorted from him, by the imminent terror of a cruel death: yet it was the occaſion that the Duke of *Alençon*, being now in a manner eclipſed by the luſtre of the Prince of *Condé* and the King of *Navarre*, who, on account of the ancient confidence which the people repoſed in them, were in greater eſteem and reputation, more eaſily conſented to the concluſion of a peace, being aware, that the real and eſſential authority would be transferred to them, whilſt he only enjoyed the title and appearance of it. For the King of *Navarre*, having aſſumed the command of *Guyenne*, and the protection of the *Rochellers*, with their own conſent and approbation: and, on the other hand, the Prince of *Condé* commanding the foreign army, the Duke of *Alençon* had no power but what they pleaſed to allow him: and though they ſeemed to honour him very highly, as the King's brother, yet in all other things they reſerved to themſelves

themſelves not only the privilege of determining, but the power of executing, and left him nothing in fact but the weak dependance of ſome few malecontents. 1576.

In the mean time the *German* army marched toward *Burgundy*: againſt which, as the Duke of *Guiſe* was not yet recovered from the wound that he had received on his face, *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* advanced with the King's forces; but being much inferior to the enemy in ſtrength, he ſtill encamped in very ſtrong places, or the ſuburbs of cities, infeſting and ſpoiling the roads, which of themſelves were very rough in that ſevere ſeaſon, ſo to hinder their march, and prevent them from taking any town of importance. By which way of proceeding, the Prince of *Condé* daily either ſuſtained ſome inconveniency in his quarters, or ſuffered ſome loſs in the foraging parties that he ſent out; and being very much annoyed both by the hail and ſnow, which fell in vaſt quantities, he was obliged to move ſlowly, and in cloſe order, endeavouring to ſatisfy the greedineſs, and relieve the wants of his ſoldiers, by the pillage of the weakeſt places. And as he plainly ſhewed his great genius, by being able, at ſo tender an age, to conduct an army, compoſed of different and unruly people, and to keep it, contrary to cuſtom, in ſtrict obedience to military diſcipline: ſo likewiſe the care and prudence of the Duke of *Mayenne* was very remarkable; who, being not much older, ſpared no pains, nor declined any hardſhips in ſo ſharp a ſeaſon, either in his own perſon or in his ſoldiers, but ſtill kept cloſe to the foreign army, and attended them with ſo much vigilance and circumſpection, that, except ſome few open places which were abandoned, no city nor walled town felt the miſeries and calamities of the *German* incurſions. It happened one night, after he had given orders to march away from a place where his army was quartered, to prevent the enemies advancing, that ſome companies of foot, diſcouraged not only by the exceeding darkneſs of the night, but by a very heavy ſtorm of hail, ſnow, and rain together, refuſed to follow the reſt of the troops that marched orderly under their colours, with infinite patience. When this was reported to the Duke, he cauſed the whole army to make a halt, and ordered the cavalry to cut the mutineers to pieces, and had it immediately executed. By which he re-eſtabliſhed the diſcipline in his army, that, according to the cuſtom of civil wars, was now very much relaxed and diſſolved; and at the ſame time gave a ſpecimen of that ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, which he ever after conſtantly practiſed, in all his military commands.

But neither the valour of the General, nor the diſcipline of his army, could abſolutely hinder the progreſs of the *Germans*, with ſo manifeſt an inferiority of ſtrength: ſo that, notwithſtanding all impediments and delays, they at laſt joined the Duke of *Alençon* about the beginning of *March*,

1576. in the confines of *Bourbonnois*; who having reviewed the army, which he found amounted to the number of thirty-five thouſand effective men, went to *Moulins*, where, with the Prince of *Condé*, Monſieur *De la Noüe*, the deputies of the King of *Navarre*, and the Marſhal *D'Anville*, he began to conſult what was moſt proper to be done. The commiſſioners appointed for the treaty of peace being likewiſe returned from court, and the Marſhal of *Montmorancy*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and Monſieur *De Bellieure*, being there on the King's part, both ſides conſented, though with ſeparate views, and upon different motives, to the concluſion of a peace: which was oppoſed indeed by the Marſhal *D'Anville*; who having already obtained his brother's liberty, and firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the government of *Languedoc*, was not willing to be reduced, by an accommodation, to that ſtate, from which he had delivered himſelf, partly by art and partly by force: yet the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, who were not pleaſed to ſee the Duke of *Alençon* thruſt himſelf into that poſt, which they uſed formerly to enjoy, and thought it hard that he ſhould reap the fruits of their paſt and preſent labours, were deſirous that the agreement might be concluded; by which means, when he was returned to court, and into his brother's favour, the chief power and command of that party would be veſted in them again; apprehending that as by his continuing with them, he was of much prejudice to their authority, and alſo greatly obſtructed the execution of ſome important deſigns: ſo if, on the other ſide, he ſhould obtain the command of the Catholick army from his brother, he would give them many opportunities to advance and eſtabliſh themſelves by his want of experience. Wherefore their own inclinations, and the temper of the Duke of *Alençon*, prevailing over the opinions of others, it was at laſt reſolved, that they ſhould propoſe the particulars of their demands to the King, and if they were accepted, to conclude a peace; but if they were rejected, reſolutely to continue the war.

The terms which they inſiſted upon, were very high and exorbitant: but the King's inclination, and the deſire of the council to obtain a peace, made them determine to comply with them; not only to free themſelves from the imminent danger of a foreign army, but to put an end to thoſe inſupportable expences, which, now the finances were exhauſted, all fell upon the miſerable and impoveriſhed eſtates of the ſubjects, and to get quit of thoſe hardſhips and inquietudes which both the bodies and minds of the people in general had ſo long endured. The Queen, therefore, being very well ſatisfied within herſelf of the King's deſire, and having penetrated to the bottom of his intentions, by many probable conjectures, came in perſon, according to her cuſtom, to the Duke of *Alençon's* camp; where, after ſome little diſpute, ſhe agreed to the conditions of peace, which

which were ratified in a decree by the King in parliament, conſiſting of ſeventy-three articles, and ſolemnly publiſhed on the 14th of *May*. 1576.

This was the fifth peace concluded with the *Hugonots*; by which, after the accuſtomed clauſes, relating to the approbation and oblivion of all that was paſt, a full liberty of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of their religion, without exception of times or places, was granted to the *Hugonots*, with a power of erecting ſchools or colleges, of calling ſynods, of celebrating matrimony, and adminiſtring the ſacraments, with the ſame freedom as was allowed to the Catholicks. All perſons of the reformed religion were permitted to execute any employments or offices, and to enjoy any dignities of what quality ſoever, without that diſtinction and precedence of the Catholicks which had formerly been obſerved: a promiſe was made, to ſettle a court of juſtice in every parliament, half of which ſhould be of one, and half of the other religion, to determine the cauſes of the *Hugonots*. Eight towns were granted to the Princes for their ſecurity, till the articles were fully and perfectly performed; namely, *Beaucaire* and *Aiguemorte*, in *Languedoc*; *Perigueux* and *Le Mas de Verdun*, in *Guyenne*; *Noyon* and *Serres*, in *Dauphinè*; *Iſſoire*, in *Auvergne*; and *Seine la grand Tour*, in *Provence*. The ſentences againſt *La Mole*, the Count *De Coconas*, the Admiral *De Coligny*, *Briquemaut*, *Cavagnes*, *Montgomery*, and *Montbrun*, were revoked and declared null, and that no fault ſhould ſhould be imputed to the Vidame of *Chartres* and *Beauvais*, for having negociated or contracted any agreement with the Queen of *England:* for the Duke of *Alençon's* apennage, as they call the maintenance that is allowed to the King's ſons and brothers, they aſſigned *Berry*, *Touraine*, and the duchy of *Anjou*, three of the greateſt and moſt fertile countries in all *France*, beſides an annual penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns. To the Prince of *Condé*, they allotted the government of *Picardy*; and for his ſecurity the city of *Peronne*, a very ſtrong place near the ſea. To Prince *Caſimir*, the principality of *Chaſteau Thierry*, a penſion of fourteen thouſand crowns, the command of a hundred lances, and the full diſcharge of all the arrears due to the *German* army, which amounted to twelve hundred thouſand ducats. To the Prince of *Orange*, the reſtitution of all thoſe ſtates that he uſed to poſſeſs in the kingdom of *France*, which, for rebellion, had been taken from him, by the ſentence of parliament, and added to the King's revenues. Finally, an aſſembly of the States was promiſed within ſix months, which was to repreſent the grievances of the ſubjects to his Majeſty, and conſult of proper remedies for them: which condition being propoſed by the Princes, to put a better gloſs upon their cauſe, and to make themſelves popular, was wiilingly granted by the King, as a convenient way of diſſolving and diſannulling the articles agreed upon: which, with many other leſs conſiderable, but not leſs unreaſonable and

1576. exorbitant, being made known to thoſe of the Catholick party, exaſperated the greateſt part of them to ſuch a degree, that they not only murmured openly againſt the King himſelf, as one that had loſt all ſpirit, and enervated himſelf by the pleaſures of the court; and the Queen Mother, as if ſhe had diſhonoured the Majeſty of religion, and endangered the welfare of the whole kingdom, to ſave her ſon the Duke of *Alençon*: but many were already diſpoſed to riſe, and would have taken arms, to put an end to a peace, which was generally eſteemed ſo ſhameful and unjuſt, that it ought not to be kept: if they had not ſoon after been given to underſtand, that the King and Queen had conſented to that in words, which they were reſolved not to obſerve in their actions, only to recover and draw the Duke of *Alençon* back to court. For the foreign army being immediately diſmiſſed, by having paid ſome of the arrears to Prince *Caſimir*, and given him ſecurity for the reſt, partly by pawning jewels, and partly by the Duke of *Lorrain* engaging his word: and having exactly performed all the things promiſed to the Duke of *Alençon*, none of the other articles were obſerved either to the *Hugonots* in general, or to the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* in particular: on the contrary, by the King's permiſſion and tacit conſent, the aſſemblies of the *Hugonots* were every where grievouſly inſulted and diſturbed; the government of *Picardy* was not given to the Prince of *Condé*, nor the city of *Peronne* aſſigned to him: the courts of juſtice, which were to be eſtabliſhed in the parliaments, were deferred, upon ſeveral pretences: and of ſo many counſellors, which were to have been elected, the King named only *Arenes*, one of the deputies that had been employed in negociating the peace, to be Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, whom they refuſed to admit, with which the King did not ſeem to be at all diſpleaſed. Theſe things plainly diſcovered the King's inclinations, and ſatisfied thoſe Catholicks, who judged of ſtate affairs without paſſion or intereſt; all ſuch as were friends to peaceable meaſures being now diſpoſed to wait for the iſſue of the States-General, which the King had ſummoned to meet at *Blois*, on the 15th of *November*. But the Lords of *Guiſe*, who were not tardy in taking hold of any occaſion to augment their own greatneſs, and to ſecure the ſtate of that religion which was ſo intimately connected with their intereſts, eagerly embraced ſo fair an opportunity, and began ſecretly to promote a league amongſt the Catholicks, in all the provinces of the kingdom, under a pretence of oppoſing the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of hereſy, which was ſo fully authorized and confirmed by the articles of peace: but, in reality, to reduce the forces of the Catholick party into one firm and compact body, which they might make uſe of, as occaſion ſerved, for their own ſecurity, and to ſtrengthen that faction of which they were the principals.

Henry

Henry Duke of *Guiſe*, *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, and *Lewis* Cardinal of *Guiſe*, their third brother, were left not only heirs to their father's greatneſs and reputation, and in poſſeſſion of the government and command of the Catholick party, but had alſo, by their own valour and merit, acquired a wonderful degree of popularity, partly by their liberal and popular behaviour, partly by the care and zeal which they ſhewed, in preferring the protection and maintenance of their religion to all other conſiderations whatſoever. Theſe brothers, together with the Duke and Chevalier *D'Aumale*, the Duke *D'Elbeuf*, the Duke *De Mercœur*, with his brothers (all of the ſame houſe of *Lorrain*, and nearly allied to the King) were yet ſo tranſported, when they ſaw a peace concluded contrary to their expectation, and ratified with articles ſo prejudicial and pernicious to the Catholick religion, and to the credit and power of their party, that they could not help ſhewing their anger and reſentment, and began to entertain ſtrong ſuſpicions of the King's deſigns; concluding, that a Prince, of ſo brave and warlike a diſpoſition, would never have ſuffered the temerity of his ſubjects to reduce him to ſuch odious and ſhameful conditions, if he did not conceal ſome deeper and more weighty reſolutions in his breaſt. So that though the King, by means of the Queen Mother and others, whom they mutually confided in, gave them to underſtand, that his intention was to break, or at leaſt to moderate thoſe conditions, by the aſſembly of the States at *Blois*; and that he had conſented to ſuch diſhonourable terms, only to deprive the *Hugonots* of ſo powerful a ſupport as the Duke of *Alençon's* name; but that he would remedy all by proper and opportune meaſures: yet thoſe Princes were not altogether ſatisfied, but grew daily more ſuſpicious, as they penetrated farther into the ſecret, by various circumſtances and conjectures; and being likewiſe highly offended at the King's decree, by which he took away the power, in appearance, from all, but in effect from them alone, of procuring favours for the followers and dependants of the Catholick party, they greatly miſtruſted his good-will toward them, and reſolved either to take that opportunity of eſtabliſhing their power, or elſe, by dint of oppoſition, to hinder thoſe deſigns which the King formed in his own mind: and for this purpoſe, to collect all their followers and adherents into one only and well united body, drawing together and conſolidating that power, which, though vaſt and enormous, was yet ſpread and diſperſed, like blood in the veins, through all parts of the kingdom. And becauſe the preſent ſituation of affairs afforded them a wonderful opportunity of conciliating the affections of people to themſelves, by ſpecious and honourable pretences, of intimidating the fearful into a compliance with their deſires, and of enflaming the reſentment of ſuch as were out of humour, and diſcontented at the concluſion of the peace, they began to work upon

1576. the *Pariſians* and *Picards*, the former, as people that had been at all times zealous for the preſervation of the Catholick religion; the latter, as terrified at the thoughts of being under the command of the Prince of *Condé*, to whom the government of their province had been promiſed.

The way of meeting together, and holding intelligence with one another, was opened to them by the King's own inſtitution; who, being either moved with a ſenſe of religion, by the admonitions and writings of Father *Bernard Caſtor*, a Jeſuit, and many other pious men of that and other orders, or to cover and conceal thoſe ſecret intentions, which he had reſolved upon for the courſe of his future government, had ſet up ſeveral *fraternities*, which, under various names and different habits, met together, upon days of devotion, to ſpend their time in proceſſions, prayers, penances, and other ſpiritual exerciſes, under the pious pretence of appeaſing the divine wrath, imploring a remedy for their preſent diviſions and calamities, and of procuring unity, peace, and concord amongſt all the people of the kingdom. By which means the Catholicks did not only freely meet together, in all places, but alſo found ſufficient matter and opportunity to diſcourſe of the preſent affairs, and to bewail the miſerable condition to which the crown was reduced, by civil diſcord and the increaſe of hereſy: from which lamentations, as they naturally proceeded to talk of the adminiſtration of the government, it was eaſy for thoſe *brethren* themſelves, and perhaps for others that were more crafty, and better acquainted with the deſigns of the principals, to ſow the ſeeds and lay the foundation of that league, which had ſo near a connection with that devout purpoſe, for which the Catholicks aſſembled themſelves in all parts.

This practice was firſt ſet on foot in *Picardy*, by *James* Sieur *D'Humieres*, Governor of *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*: who, being a man of great riches and intereſt in thoſe parts, and, for ſome private reaſons, an enemy to the houſe of *Montmorancy*, and conſequently to the Prince of *Condé*, whoſe authority he could not endure, and whoſe greatneſs he dreaded, for fear of being removed from his places and employments, began, by means of thoſe aſſemblies, which were no leſs frequent there than in other places, to exhort the inhabitants of *Peronne* not to ſuffer their town to be made the neſt and receptacle of hereſy, nor to let that fire be kindled in their boſom, which, probably, in time would inflame their whole country, and conſume all the other parts of *France*: he repreſented to them, that the firſt day of the Prince's admiſſion, would be the laſt of their liberty: for if they became ſubject to the tyranny of ſeditious men, and foreigners, they could not poſſibly any longer enjoy their eſtates, their houſes, wives, nor their very children; all which would fall a prey to the avarice and cruelty of their maſters. He added, that

that they could expect nothing but miſchief, what courſe ſoever things took: for if the *Hugonots* prevailed, they would certainly be expoſed to the ſlavery of the *Engliſh*, with whom it was known the Prince had made an agreement to give them towns and fortreſſes in *Picardy*. And though the Catholicks ſhould get the upper hand, they were to look for nothing but long ſieges, with all the other miſeries and calamities of war and famine; ſince he was ſo earneſt to get poſſeſſion of that government for no other reaſon, but, by the help of its ſtrength, to make the laſt effort to repair his ruined fortune. The people, being moved by theſe plauſible reaſons, and the inhabitants of *Montdidier*, *Roye* and *Dorlans*, their neighbours, being likewiſe diſpoſed to do the ſame, they conſented to make a league amongſt themſelves, to hinder the Prince from taking poſſeſſion of that place, and of the government of *Picardy*, and to maintain and preſerve the Catholick religion in their province. Nor was this practice leſs advanced in the city of *Paris*, where the zeal of the common people in matters of religion, and the open enmity which they had at all times profeſſed againſt the *Hugonots*, afforded them a very fair opportunity of fomenting thoſe deſigns: ſo that there being many of the counſellors and eſchevins, or ſheriffs of the city, and not a few of religious orders, who artfully laboured to promote the league in thoſe meetings and fraternities, a great number of perſons, of every quality and degree, were already united, by a ſtrict oath, in the bond of that aſſociation. 1576.

The example of the *Picards* and *Pariſians* was followed by the nobility of *Poictou* and *Touraine*, as neareſt to thoſe places poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots*, and more expoſed to the imminent danger of their tyranny: and being headed by *Lewis de la Tremoüille*, Duke of *Thoüars*, a nobleman of vaſt intereſt, great family and reputation, but of a turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition, they were already united and aſſociated, drawing after them not only the greater part of the clergy, but alſo numbers of the commonalty: nor did the other provinces want either heads to introduce, or diſpoſitions proper to receive, the ſame confederacy; which being propoſed by men of great ſubtlety and authority, under a ſpecious name and appearance, eaſily gained credit even amongſt the wiſeſt, and ſpread wonderfully through all the cities and provinces.

The form of the league and covenant, which was to be ſubſcribed by all thoſe that conſented to it, was this:

" In the name of the moſt holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy " Ghoſt, our only true God, to whom be glory and honour.

" The covenant of the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen of the Catholick " religion, ought to be, and is made, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the " law of God in its priſtine ſtate, and to reſtore and ſettle his holy ſervice " according

1576. " according to the form and manner of the catholick, apoſtolick *Roman*
" church, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary to it.

" Secondly, For the preſervation of King *Henry*, the third of that
" name, and his ſucceſſors the moſt Chriſtian Kings, in the ſtate, ho-
" nour, authority, duty, ſervice, and obedience due to them from their
" ſubjects, as it is contained in thoſe articles that ſhall be preſented to
" him in the aſſembly of the ſtates, which he ſwears and promiſes to
" obſerve at the time of his conſecration, with a ſolemn promiſe not to
" do any thing againſt that which ſhall be ordained and eſtabliſhed by
" them.

" Thirdly, To reſtore to the provinces of this kingdom, and to thoſe
" other ſtates which are ſubject to it, all thoſe ancient rights, pre-emi-
" nencies, liberties, and privileges which were enjoyed in the time of
" *Clovis*, the firſt Moſt Chriſtian King, or even better and more benefi-
" cial, if ſuch can be found, under the ſaid protection.

" In caſe there be any impediment, oppoſition, or rebellion againſt
" that which is aforeſaid, be it from whom it will, or proceed it from
" whenceſoever it may: thoſe that enter into this covenant, ſhall be
" bound and obliged to employ their lives and fortunes, to puniſh, cha-
" ſtiſe, and proſecute all ſuch as attempt to diſturb or hinder it, and ſhall
" never deſiſt from their endeavours, till the aforeſaid things be actually
" perfected and compleated.

" In caſe any of the confederates, their friends, vaſſals, or dependants,
" be oppreſſed, moleſted, or queſtioned for this cauſe, be it by whom it
" will, they ſhall be bound to employ their perſons, goods, and eſtates,
" to take revenge upon thoſe that ſhall have ſo moleſted them, either by
" way of juſtice or force, without any exception of perſons whatſoever.

" If it ſhall come to paſs, that any man, after having united himſelf
" by oath to this confederacy, ſhould deſire to depart from it, or ſeparate
" himſelf, upon any excuſe or pretence (which God forbid) ſuch viola-
" tors of their own conſciences ſhall be puniſhed, both in body and goods,
" by all means that can be thought of, as enemies to God, and rebels and
" diſturbers of the publick peace: neither ſhall ſuch revenge ever be
" imputed to the aforeſaid aſſociates, nor they be liable to be queſtioned
" for it, either in publick or in private.

" The ſaid aſſociates ſhall likewiſe ſwear to yield ready obedience and
" faithful ſervice to that head which ſhall be deputed: to follow and
" obey him, and to lend all help, council, and aſſiſtance, as well for the
" entire conſervation and maintenance of this league, as for the ruin of
" all that ſhall oppoſe it, without partiality or exception of perſons: and
" thoſe that ſhall fail, or depart from it, ſhall be puniſhed by the authority
" of the head, and according to his orders, to which every confederate
" ſhall be obliged to ſubmit himſelf. " All

1576.

" All the Catholicks of the ſeveral cities, towns, and villages, ſhall " be ſecretly admoniſhed and warned by the particular governors of " places, to enter into this league, and to concur in the providing of " men, arms, and other neceſſaries, every one according to his condition " and ability.

" All the confederates ſhall be prohibited from ſtirring up any diſ- " cord, or entering into any diſpute amongſt themſelves, without leave of " the head, to whoſe arbitrement all diſſenſions ſhall be referred; as alſo " the determining of all differences as well in matters of property as ho- " nour, and all of them ſhall be obliged to ſwear in this manner and " form following:

" I ſwear by God the Creator (laying my hand upon the holy Goſpel) " and on pain of excommunication and eternal damnation, that I enter " into this holy Catholick league, according to the form of that writing " which has now been read unto me; and that I do faithfully and ſin- " cerely enter into it, with a determination either to command, or obey " and ſerve, as I ſhall be appointed; and I promiſe, upon my life and " honour, to continue in it to the laſt drop of my blood, and not to de- " part from, or tranſgreſs it for any command, or upon any pretence, " excuſe, or occaſion whatſoever."

Copies of this writing (which was ſo artfully drawn up by the Lords of *Guiſe*, that, whilſt it made a ſhew of obedience and ſupporting the King, in reality it took away all authority and obedience from him, to confer it upon the head of their union) were very induſtriouſly diſperſed, by the hands of cautious, diſcreet men, and ſuch as were ſtrictly engaged to them: ſo that it began to ſpread by little and little in every place, whilſt the original did not appear: by which means it made a very great, but ſecret progreſs, becauſe cuſtom had already diſpoſed the minds of people to a deſire of novelties: ſo that they very eaſily, and in a ſhort time, united all thoſe in one body, who either out of zeal for religion, private intereſt or dependency, deſire of change, or hatred to the *Hugonot* Princes, thought it neceſſary to bind themſelves together in this league and confederacy. But as it behoved them to provide money, for the ſupport and maintenance of that united body, and to find out ſome protector, of great power and authority, to ſhelter and defend it from the reſentment of the King: the Lords of *Guiſe* turning their eyes out of the kingdom, thought, that both for their own ſake and that of religion, it was as lawful for them to apply to foreign Princes for their favour and aſſiſtance, as it had been for the *Hugonots* to require aid from the Queen of *England* and the Proteſtant Princes: they therefore began ſecretly to treat at *Rome* for protection, and in *Spain* for men and money. Nor did they meet with any averſeneſs

1576. to their requeſts in either place. For the Pope, being diſpleaſed at, and apprehenſive of, the peace concluded with the *Hugonots*, willingly liſtened to ſuch meaſures as would conduce to prevent their eſtabliſhment: and his Catholick Majeſty, now grown jealous that the deſigns of the Duke of *Alençon* would at laſt break out upon *Flanders*, and that the King, to quench the fire in his own houſe, would be content to have it kindled in that of his neighbour, willingly concurred to foment thoſe that endeavoured to renew the wars in *France*; hoping the diſcords in that kingdom might one day give him an opportunity of attempting ſome grand deſign, and in the mean time ſerve to keep peace and quietneſs in his own dominions.

Nicholas de Pellevé, an old dependant on the houſe of *Guiſe*, negociated the intereſts of this union at *Rome*, which was favourably looked upon by *Gregory* the thirteenth, a man of great candour and goodneſs, but of a facile diſpoſition, as it breathed nothing but faith, religion, charity, zeal for the publick good, correction and reformation of abuſes; though in reality, there was a conſiderable mixture of private intereſt and reſentment in it: which not being altogether unknown at the court of *Rome*, many that reaſoned upon ſo new and vaſt a deſign, aſcribed the cauſe of it to the ambition that the Lords of *Guiſe* had to govern the King, who ſeemed deſirous to rule as he pleaſed, without their aſſiſtance or advice: others gave the thing another turn, and attributed it to their deſire of preſerving their own greatneſs, which they had been ſo long in building up, and with ſo much labour and application. There were ſome who went ſtill further, perhaps out of the ill-will they bore to that party, and accuſed the heads of it, of ſecretly aiming at greater ends: which, whether true or falſe, were afterwards ſaid to be the depoſing of the King himſelf, as a diſſolute, incapable, mean-ſpirited man, and in time to transfer the crown to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, which ſome did not ſcruple openly to affirm, was deſcended in a right line from *Charlemagne*. But whether this laſt deſign was indeed projected from the beginning, or took birth from the events and opportunities that afterwards happened, is not ſo evident; for as it was publiſhed and exaggerated by the *Hugonots*, ſo it was cloſely concealed and conſtantly diſavowed by the *Guiſes*. But they themſelves could not deny, that the two great and powerful motives for proceeding in this manner, were, firſt, becauſe they were diſcontented that they had not the ruling and management of the preſent King, as they had of *Charles* and *Francis* his immediate predeceſſors; and in the next place, the ambition they had of preſiding over the Catholick party, which had been founded long before by their anceſtors, and increaſed and confirmed by themſelves. They likewiſe thought it abſolutely neceſſary to oppoſe the King's endeavours to free himſelf from the yoke of factions, as they plainly

plainly ſaw ſuch a ſort of proceeding tended to their utter ruin. Theſe intereſts, which could not be wholly concealed from the Pope (as the court of *Rome* is very ſagacious and quick-ſighted in penetrating to the bottom of things) made him extremely cautious in determining upon any thing, though the apparent neceſſity of maintaining the Catholick religion urged him to give his conſent. 1576.

But whilſt the approbation of this league was ſollicited at *Rome*, and the Pope was dubious, though in ſome meaſure inclined to it, the affair did not meet with much oppoſition in the court of *Spain*; as the propoſals were ſuch as his Catholick Majeſty ought rather to have wiſhed for, and that the league would put itſelf under his protection, than wait to be long intreated to comply with what they ſo earneſtly deſired: for it not only effectually ſecured his own dominions, but gave him a fair opportunity of adding to them, and would at leaſt keep the King of *France's* power divided and employed, with which the crown of *Spain* had had ſo long and obſtinate contentions.

Theſe practices, eſpecially ſuch as were carried on in *France*, were not unknown to the King; for he was told of them by the Queen Mother and others of his moſt faithful friends: nay, the Count *De Retz* had particularly acquainted him, that Monſieur *De Vins* was negociating that confederacy in *Provence*: and the Prince of *Condé*, by means of the Sieur *De Montaut*, had informed him of the union of thoſe in *Poictou*. At the ſame time one *Nicholas David*, an advocate of the *Pariſian* parliament, was ſeized, as he was going to *Rome*, whither he confeſſed he was ſent by the Lords of *Guiſe* to negociate that affair: upon which the *Hugonots* diſperſed certain writings, that, under the title of a commiſſion given to him, contained the deſigns of the Catholick league, and their intention to poſſeſs themſelves of the crown; but ſo full, for the moſt part, of ſtrange and incoherent things, that they were generally believed to have been maliciouſly forged and ſpread to diſcredit the Lords of *Guiſe*, and to render them odious and ſuſpected: who did not only abſolutely deny the contents of thoſe commiſſions, and look upon *David* as a fool and a madman, if indeed he had any ſuch writings about him, but cauſed them to be anſwered by ſome of their party, ſhewing many things in them to be abſurd, and without any appearance of truth. This report, however, being generally eſteemed falſe, did not create ſo ſtrong a ſuſpicion in the King, as the intelligence which he received from Monſieur *De St. Goart*, his reſident Ambaſſador at the court of *Spain*; who informed him, that he had diſcovered, that ſome *French* Catholick confederates were very buſy in negociating ſome ſecret affairs in that court. But, whether the King could not at the ſame time provide againſt ſo many diſorders as daily ſprung up, in the midſt of diſcord and confuſion, and

1576. therefore neglected thoſe which at firſt ſeemed leſs material, to remedy others that were more urgent and of greater importance; or whether he was ſo full of his ſecret deſigns and preparations for his future proceedings, and made light of the preſent dangers, as he thought he ſhould cut off all thoſe plots and conſpiracies at one blow: whichſoever of theſe cauſes it was, it is moſt certain, that though the King knew of all theſe practices, he was ſo far from oppoſing or hindering them, that he ſeemed not diſpleaſed to ſee one faction ſo furiouſly contending with the other, as he thought they would both ſuffer ſo much by it, that he ſhould become ſole arbiter betwixt them, and enjoy the fruits of that weakneſs which they muſt of neceſſity bring upon themſelves, by falling upon each other in ſo violent a manner. He likewiſe imagined, that ſo high and general a reſentment in the Catholicks, afforded him a handle to break the conditions of peace granted to the *Hugonots*, and make the world believe, at the ſame time, that he did not do it by choice, or becauſe he had ſo intended from the beginning; but becauſe of the general diſcontent of his loyal ſubjects, to whoſe welfare he was obliged to attend, as a good maſter and tender father, and to conſult their benefit and inclinations, rather than indulge the humours of thoſe that were rebellious and diſobedient. For theſe reaſons he not only tolerated the continuation of thoſe intrigues in favour of the league, but by ambiguous actions, dark hints, and anſwers that admitted of ſeveral interpretations, he almoſt made it believed that all this was done by his order and permiſſion.

But if the King was reſolved not to obſerve the articles of agreement, and to take that opportunity of breaking them, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* were much more diſpoſed to do the ſame: for having thruſt the Duke of *Alençon* out of their faction, they were ready to lay hold of any occaſion that offered to renew the war, by which they hoped to eſtabliſh their own greatneſs. Wherefore the King of *Navarre*, having complained to the King and Queen Mother, that his intereſts were utterly forgotten in the conditions of peace: and the Prince of *Condé*, that he was not yet in poſſeſſion either of the government of *Picardy*, or the city of *Peronne*: whilſt the King ſtill interpoſed delays and impediments, and at laſt referred the whole to the determination of the ſtates; they now took this opportunity, which the forming of the league afforded, and redoubled their inſtances with more earneſtneſs; ſetting forth, that they could no longer continue in their preſent dangerous and uncertain ſituation of affairs, eſpecially as their adverſaries were uniting their forces in a league to ſuppreſs and deſtroy them. The King, being tired with theſe importunities, and having propoſed to the Prince (rather to amuſe him, than with any deſign to perform it) inſtead of *Peronne* and *Picardy*, to give him *St. John d'Angeli* and *Cognac*, in thoſe parts where the ſtrength

of

of the *Hugonots* lay, he would not ſtay for the aſſignment, but ſuddenly made himſelf maſter of them, and in conſequence of ſo ſucceſsful a beginning, ſent for Monſieur *De Mirebeau*, under a pretence of treating with him concerning other affairs, and forced him to deliver up *Broüage* into his hands, a place of great importance, as it lies upon the ſea coaſt, and abounds with ſalt-pits, which yield a great and conſtant revenue. Of this place he made the Sieur *De Montaut* Governor, and put a ſtrong garriſon of his dependants into it, furniſhing it with ammunition, and fortifying it with great diligence. But, not thinking this ſufficient, he proſecuted his undertaking ſo vigorouſly, that, by means of his dependants, he, in a few weeks, reduced *Pons*, *Royan*, *Talemont*, and *Maran*, with many other conſiderable places in *Xaintoigne*. 1576.

But the King of *Navarre*, who had higher views, and acted with more deliberation, making uſe of the boldneſs and activity of the Prince of *Condé*, in ſuch matters only as required force and violence, proceeded with infinite moderation (to which he was naturally, as well as by choice, much inclined) and under the title of Governor of the province, took poſſeſſion of the principal cities, ſhewing, both in words and actions, a great deal of gentleneſs to the Catholicks, a profound reverence for the King's perſon, an ardent deſire to promote the good of every one, and the deepeſt concern for the damage and calamities which the war neceſſitated him to bring upon his country. By theſe arts he gained over all the people in *Perigort*, the towns of *Loudun*, *Agen*, *Ganache*, and many ſmaller places, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all that country, except *Bourdeaux*, where the parliament reſides, and the citizens had always refuſed to admit him: and though he had met with many repulſes, he ſtill endeavoured to allure them, ſometimes with kind meſſages, ſometimes with large promiſes, profeſſing himſelf utterly averſe to the bitterneſs of party, and the cruelties practiſed by others in civil wars, ſince he, of his own accord, had re-eſtabliſhed the exerciſe of the Catholick religion in thoſe places of his own patrimony, where it had been prohibited by his mother. At the ſame time he treated with the churchmen, concerning the intereſts of religion, with much modeſty and reſpect, and many favourable declarations. Thus by art, or his natural diſpoſition, or rather by both joined together, he engaged the affections of the people, and extinguiſhed that hatred which they uſed to bear to others, as enemies to the publick good, who had held the chief command of that faction; which he was deſirous to join and unite into one body, as he ſaw the heads of the Catholicks endeavoured to do on their ſide. For this purpoſe he obtained the conſent of the citizens to enter *Rochelle* (the command of which, he knew, was very neceſſary for him) and behaved with ſo much prudence and addreſs, that he ſoon fully ſatisfied the people,

who

1576. who were very ſuſpicious, and not much diſpoſed to confide in any body. At laſt, by their own advice, and the approbation of all the cities that adhered to them, the deputies of which were aſſembled in that place, he cauſed himſelf to be declared the head and protector of that party, and the Prince of *Condé* his Lieutenant-General, behaving himſelf with ſo much ſincerity and moderation to every one, that he not only gained their good-will and affections, but alſo a full and abſolute authority over them; which, amidſt ſo much competition, and ſo many pretenders, very likely he could not have obtained by any other means. For neither the Prince of *Condé*, nor the Marſhal *D'Anville*, nor perhaps Monſieur *De la Noüe*, nor Monſieur *De Rohan*, would ſo eaſily have acknowledged him, if they had not been forced, not only by the ſplendour of his royal name, but by downright addreſs and popularity, to give place to him.

Having now obtained the command of that faction, chiefly by the favour of the *Rochellers*, and knowing that Monſieur *De Fervaques*, as a ſubtle and deſultory man, was ſuſpected by all, but eſpecially by the citizens of *Rochelle*, who deſired, for their ſecurity, that the Sieurs *De Rohan*, *De Moüy*, *De la Noüe*, *Langoiran*, and other of their old truſty friends, might have the firſt places in their council, and in their civil and military offices; or elſe at the perſuaſion of *D'Aubigny*, who affirmed he had diſcovered, juſt before they left court, that *Fervaques* had betrayed his deſign to the King; and that the reaſon why they were not ſtopped, was, becauſe the King had a very bad opinion of him, and gave no credit to his information; he purpoſely gave him an opportunity of getting away to court again, as has been already related, and making up his council of men of known integrity and ſincerity, did not only extinguiſh the ſuſpicions of the *Rochellers*, and all the neighbouring provinces, who were apprehenſive he would convert his power into tyranny, but won the hearts of many Catholicks, who were alſo diſpoſed to ſerve and follow him, provided they might enjoy the liberty of living in the religion of their forefathers. He even interpoſed his authority, that the *Rochellers* might tolerate the exerciſe of the Catholick religion in their city; and, before he departed, procured leave for maſs to be ſaid in a little church, at which many were preſent. As this manner of proceeding, together with his conſtant moderation and affability, gained him a great deal of affection from thoſe of his own party, ſo they likewiſe ſerved to leſſen and wipe off that hatred which the *Guiſes* endeavoured to kindle againſt him, amongſt all degrees of people in the kingdom, by imputations of revolt and apoſtacy.

But the King, in the midſt of ſuch a general diſtraction, and in ſo dangerous ſituation of his crown, which was openly attacked by the *Hugonots* and *Politicks*, and ſecretly conſpired againſt by the Catholicks of the

league, having conceived great hopes of finding a way to accompliſh his 1576.
deſigns by means of the general aſſembly of the States, was intent upon calling them together at *Blois*, where he, with his mother and the Duke of *Alençon*, arrived the tenth day of *November*: and having ſummoned the deputies of the ſeveral provinces, by his letters, to meet immediately, they made ſo much haſte, that the aſſembly was ſolemnly opened on the 6th of *December*.

The King, in purſuance of his firſt deſigns, was deſirous, by means of the ſtates, to eſtabliſh a general and laſting peace, which being confirmed by the common conſent of the whole nation, no man ſhould have occaſion to find fault with; and, by continuing firm and inviolated, might in time quite aboliſh the intereſts of the ſeveral parties, cauſe the preſent animoſities to be forgotten, and give him leiſure and opportunity to execute his reſolution of breaking the ſtrength, and lowering the credit of both the factions. He hoped that an accommodation, upon reaſonable terms, would readily be agreed to by all the three eſtates: for the clergy were always obliged to contribute very largely, as to a war in which they were more intereſted than any others; the nobility wearied with the fatigues, and exhauſted with the vaſt expences of war; and the commonalty, who, beſides the continual and intolerable taxes and contributions, being ſubject to all the miſeries of war, by the excurſions of the ſoldiers in the country, and the interruption of commerce in the cities, ſeemed eager and impatient for a peace.

With theſe hopes and deſigns, the ſeveral orders of the States being aſſembled in his preſence, he began, in a weighty and pathetick ſpeech, to lament the miſerable and calamitous condition to which the kingdom of *France*, formerly ſo powerful and flouriſhing, was then reduced; ſince every part and degree of ſo great a monarchy, was fallen from their former grandeur and proſperity, into a labyrinth of diſcord and confuſion, and manifeſtly brought to the brink of utter ruin and deſtruction: that the obedience and veneration due to royal majeſty, and which in all times had been the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing honour of the *French* nation, was now entirely laid aſide: that the bond of charity, which the love of their common country generally knits faſter amongſt men of right underſtanding, was diſſolved by the violence of continual inteſtine diſſenſions: that the due reſpect to juſtice was taken away, the awe of the magiſtrate trampled under foot, and the ſincerity of men's manners exceedingly corrupted, by the licentiouſneſs of civil wars, which had laſted ſo many years: that he knew what calamities the people ſuffered were always imputed to the evil government of the Prince, but that he was conſcious of his own uprightneſs, and made no doubt but candid and impartial judges would acquit him of all blame, when they conſidered the

1576. the tender age of the King his brother, and of himſelf, when thoſe evils firſt broke out: that all the world was witneſs how much care and pains the Queen his mother had undergone, both to prevent and remedy thoſe diſtractions, the cauſes of which were ſufficiently known: that the preſervation of the kingdom, and the inheritance of her ſons, who were yet children (conſpired againſt with ſo much cunning, and openly attacked with ſo much violence) was to be aſcribed to her prudence, conſtancy, and magnanimity: but if her virtuous endeavours had not been able to extinguiſh thoſe flames, too fierce and powerful in their beginning, perhaps it was becauſe God had ſo decreed, to puniſh the ſins both of the Prince and people together: that it was likewiſe manifeſt to every one, what he himſelf had done for the ſuppreſſion and extirpation of the preſent evils: that in the reign of his brother he had tried the rigour of the ſword, in thoſe atchievements which were not unknown to the world, but had found, by experience, that loſs of blood only weakened the body, without abating the violence and malignity of the diſeaſe: that religion itſelf, which is ſupported and nouriſhed by peace, was ſo much impaired and abaſed, by inteſtine diviſions, that inſtead of recovering the ſouls of ſuch as had gone aſtray, by violent meaſures, they endangered the loſs of thoſe that were moſt zealous in the true faith: for which reaſon, he had laboured, both before he went into *Poland* to put an end to thoſe calamities by a peace, and ſince God had called him to the crown, by all means poſſible to procure the quiet and repoſe of his kingdom: that accordingly he had now called the States together, that by the advice of his good and faithful ſubjects, ſome way might be found to ſtop the courſe of the preſent miſeries, of which he ardently wiſhed either to ſee an end, or that he might be cut off in the midſt of his days: that it was therefore time to conſult amongſt themſelves, of ſome wholſome remedy, that might heal their reciprocal enmities and animoſities, extinguiſh all diſcord and war, reſtore the purity of religion by gentleneſs and moderation, bring the people back again to their duty and obedience, reduce the courts of juſtice to their former integrity, baniſh the pernicious licentiouſneſs of vice, recover the ancient candour and ſimplicity of manners, and, finally, put an end to thoſe dangers of the clergy, thoſe hardſhips of the nobility, thoſe loſſes and diſtractions of the common people, which, to his unſpeakable concern, a war would ſtill foment and increaſe without end: that he thought there was no ſafer nor more effectual means to procure theſe bleſſings, than by eſtabliſhing a peace upon moderate and reaſonable conditions: that he was ready, however, to hearken to any arguments againſt it, and to any other means which ſhould be propoſed, that ſo he might make choice of ſuch as appeared the beſt, the moſt eaſy, and convenient: that he therefore earneſtly exhorted every one

of

of them to lay aſide all paſſions and private intereſts, and ingenuouſly propoſe ſuch remedies as they thought moſt proper to relieve the ſtate, and compoſe the diſtractions of the kingdom: for as he was very willing to conſult with them in common about every thing, ſo he was firmly reſolved, that whatever they concluded upon ſhould be moſt exactly and punctually obſerved. 1576.

The High Chancellor, *Birague*, then ſpoke to the like effect: and having enforced the ſame things, in a longer ſpeech, concluded with ſaying, "That as the admirable wiſdom of the Queen Mother, and the va-"lour and generoſity of his Majeſty had, till then, preſerved the king-"dom of *France*, in the midſt of ſo many troubles and dangers, the States "ought now to deliver their general opinion and advice, and all of them "endeavour to propoſe ſuch effectual and ſeaſonable expedients, as "might deliver the nation from the preſent, and preſerve it from future "miſeries." After which, all the three orders ſeverally returned the King thanks for his affectionate regard and upright intentions, every one promiſing, for their own parts, to aſſiſt him with loyalty and ſincerity of heart.

From theſe firſt appearances, the King's intention and that of the States ſeemed to be the ſame, but in reality were very different; as the deputies of the provinces were, for the moſt part, ſuch as had ſigned the Catholick league, and were influenced by the council and inſpection of the houſe of *Guiſe*. For though the Duke himſelf was not there, he had ſent his brother the Duke of *Mayenne*, *Pierre d'Eſpinac*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, the Baron *De Seneſcay*, and many other of his dependants thither: and therefore the deputies, whoſe buſineſs it was to propoſe matters in the aſſembly, were moſtly reſolved not only to qualify the laſt articles of peace, but utterly to break them, and renew the war, with more vigour than ever, againſt the *Hugonots*, who, having violated the conditions, had already taken up arms. But as the deputies perceived, from many circumſtances, eſpecially from his ſpeech to them, that the King was abſolutely averſe to that, and foreſaw that he would elude and fruſtrate all their deſigns by his power, as long as he was able to determine alone upon whatſoever was propoſed, they artfully endeavoured to take away that prerogative, and veſt it in a certain number, who ſhould have power to conclude and determine all affairs, and from whom there ſhould be no appeal. Wherefore, as the deputies of the nobility and clergy ſeemed to acknowledge it, and the deputies of the commons made no objection, they did not think proper to enter into a publick debate, whether the King was ſuperior to the States or not (a very ancient diſpute, though in a great meaſure decided by the manner of holding the States, and always evaded and quaſhed by the King's authority) but to petition his Majeſty,

1576. that for the ſpeedier diſpatch of buſineſs, and for the general ſatisfaction, he would be pleaſed to elect a number of judges, not obnoxious to the States, who, together with twelve of the deputies, might hear ſuch propoſals as ſhould be made, from time to time, by every order, and conclude and determine upon them; with this condition, that whatſoever was jointly reſolved by the judges and deputies, ſhould have the form and force of a law, and not be ſubject to be altered or revoked.

The King was aware of the importance of that demand; and though he was inwardly much diſpleaſed, that they ſhould preſume to deprive him of the power which naturally belonged to him, and reduce him from the ſtate of a free King to the vaſſalage of a ſubject; yet, as the fury of the ſtorm was great, he endeavoured, with ſo much the more art, to guard againſt it, and graciouſly anſwered, "That as often as the States "ſhould offer any propoſals or demands to him, he would give an im- "mediate audience to the twelve deputies, whom he gave them power "to nominate; and as ſoon as their reaſons had been maturely conſidered "by his council, he would return them a direct and peremptory anſwer, "and determine upon what ſeemed moſt neceſſary to give general ſatis- "faction: and, to indulge them ſtill farther, he was willing to acquaint "the States with the names of ſuch as were admitted to his council, "that they might not be ignorant of the qualifications of thoſe perſons, "by whoſe advice he intended to govern, which he would conſent to "do by the example of any of his predeceſſors: but that it was not poſ- "ſible, by any means, to ſubmit to confirm and ratify what others "ſhould determine upon, without his approbation, as that would be act- "ing contrary to all precedents obſerved by the Kings his anceſtors." The States, being diſappointed in their expectation, and in deſpair of accompliſhing their deſigns after this manner, as the tendency of their demand was perceived, reſolved to alter their meaſures, and propoſed, that differences in religion ſhould firſt of all be decided: for when it was once determined to tolerate none but the Catholick, which neither the King himſelf nor any of the deputies would dare to oppoſe (though many of them were ſecretly inclined to it) all hopes of peace would be at an end, and a war with the *Hugonots* muſt of neceſſity enſue. With this view, the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, in the name of the clergy, the Baron of *Seneſcay*, in that of the nobility, with the conſent of *Pierre Verſoris*, one of the principal deputies for the commons (a dependant on the houſe of *Guiſe*, and very much confided in by the league) propoſed, at the unanimous deſire of the clergy, that the King ſhould be moved to prohibit the exerciſe of any religion but the *Roman* Catholick alone; and that all degrees of people ſubject to the crown, ſhould be obliged to live according to the rites of that church. This propoſal was ſeconded by ſuch of the nobility

nobility as were under the influence of others; though many of that order were averſe, not to the purity of the *Roman* Catholick faith, but to the taking up of arms, and zealous for the preſervation of religion, and the reclaiming of thoſe that were out of the right way, if that could poſſibly be effected by any means without a war. The third eſtate aſſented to this laſt opinion, as the burden of the war lay chiefly upon the common people, ſuch as merchants, tradeſmen, and farmers: nor could any of the other deputies (who rather were beneſited by thoſe troubles, and being engaged, by intereſt with heads of the league, did therefore obſtinately ſupport the propoſal of the prelates) by any means prevail upon them to change their opinion. For *John Bodin*, a man of great knowledge and experience in ſtate affairs, one of the deputies for the commons of *Vermandois*, and who was ſecretly employed by the King to oppoſe the churchmen in that particular, endeavoured to ſhew the aſſembly, in a long diſcourſe, how fatal and deſtructive a freſh taking up of arms was like to be; repeating all the dangers and miſeries of the late wars, which made a very deep impreſſion in the minds of the third eſtate, and would have done the ſame in both the other orders, if they had been abſolutely free, and at their own diſpoſal: but as he had to do with men, who were not only tranſported with religious zeal, but whoſe opinions were biaſſed and pre-engaged, it was determined, by a plurality of voices, that the King ſhould be moved, at all events, to ſuffer no other but the Catholick religion in the kingdom, and to prohibit all communion with the *Hugonots* for ever. Nevertheleſs *Bodin* procured certain words to be inſerted in the memorial of the third eſtate, to ſignify their deſire of unity in religion, without the miſery and confuſion of war. 1576.

This motion of the States being propoſed to the King, who had now penetrated into the ſecret deſigns of the league, made him reſolve no longer to oppoſe (as he knew the majority of votes would certainly be againſt him) but to elude the propoſals of the deputies: for by oppoſing, he plainly ſaw the arms of the Catholick league would be turned upon him, which then were deſigned againſt the *Hugonots*: for which reaſon, he endeavoured to prevent that determination in an indirect manner, by repreſenting to the States, that before it was enacted, Commiſſioners ought to be ſent to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marſhal *D'Anville*, who ſhould try to prevail upon them, by ſolid and ſubſtantial reaſons, to ſubmit to the reſolutions of the States, without having recourſe again to the calamitous events of war: hoping, by theſe delays, to provide ſome remedy againſt that determination, which he ſaw the greater part of the deputies was obſtinately bent upon. For this purpoſe they choſe the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, Monſieur *De Rubempré*, and the Treaſurer, *Meſnager*, to go as commiſſioners to the King of *Navarre*: the

1576. Biſhop of *Autun*, Monſieur *De Montmorine*, and *Pierre de Rat*, to the Prince of *Condé*: the Biſhop of *Puy*, the Sieur *De Rochefort*, and the Advocate *Tolé*, to the Marſhal *D'Anville*, to know the laſt reſolution of every one of them. But the King of *Navarre*, being informed which way the States inclined, and ſeeing ſo terrible a ſtorm gathering againſt him, whilſt the time was ſpent in conſultations at *Blois*, and things were ſpun out by diverſity of opinions, and other obſtacles that intervened, reſolved to prepare for war, and employed himſelf in aſſembling forces, with infinite diligence, from all parts, and in ſeizing upon many places, for the defence and maintenance of his party: which ſucceeding according to his deſires, he made himſelf maſter of *Bazas*, *Perigueux*, *St. Macaire* in *Guyenne*, of *Chivray* in *Poictou*, *Quimperlay* in *Bretagne*, and with a more valiant than numerous army, laid ſiege to *Marmande*, a great town upon the banks of the *Garonne* near *Bourdeaux*, and therefore very commodiouſly ſituated to diſtreſs that place, which was the only one of the principal cities in that province that ſtood out againſt him.

1577. In the mean time, the commiſſioners of the States being come to him, he gave them audience at *Agen*, in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, with a ſhew of great honour and reſpect. There the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, having, with much eloquence, ſet forth the reſolution of the States, to ſuffer no other but the Catholick religion in the kingdom of *France*, earneſtly exhorted him, in the name of all the orders, to come to the aſſembly, to reunite himſelf in affection with the King his brother-in-law, to return into the boſom of the church, and by ſo noble and ſo neceſſary a reſolution to comfort all the orders of the kingdom, by whom, as firſt Prince of the blood, he was greatly honoured and eſteemed: after which, he largely expatiated upon the bleſſings of peace, and the miſerable conſequences of war. To this the King of *Navarre* replied, in a grave, but conciſe manner, "That if the happineſs of peace, and the miſeries of war were ſo great, as he alledged, "the States ought therefore ſincerely to eſtabliſh that peace, which was "before concluded, and not, by new reſolutions, and revoking edicts al"ready made, to rekindle the ſparks of war, which were almoſt extin"guiſhed: that it was an eaſy matter to diſcourſe of rooting out a religion "by the ſword, but experience had always ſhewn it was impoſſible to "effect it: and therefore it was to be eſteemed a more prudent meaſure, "to allow a ſpiritual peace, in order to obtain a temporal one, than to "think of preſerving an external tranquillity by violence, and diſquieting "men's conſciences: that for his part he was born and educated in the "religion he profeſſed, and ſtill believed it was the right and true faith: "but yet, if he ſhould find himſelf in an error, and be convinced, not "by force and violent methods, but by ſolid reaſons, urged to him by

"men

" men of underſtanding, he would willingly recant, and not only change 1577.
" his religion himſelf, but endeavour to convert all others to that faith
" which ſhould be acknowledged for the true one: he therefore prayed
" the States, not to force his conſcience, but to be ſatisfied with theſe his
" good intentions; and if that anſwer was not ſufficient to content them,
" he ſhould expect new and more particular propoſals, for the more
" ſatisfactory anſwer of which he would immediately call a general
" meeting of his party at *Montauban*: but in the mean time, whilſt he
" ſaw ſuch preparations to make war upon him, he was obliged to arm
" and ſtand upon his own defence, to avoid that ruin which his enemies
" openly endeavoured to bring upon him."

The Prince of *Conde's* anſwer was very different: for having received the commiſſioners like private perſons, he would neither open their letters, nor acknowledge them as deputies of the States-General; alledging, that they could not call that aſſembly the States-General, at which the deputies of ſo many cities, towns, and provinces were not preſent; and which treated of violating men's conſciences by force, of ſuppreſſing and extirpating the royal blood of *France*, and of taking away the prerogatives of the crown, to comply with the deſire of ſtrangers, who were ſo vehement in the proſecution of their own intolerable intereſts and ambitious deſigns: that it was rather a conventicle of a few men, ſuborned and corrupted by the diſturbers of the publick peace, and therefore he would neither open their letters, nor treat with their commiſſioners.

The Marſhal *D'Anville's* anſwer to the deputies, who attended him at *Montpelier*, was not much unlike that of the Prince, but ſomething more moderate: for, having repreſented to them, that he was as well inclined as any man to the Catholick religion, in which he was born, and would continue as long as he lived, he told them, that it would be both in vain and impoſſible to prohibit the exerciſe of the reformed religion, granted by ſo many edicts, and confirmed by ſo many treaties of peace; and that by blowing up the flames of war again, the ruin and deſolation of all parts of the kingdom would be continued: but that it ought to be conſulted of in common, in a lawful aſſembly of the States-General of *France*, and not in a particular congregation, as that of *Blois*, where only the deputies of one party were met together; and therefore he proteſted againſt the validity of whatſoever ſhould there be decreed or reſolved.

The commiſſioners returned to *Blois* with theſe anſwers, in the beginning of *February*: and the Duke of *Guiſe* being come thither alſo, to ſtrengthen his party, the States ſeemed manifeſtly inclined to annul the late edict of pacification immediately, and reſolve upon a war with the *Hugonots*. The King, therefore, not caring to draw the hatred of all the Catholick faction upon himſelf, nor give them reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity

1577. ſincerity of his faith, and make the Pope and all Chriſtendom believe that he was diſpoſed to favour the *Hugonots*, which, very likely, might excite the Catholick league to take up arms without his authority, and throw the whole kingdom into diſorder: and being likewiſe adviſed by the Biſhop of *Limoges* and Monſieur *De Morvilliers*, two of his principal Counſellors, he determined (ſince he could not, by open reſiſtance, prevent the progreſs and deſigns of the Catholick league, which had already taken too deep a root) to make himſelf the head and protector of it, and to ſecure that authority to himſelf, which they endeavoured to veſt in the head of the league, both within and without the kingdom, hoping, that when he was once made the director and moderator of that union, he ſhould find proper means, in time, to diſſolve it, as a thing directly oppoſite to his intentions. For this reaſon, he ſeemed very deſirous to extirpate the *Hugonot* faction, endeavouring to perſuade every one, that he was highly offended at the anſwer of the Princes, and cauſed the Catholick league, that was drawn up by the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*, to be read, publiſhed, and ſworn to, in the open aſſembly, where they themſelves were preſent, eſtabliſhing it as an irrevocable and fundamental law of the kingdom: after which he declared himſelf the head and protector of it; publickly and ſolemnly proteſting, that he would ſpend the laſt drop of his blood to reduce his whole kingdom to an unity in religion, and an entire obedience to the Catholick church: thus endeavouring to avoid that blow which he ſaw he was not ſtrong enough to break.

But after he had ſhewn himſelf for ſome time exceeding deſirous to ſuppreſs the *Hugonots*, he determined, by one vigorous puſh, to try the reſolution of the deputies. For having ſent his brother the Duke of *Alençon*, and the Duke of *Nevers*, to the aſſembly, he ordered them to ſay, "That "as powerful armies were neceſſary to carry on a war againſt thoſe that "were diſobedient to the Catholick church, great ſums of money were "alſo neceſſary, and, the King's treaſury being exhauſted, he deſired the "States to aſſiſt him with two millions of ducats, to ſupport the vaſt ex-"pences of a war, which no body could reaſonably oppoſe, ſince they "had all ſolemnly taken the oath of the league, and thereby obliged "themſelves to contribute their fortunes in common." Upon this demand, the deputies for the city of *Paris* not being preſent (for ſome were indiſpoſed, and the reſt gone home to the election of a Prevôt des Marchands, an officer of great conſequence in that city) *John de Bodin*, who was then Preſident of the third eſtate, and knew that all the burden would fall upon their order, roſe up, and anſwered, "That the commons "had always propoſed and deſired to bring about a unity in religion, and "the reduction of thoſe that were gone aſtray, but *without the miſery* "*and confuſion of war*; and if they looked into the journals of the aſ-

"ſembly,

" ſembly, they would find thoſe very words formally expreſſed in the 1577.
" vote and memorial of the commons; and that as they had not conſented
" to the war, they were not bound to contribute to the expences of it, to
" gratify the caprice of ſome of the deputies, and ſpend their own eſtates
" to rip up the wounds of the kingdom again, which yet had hardly
" done bleeding." To this opinion, not only the other orders, but the clergy themſelves aſſented, who having ſworn that which they were not ſo ready to perform, and being no leſs deſirous than the reſt to eaſe themſelves of the burden of thoſe contributions, of which they were all equally tired, the ardour and reſolution of thoſe began to waver, who had been ſo forward to reſolve upon a war, at the peril and expence of other people. Upon which the King altered his meaſures, and the next day propoſed to the deputies, that ſince they thought the expences of the war ſo grievous a burden, they ſhould wait with patience till the return of the Duke of *Montpenſier* and Monſieur *De Biron*, whom he had ſent to the King of *Navarre*, to endeavour his converſion in an amicable and peaceable manner: to which motion the greater part of the deputies agreed, though it was oppoſed by many.

Not many days after the Duke of *Montpenſier* returned, and being introduced into the aſſembly, by the King's command, gave a particular account of his negociation, and ſaid, in fine, that the King of *Navarre*, being exceedingly ſollicitous for the peace of the kingdom, would be ſatisfied with very reaſonable conditions, and conſent to have all ſuperfluous and exorbitant articles nullified that were granted in the laſt edict, in order to moderate and compoſe the preſent differences, without reducing them to the neceſſity of a war; and gave them great reaſon to hope, that he himſelf (though he would not have it thought he turned Catholick by compulſion) might yet in time condeſcend to alter his opinion, and bring all things to a happy concluſion. This relation coming from the Duke, who was of the royal blood, brother-in-law to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and at all times partial to the Catholick cauſe, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the whole aſſembly, that it encouraged *John Bodin*, and others of the third eſtate, once more to endeavour an accommodation, with an expreſs proteſt, " That unity in religion ought to be procured without war." Which opinion, being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and as obſtinately ſupported for ſome days, was at laſt carried, and an inſtrument drawn up, in the name of the States, to petition the King, that he would be pleaſed to endeavour to bring about a unity in religion, by peaceful meaſures, and without reducing them to the neceſſity of a war. This being propoſed by the King himſelf in his council, the opinions concerning it were various; for the Duke and Cardinal of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and others, were againſt the propoſal of the States, al-

1577. ledging, that the end they aimed at could not be obtained without the extirpation of the *Hugonots*, who were already up in arms, and had renewed the war: affirming, that the laſt propoſal of the deputies was artfully contrived and extorted; whereas the firſt had been voluntarily and unanimouſly agreed upon, and an oath taken to ſhew their acceptance and approbation of the league, which was directly contrary to their preſent proceedings. But the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Marſhal *De Coſſé*, Monſieur *De Biron*, the High Chancellor *Birague*, *Morvilliers*, *Chiverny*, *Bellieure*, and *Villequier*, with the greater part of the council, being of a different opinion, alledged that there were many other means, though ſuch as required more time, to bring back thoſe that had erred into the boſom of the church: and that to cut off ſuch numbers of people would exceedingly weaken the kingdom, and renew the late dangers and calamities. For theſe reaſons it was concluded, that the Duke of *Montpenſier* ſhould return to the King of *Navarre*, to know his final reſolution concerning his converſion and reconciliation to the church, and the eſtabliſhment of a reaſonable and laſting peace.

In the mean time many other things were debated in the aſſembly, concerning the diſtribution of juſtice, the regulation of the finances, the payment of debts, and the reformation of manners. Some of the prelates likewiſe moved, that the decrees of the council of *Trent* might be received and obſerved: but the deputies of the nobility and thoſe of the commons vehemently oppoſed it, and the greater part of the clergy concurring with them for the conſervation, as they ſaid, of the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and ſuch privileges as had been granted to it by ſeveral Popes, it was at laſt reſolved that it ſhould paſs no farther.

The heads of the Catholick league, and their followers, then tried to find out ſome new method of reſtraining the King's power; and propoſed, that his council ſhould be reduced to the number of twenty-four members, which ſhould not be choſen at the King's pleaſure, but by every province of the kingdom, as it is cuſtomary in other States. But this motion, being coolly ſupported, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by many, as contrary to the ancient conſtitutions, and all former precedents, was thrown out, leſt the mention of it ſhould ſtill more exaſperate the King.

With theſe deliberations, not only unſettled, but alſo inconſiſtent and diſcordant one with another, the aſſembly of the States broke up; and having neither concluded upon peace nor war, the King was left at liberty to proceed as he pleaſed: and as he had happily defeated the machinations of the league, though not without much pains and difficulty, ſo he was in a great meaſure confirmed in his former deſigns, having not only conceived a greater degree of ſecret hatred to the houſe of *Guiſe*, but found his own weakneſs, by experience, and the too great power of their faction.

faction. Wherefore, being reſolved to eſtabliſh peace, becauſe both parties were fomented by the war, he, in the firſt place, diſmiſſed the Biſhop of *Limoges* from his attendance at court, and artfully excluded *Morvilliers* from the cabinet council, ſuſpecting that they held a ſecret correſpondence with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and had perſuaded him to declare himſelf head of the league, not out of any conſcientious motives, but to ſtrengthen that party: for though his ſchemes had hitherto ſucceeded, he thought, nevertheleſs, he had diſcovered, that on many occaſions they had favoured and perſuaded a war with the *Hugonots* (which they did, as they thought it became them as Eccleſiaſticks) and thereby exceedingly provoked the King, who was jealous beyond meaſure, when he ſaw the league favoured, or not oppoſed by any of his dependants. Upon this, the Biſhop of *Limoges*, retiring to his own houſe, lived there very peaceably all the reſt of his days; but *Morvilliers*, a man ſecretly of vaſt ambition, was ſeized with ſo deep a melancholy, that he died of grief a few months after. 1577.

Immediately after, the King diſpatched Monſieur *De Biron* and Secretary *Villeroy* to the King of *Navarre*, that being joined with the Duke of *Montpenſier*, they might carry on the treaty of agreement: but, though the King of *Navarre* (who maturely conſidered the ſtrength of his party, which was not very powerful at that time) conſented to give up the late conditions, and to comply with what was propoſed by the King's agents, under an appearance of doing it out of moderation and a deſire of general tranquillity; yet the Prince of *Condé*, who was of a more fierce and haughty diſpoſition, and the *Hugonot* miniſters, by whoſe advice all things of courſe were to be directed, ſtill refuſed to accept a peace, unleſs upon the conditions already eſtabliſhed, arguing and contending for things, which the neceſſity of the times would not admit of. As ſoon, therefore, as the King was informed of their ſtubbornneſs, and the difficulties that occurred in bringing about a treaty, he reſolved to convince the *Hugonots* of their weakneſs, and oblige them to accept of a peace, if they ſtill perſiſted in their obſtinacy: for which purpoſe, he ſent out two different armies againſt them, in the beginning of *April*, one into the parts near the *Loire*, and the provinces on this ſide the river, under the command of the Duke of *Alençon*, who, to take away all occaſion of diſguſt, was at laſt declared his Lieutenant-General; the other, beyond the river, into *Xaintoigne*, under the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom he choſe to employ rather than the Duke of *Guiſe*, becauſe he found him of a more governable temper and inclinations. Beſides theſe two armies, he ſent out a fleet, under Monſieur *De Lanſac*, to ſcour the coaſts, and to block up the entrance into *Rochelle*. By theſe means he thought he ſhould ſoon make the Catholick party weary of thoſe expences, which, by the conduct of

1577. the Duke of *Alençon*, would become intolerable, and overcome the obſtinacy of the *Hugonots* at the ſame time, by letting them ſee how little able they were to reſiſt his forces: ſo that he might afterwards ſettle the conditions of peace, in ſuch a manner as ſhould appear to him juſt and reaſonable, ſince the former agreement could neither be broken nor moderated, except a war was firſt begun.

It was no difficult matter for either of the King's armies to make a large progreſs in a little time. For the *Hugonots*, being reduced to very great want both of men and money, were not able to keep the field: and their fortified places, though valiantly defended, having no aſſiſtance near at hand, either of their own countrymen or ſtrangers (their only help and refuge in all the times of their need) they were obliged either to ſuffer themſelves to be miſerably deſtroyed, or ſubmit to the diſcretion of the conquerors. Therefore, as none of the *Hugonot* chiefs appeared in the field, the Duke of *Alençon*, having attacked and taken *La Charité* in a few days, marched with his army into the province of *Auvergne*, and beſieged *Iſſoire*, a place not only ſtrongly ſituated and well fortified, but reſolutely, or rather deſperately, defended by the inhabitants: yet, as experience ſhews it is impoſſible to maintain any place that cannot be relieved, it was reduced to ſuch extremities at the beginning of *June*, that, being forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, it was not only ſacked, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, to gratify the unmerciful diſpoſition of the Duke of *Alençon*, but alſo ſet on fire, and burnt down to the very ground. On the other hand, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having taken *Tonne*, *Charante*, and *Maran*, had laid ſiege to *Broüage*, a place, for ſituation, ſtrength, and the profit of the ſalt-pits, of very great importance; where the Prince of *Condé*, having tried all poſſible means to relieve the beſieged, the *Hugonots*, after ſome difficulty, were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that about the end of *Auguſt* they delivered it up, on condition only, that the lives of the ſoldiers and inhabitants ſhould be ſpared, which agreement was punctually obſerved by the Duke. Nor did their affairs proſper better by ſea than land: for *Lanſac*, with the King's fleet, having defeated that of the *Rochellers*, commanded by the Sieur *De Clermont*, and taken two of their largeſt ſhips, made a deſcent likewiſe upon the iſle of *Oleron*, took it, and being at laſt come to cape *De Blaye*, exceedingly incommoded the city of *Rochelle*.

So many misfortunes having lowered the Prince of *Condé's* ſpirit, and abated the obſtinacy of the miniſters, there were none of the *Hugonots* who did not foreſee their total ruin, and deſired peace with ſo much eagerneſs, that the ſoldiers forſook their colours, the gentlemen retired to their own houſes, and the inhabitants of the city, being tired of their arms, returned to the exerciſe of their trades. Beſides, the Marſhal

D'Anville, who, in their proſperity, had united his council and forces with them, now pretending that he had been abuſed and ill treated by certain of the heads of the faction, endeavoured ſeparately to make his peace, by returning to his duty, and had already taken arms againſt ſome of the *Hugonots*, by whom, he gave out, that he had been grievouſly offended. 1577.

The Catholicks, likewiſe, were equally inclined to peace. For though the good ſucceſs of the war redounded to the benefit of the King and of the Catholick religion, yet the charge of contributions, and the damage which the country ſuſtained, by the licentiouſneſs and want of diſcipline in the Duke of *Alençon's* army, was the ruin and deſtruction of private men: ſo that it being foreſeen that the war, though at preſent not carried on with much vigour, nor attended with any great danger, was likely to be long and tedious; many of thoſe who at firſt either deſired, or did not oppoſe it, now began to long for peace, to free themſelves from the burdens and inconveniencies of the war; and, except the Lords of *Guiſe*, there were none that did not think it requiſite to procure an agreement for the eaſe of the people, who were ſo exceedingly afflicted. But the expectations of the *Hugonot* party were fixed upon the King of *Navarre*, who (having from the firſt foreſeen all theſe misfortunes, and adviſed peace) was now treating at *Bergerac* with the King's deputies, and knew ſo well how to diſſemble and conceal his weakneſs, that though he receded from thoſe conditions which were laſt concluded with the Duke of *Alençon*, yet he ſtill kept up the being and reputation of his party. But the inclination of the King, and of conſequence the eaſineſs of his deputies, was not leſs than the policy of the King of *Navarre:* wherefore a ceſſation of arms being firſt agreed upon for a few days, in the beginning of *September*, the accommodation was ſo earneſtly laboured on both ſides, that the articles of peace were ſigned with ſo much ſatisfaction to each party, that the King, being come with the court to *Poictiers* for that purpoſe, ſhewed manifeſt ſigns of joy, calling it *his* peace: and the Prince of *Condé* embraced it with ſo much eagerneſs, that the ratification coming to him in the evening, when it was already dark, he ordered it to be publickly proclaimed that very night by torch-light.

The edict of this pacification was very copious, conſiſting of ſeventy-four articles, which limited ſome, and took away others of thoſe exorbitancies that had been granted in the former edict, in favour of the foreign forces, eſtabliſhing a very moderate political government, equally juſt and reaſonable for both parties. It permitted the exerciſe of the reformed religion in the houſes of gentlemen feodataries, or * *de haute*

* An authority veſted in ſuch to hear and determine all criminal or capital matters (except high treaſon) within their own juriſdiction: and all civil actions or controverſies,

1577. *juſtice*, as they call them, with the admiſſion of every body: but in the houſes of private gentlemen not above the number of ſeven were allowed, and that too in a ſtated place in every juriſdiction and bailiwick, except in *Paris*, and ten leagues round it, and two leagues diſtant from the court whereſoever it ſhould reſide: it reſtrained the libertiniſm of thoſe eccleſiaſticks, who left their reſpective orders and entered into matrimony, pardoning what was paſt by ſpecial grace, and ſeverely regulating the future: it reſtored the uſe of the Catholick religion in all places where it had been aboliſhed during the war: it ordered the immediate reſtitution of eccleſiaſtical revenues to prieſts and prelates, in every province: it obliged the *Hugonots* to keep the appointed holidays, to exclude conſanguinity of blood in marriages, to bring certificates of their children's baptiſm, and many other things wiſely obſerved in the Catholick church, and highly proper for a peaceful well-regulated government: it took away * *les chambres mi-parties*, as they are termed, which were already eſtabliſhed at *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Dijon*, and in *Bretagne*, leaving them ſtill in other parliaments, but with a ſmaller number of *Hugonot* judges: nor was any thing omitted that could prevent diſcord, take away ſcandal, reunite the affections of thoſe that were diffident or divided, and eſtabliſh the authority of the magiſtrates, and the vigour of the laws, in their priſtine ſtate and condition. There were eight places, however, granted to the *Hugonots*, for their ſecurity, during the term of four years, after which (if the conditions of the edict were punctually fulfilled) they promiſed faithfully to deliver them up again into the King's hands, as they were to be held only till the edict of pacification had taken its due courſe, and was reduced into common uſe and practice by time and obſervance. Theſe places were *Montpelier* and *Aiguemorte* in *Languedoc*; *Nions* and *Serres* in *Dauphinè*; *Seine* in *Provence*; *Perigueux*, *La Reolle*, and *Le Mas de Verdun* in *Guyenne:* meaſures, all prudently deviſed and diſpoſed for the eſtabliſhment of a laſting peace.

But though the King for the Catholick party, and the Princes of *Bourbon* for the *Hugonots*, had, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the people, concluded this agreement, which ſeemed very likely to lay aſleep all diſcords, and quiet the diſtractions of the kingdom; yet neither were their animoſities wholly compoſed, nor their differences accommodated, nor the tumults altogether at an end: but the flame of publick war being extinguiſhed, particular quarrels ſtill ſprung up, from the intereſts of private perſons. For the Marſhal *D'Anville*, who daily ſeemed more and

except in matters relating to the King, and ſuch as concern Noblemen and the high roads.

* Courts of juſtice, where one half of the judges were *Catholicks* and the other *Hugonots*.

more

more averſe to the *Hugonots*, ſtill continued to proſecute thoſe, by whom he pretended to have been injured in *Languedoc*, under a pretext of reducing the places in his government wholly into his power. The Sieur *Les Diguieres*, in *Dauphinè*, durſt not, by any means, confide in the peace, nor rely upon the King's word, remembering the end of *Montbrun*, under whom he had ſerved, and for that reaſon ſtill kept upon his guard, and continued in arms for his own ſecurity. And the Catholicks, eſpecially the adherents of the league, when they ſaw the *Hugonots* aſſemble at their devotions, were ſo enraged and tranſported with anger, that they could not bear them without murmuring and abuſe, which occaſioned frequent conteſts, and ſometimes deſperate and bloody frays. So that a great part of *France*, though a peace was concluded, ſtill continued in tumult and commotion. But the King, imagining that time and moderation would at laſt appeaſe and extinguiſh all thoſe diſturbances, took no notice of ſuch complaints and remonſtrances as were made to him, from various parts, and was altogether taken up in forwarding the execution of his deſigns: yet, after ſome months, when he ſaw the ſpirit of diſcord and rebellion did not ſubſide, he reſolved that the Queen his mother ſhould go into *Poictou*, to confer with the King of *Navarre*, and from thence into the other moſt ſuſpected provinces, where ſhe might in perſon compoſe thoſe differences, and make uſe of her wonted arts to take away ſuch ſcruples and impediments, as ſtill diſturbed the courſe of the late edict. 1577.

About this time the King created two Marſhals, men of remarkable valour in war, and no leſs prudence in matters of government: *Armand de Biron* and *James de Matignon*, who having no connections with the Duke of *Guiſe*, wholly depended upon the King, and acknowledged him as their ſole benefactor: and though the King had long looked coolly upon *Biron*, eſpecially before he came to the throne, on account of his behaviour at *Rochelle*, and ſome other ſuſpicions, yet, as he was now determined to truſt and prefer thoſe that were diſaffected to the houſe of *Guiſe*, he raiſed him to one of the higheſt poſts: it being generally imagined, that *Biron* was induced to behave as he had done, by the envy and hatred which he inwardly bore to that family; by whom, he knew, that not only his advancement was oppoſed, but that oftentimes, and particularly at the maſſacre of *Paris*, his death had both been propoſed and adviſed. And as *Renè de Birague*, the High Chancellor, was received into the number of Cardinals by the Pope, at the recommendation of the King and Queen, that moſt important office was conferred upon *Philip Huraut*, Viſcount *De Chiverny*, one of his Majeſty's moſt faithful and able counſellors.

At

1578. At the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-eight, the Queen Mother, after ſome delays, occaſioned by the ſeverity of the winter, ſet out, with a noble attendance of Lords and principal Gentlemen, to meet the King of *Navarre*, taking with her the Lady *Margaret* her daughter, who had been left behind at court by his ſudden departure. When they arrived at *Bourdeaux*, ſhe ſent to treat with the deputies of the *Hugonots*, that had reſorted to the King of *Navarre*, as their head, who was obliged not only to ſupply the publick neceſſity, but to ſupport his own private occaſions by art and addreſs, in this low ebb of his party, when his followers were wearied out, their eſtates conſumed, and the Proteſtant Princes alienated, by the ſmall account that had been made of Prince *Caſimir* and his *Germans*: for ſeeing himſelf in a manner confined in an angle of that province, and Governor of *Guyenne* only in name, deprived of the greater part of his own revenues, and altogether excluded from the King's favour and liberality, by which his anceſtors had ſupported their dignity after the loſs of the kingdom of *Navarre*, he was, on one hand, obliged to embrace peace, becauſe he had not ſtrength ſufficient to make war; and on the other, he was neceſſitated ſecretly to permit private diſcords to break out ſometimes into acts of hoſtility, in order to maintain his reputation, and ſupport his followers, who had no other means of ſubſiſtance. Wherefore, after a little conſideration, with much prudence and a certain quickneſs and preſence of mind that was natural to him, he ſeemed to pay the higheſt deference to the King's commands, and at the ſame time conducted his own intereſts with ſo much addreſs, in this great exigency, that his ſpirit was much applauded by men of underſtanding; though ſome blamed his reſolution rather to live like a baniſhed man, than to make his ſubmiſſion to the King, who, as it was plainly ſeen, by many circumſtances, was now much more averſe to the houſe of *Lorrain* than to him.

1579. But though this variety of intereſts had prolonged the treaty till the beginning of *February*, one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-nine, yet it did not prevent its being at laſt concluded at *Nerac*, where both parties were met. For the *Hugonots*, not having forces to carry on a war, were content, in the end, after the obſcure clauſes in the edict were explained (from whence all thoſe diſſenſions were ſuppoſed to ariſe) that every particular ſhould remain firmly eſtabliſhed, and the peace continue inviolable, as much as the ſecret deſigns of both parties would allow.

In the mean time the King, perſiſting in his former intentions, had begun to ſtrengthen the foundations of them. For, beſides the two Marſhals, whom he had lately created, he had conferred the office of General of the artillery (which, for a long time, had been enjoyed by Monſieur *De Biron*) upon *Philibert*, Sieur *De la Guiche*: and had declared

Lawrence,

Lawrence, Sieur *De Maugiron*, Lieutenant-General in *Dauphinè*, which place was vacant by the death of the Sieur *Des Gordes*. The government of the city of *Paris*, formerly held by the chief Lords of the kingdom, was given to *Renè*, Sieur *De Villequier*, then one of his two principal favourites: and *Francis*, Sieur *D'O*, the other, was made ſuperintendant of the finances. About the ſame time *John d'Aumont*, a man of very noble birth and great valour, but not in any wiſe attached to either of the factions, was created Marſhal in the room of *Francis de Montmorancy*, who, being worn out with a long ſeries of adverſity, had lately departed this life. Beſides theſe and others, who were now in poſſeſſion of the principal employments, the King continually brought up many young Lords and Gentlemen, of great hopes and expectation, near his perſon, to fill up ſuch offices as daily became vacant: the chief of whom were *Anne*, ſon to the Viſcount *De Joyeuſe*, and *John Lewis*, ſon to Monſieur *De la Valette*, who were not only poſſeſſed of excellent endowments of mind, but of very noble extraction. For the Viſcount *De Joyeuſe*, father of *Anne*, being a perſon of illuſtrious birth, had long been Governor of *Geſcony*; and, in the midſt of all the late diſturbances, had always faithfully adhered to the King and Queen's party, without having any concern with either of the factions: and Monſieur *De la Valette*, the father of *John Lewis*, being alſo a cavalier of a moſt noble family, had commanded the light horſe during the whole courſe of the wars, in which he had acquired the reputation of extraordinary valour. Theſe young Lords, therefore, being removed from their own private education, where they had the example of their worthy parents, were taken into the King's bed-chamber, and became, as it were, heads and leaders of the reſt, that were training up in great number, to fill the principal employments under the crown. And though Monſieur *De Quelus* and *Francis* the ſon of *Maugiron*, two of theſe young favourites, happened to be ſlain in a duel, that enſued upon a quarrel which they had with *Antreguet* and *Riberac*, adherents of the houſe of *Guiſe*: and though *St. Megrin*, another of their companions, was killed, a little while after, by perſons unknown, as he came from court late one night; yet the King endeavoured to ſooth his grief and anger, by ſhewing honours to the dead, whoſe ſtatues of marble he cauſed to be erected in the church of St. *Paul*; and ſtill continued to take other young perſons into favour, whoſe birth and qualifications might conduce to the accompliſhment of his great deſigns. Whilſt theſe things were bringing to maturity, the King led a life very different from that generous education, by which he had, from his childhood, been trained up in the midſt of arms. For having at firſt determined to ſeem fond of a gentle and quiet courſe of life, he afterwards found it ſo agreeable to his natural diſpoſition, and ſo thoroughly grateful to him, that he wholly

1579.

1579. wholly gave himſelf up to it, frequented ſermons and proceſſions, converſed often with *Capuchins* and *Jeſuits*, built monaſteries and chapels, uſed to undergo penances and wear hair ſhirts, carried his beads publickly at his girdle, and was often preſent at the ſchools of the penitents, and at the canonical hours of the *Hieronymites*, whom he had brought to live in his own palace; and in all his actions ſhewed a wonderful regard for religion, and a moſt ardent deſire to cheriſh and propagate it. This manner of living, in a great meaſure produced the deſired effect: for many of the Catholicks being lulled aſleep, and weaned from a military life, by the example of their Prince, had returnd to their former peace and repoſe, and to the care of their domeſtick affairs, which, in the courſe of ſo many wars, had been long neglected and forgotten. And amongſt the *Hugonots* (ſome laying aſide their former ſtubbornneſs, now they were no longer provoked: and others, ſeeing all favours and rewards beſtowed upon ſuch as followed the King's example, in reverencing religion, and exerciſing the duties of the Catholick faith) many, by little and little, withdrew themſelves from that party, and either really, or in appearance, joined with the *Roman* church: ſo that a few months of peace manifeſtly converted more people, than twenty years of continual war had done before.

This reſolution of the King, if it had been followed with the ſame auſterity that it was begun, would very likely have brought his deſigns to a happy concluſion: but being at laſt ſeduced by his paſſions and natural inclinations, he inſenſibly ſwerved from devotion to indolence, and from eaſe to a looſe and diſſolute manner of living; ſo that, though he ſtill kept up the ſame ſpiritual exerciſes, yet his hours of recreation and days of repoſe were ſpent in luxury, in ſplendid balls and maſquerades, in ſumptuous entertainments and marriage feaſts, and in continual converſation with the ladies of the court; by which, his pretended deſign of leading a quiet and peaceful life being corrupted, by little and little, was no longer art and diſſimulation, but turned into a conſtant and habitual irregularity. And though on one hand, indeed, it ſerved to wean men in ſome degree from their former fierceneſs, yet on the other, it made the King very odious and contemptible to a great part of the kingdom. For the * Nobleſſe ſeeing their Prince's favour wholly engroſſed by a few perſons, and every one excluded from the court (except ſuch as were introduced by thoſe favourites, or *minions*, as they are commonly called, who were not only to be courted and waited upon, in a manner not due to their birth or condition, but often to be bribed with large preſents) had conceived ſuch a degree of reſentment and diſdain, that they avoided the

* The Gentry, as well as the Nobility, are always meant by the French *Nobleſſe*.

very

very ſight of the court, and deteſted the adminiſtration. The common people, likewiſe, being intolerably burdened with new taxes, and innumerable impoſitions that were laid upon them, not only to provide for the neceſſary expences of the ſtate, but alſo to ſupply the King's extravagancies, both ſpiritual and temporal, and to feed the avarice and greedineſs of his minions: and finding themſelves in a much worſe condition in a time of peace, than they uſed to be in war, began to hate even the name of the King, and murmured againſt his manner of government. And the clergy, who were no leſs aggrieved than the reſt, were continually exclaiming againſt the counſels of that adminiſtration, which had made peace with the *Hugonots*, only to give themſelves up to the luxury and pleaſures of the court. Nay, many of the principal *Hugonots* themſelves, though they peaceably enjoyed a liberty of conſcience, were not yet fully ſatisfied, or free from ſuſpicion, whilſt they ſaw the King ſo aſſiduouſly employed, in the publick exerciſe of the ſevereſt duties in the Catholick religion, and continually ſurrounded by *Capuchins*, *Jeſuits*, *Bernardines*, *Hieronymites*, and other religious orders, who, in the midſt of peace, were daily preaching up the perſecution of hereſy. So that the King's deſigns, that had been ſo long in forming, and with ſo much ſecrecy (as it often happens in counſels that are too refined) at laſt produced effects very different from the views and intention of their projector. 1579.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, with his brothers and confederates, did not fail to take the advantage of this univerſal hatred to the King's perſon: for, as they were doubtful of his intentions in point of religion, of which they had declared themſelves *defenders*, and had already penetrated into his deſigns, and diſcovered the end to which all his actions tended, from many probable conjectures; they no leſs craftily endeavoured, by all poſſible means, not only to increaſe the general diſaffection, and to bring him into contempt with all his ſubjects, but to eſtabliſh their own credit and reputation, and to gain the love and applauſe of every one; which was no difficult matter, as they were pathetick in their harangues, affable in converſation, ready to help and oblige thoſe that ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance, oſtentatious of their own virtues, which were many indeed, and (which is always of great weight amongſt the common people) of noble preſence, of high birth, and engaging behaviour. So that though the King diminiſhed their power, by bringing only ſuch into employments as were ill affected to them, and depended upon himſelf alone; yet they gained ground upon him another way, by careſſing and protecting thoſe that were diſguſted, and artfully drawing over all malecontents to their party. And though the King had, in a great meaſure, allayed that hatred, which the generality of the *Hugonots* formerly bore him, by hav-

1579. ing granted them both a temporal and ſpiritual peace: yet they increaſed the diſaffection of the Catholicks, and particularly of the *Pariſians*, by imputing his favours to the young gentlemen that were about him, to ſhameful and inordinate deſires; his devotion and penances to hypocriſy and diſſimulation; the preferment of his dependants to honours and employments, to a tyrannical power, and an inſatiable appetite of engroſſing every thing to himſelf: which things indeed they did not particulariſe themſelves, but ſpoke of the King's actions in a reſerved and ambiguous manner, and cauſed them to be divulged by buſy and eloquent men, ſometimes obſcurely in the pulpits, ſometimes openly in meetings and common converſation, and often artfully deſcribed and publiſhed them in libels and pamphlets, under various titles.

But the King, confiding in the ſtrength of his ſecret deſigns, which he thought in great forwardneſs, imagined he ſhould eaſily be able to overcome all oppoſition at laſt: and, to conduct his proceedings with the more order, by joining theory to practice, he retired every day, after dinner, with *Baccio del Bene* and *Giacopo Corbinelli*, two *Florentines*, deeply learned in the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtories, who read him lectures out of *Polybius* and *Cornelius Tacitus*, but more frequently out of the *Prince*, and political diſcourſes of *Machiavel*, by which he became ſtill more enamoured of his own conceits: for the advancement of which, and that he might oblige and attach the principal perſons more nearly and ſtrictly to himſelf, he inſtituted a new order of knighthood, under a pretence, that the order of St. *Michael* was become mean and common, by having been conferred by his predeceſſors in too promiſcuous and undiſtinguiſhing a manner. For the ſubſiſtance and well government of this order, which was entitled, *The order of the Holy Ghoſt*, he made ſeveral ſtatutes, and aſſigned certain revenues, and ſolemnized the ceremonies of it on the firſt day of the year. But as this Prince was very politick and refined in laying his ſchemes, and warm in the beginning, ſo he was extremely remiſs and dilatory in the proſecution of them, eſpecially when he met with any difficulties or impediments, as he did in this, from the court of *Rome*, in relation to his intended aſſignment of ſome eccleſiaſtical revenues in his kingdom to that order of knighthood, under the title of *Commendams*. So that the endowment, which he deſigned for the maintenance of thoſe Knights, was entirely dropped, though the name and order itſelf, being veſted in perſons of eminent worth and quality, has continued, for many years, in high eſteem and veneration.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at court, the Queen Mother, having concluded a treaty with the King of *Navarre*, and endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the pleaſures and advantages of peace, went to viſit the provinces of *Gaſcony*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphinè*, where every one received her

her anſwers like oracles, as the King, who ſeemed deſirous to live a quiet and retired life, had committed the weight of affairs to her care: and having left her daughter, the Queen of *Navarre*, with her huſband, ſhe had a conference with the Viſcount *De Turenne* in *Poictou*, and compoſed all differences with the Marſhal *D'Anville* in *Languedoc*, who having ſued for pardon, though without quitting his government, had ſeemingly returned to his duty. Laſt of all, the Queen went to *Montleüel*, a town belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, not far from the confines, to confer with the Marſhal *De Bellegarde*, who, during the wars in *France*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*. 1579.

Bellegarde had, for many years, held the chief place in the King's eſteem, and in the beginning of his reign was created Marſhal by him: though afterwards, on ſome ſuſpicion which the King had conceived of him, and by the inſtigation of his competitors, *Chiverny* and *Villequier*, he had ſo far withdrawn his favour, that, under a pretence of ſending him into *Poland*, to negociate for the Duke of *Alençon*, he artfully endeavoured to baniſh him the court. But as he was openly favoured by the Marſhal *D'Anville*, and ſecretly by the Duke of *Savoy*, he went into the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, where, having picked a quarrel, upon ſome trifling occaſion, with *Charles de Birague*, the King's Lieutenant, who held the principal places, he eaſily drove him away by force: and having made himſelf maſter of that ſtate, he followed the example of *D'Anville*, and obeyed the King's orders only ſo far as he thought fit. This proceeding did not only prove very prejudicial to the affairs of *France*, but likewiſe occaſioned great ſuſpicion in the *Italian* Princes, who apprehended, with much reaſon, that *Bellegarde*, being privately encouraged, by his Catholick Majeſty, to deprive the *French* of the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, might induce the King to carry the war into *Italy*, in order to recover his own, and thereby throw the affairs of that country into confuſion. And this ſeemed the more probable, as they ſaw *Bellegarde* levy ſoldiers, and fortify towns, in an open manner, whilſt they knew not with whoſe money he did thoſe things. The Pope, therefore, having taken the alarm, prayed the *Venetian* Senate, as much reſpected by the King, that they would interpoſe, with their uſual wiſdom, to prevent the kindling a flame ſo near at hand: upon which the Senate entered into the affair with great earneſtneſs, and having ordered their Ambaſſador *Grimani* to treat with the King, and *Franciſco Barbaro*, their reſident in *Savoy*, to confer with the Marſhal *De Bellegarde*, the King left the management of that affair entirely to his mother. For this purpoſe the Queen, not being able to draw *Bellegarde* to *Grenoble*, whither the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador were come to meet her, condeſcended to go to *Montleüel*, making, as uſual, but little account of ceremonies (which often are ſo

1579. embaraſſing to Princes) provided ſhe could obtain her ends in the main. There, having prevailed upon the Marſhal to acknowledge the King, and to receive the patent of that government from him, ſhe diſpatched it for him with great ſhew of reſpect. But, whatever might be the occaſion, the Marſhal died ſuddenly as ſoon as he was returned to *Saluzzo*; and, before the Queen departed from thoſe provinces, the Governors and Guardians of his ſon delivered up that ſtate into the hands of the King of *France*.

The Queen having got over this difficulty, paſſed through *Burgundy* and returned to her ſon, to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration of the government: whilſt he ſeemed to have retired from the weight of affairs, and to mind nothing but feaſts and ſolemnities, leaving every thing to her and to his council; though in fact the moſt minute particular paſſed through his hands: by which arts he thought all things were ſo well eſtabliſhed, both at preſent and for the future, that he imagined he had already fully accompliſhed what he had ſecretly deviſed in his mind. One thing, indeed, ſtill ſeemed to interrupt the courſe of his deſigns; for the Duke of *Alençon*, ever fickle and inconſtant, ſometimes retired from court, ſometimes returned with great confidence; one while holding a correſpondence with the malecontents, another refuſing to have any concern with them; which ſtill kept him ſuſpence, and full of ſuſpicion and anxiety.

But the Queen Mother laboured with great earneſtneſs to take away the cauſe of theſe apprehenſions, as a thing of ſuch conſequence, that the tranquillity or diſturbance of the kingdom entirely depended upon it. Wherefore, as the people of the Low Countries had ſhaken off their ſubjection to his Catholick Majeſty, and beſought the King of *France* to receive them into his protection; and, after he declined it, had offered the command of themſelves to the Duke of *Alençon*, if he would come with a powerful army, to deliver them from the dread of the *Spaniſh* tyranny; the Queen, deſirous to free one of her ſons from his ſuſpicions, and to provide a ſtate for the other ſuitable to his rank, exhorted the King to give the Duke of *Alençon* leave to accept of the protection of the States of * *Flanders*, and to raiſe an army, on ſome pretence or other, upon the frontiers; repreſenting to him, that all factious and unquiet ſpirits would go along with the Duke, and thereby diminiſh that peſtilent matter which ſupported the diſcords and troubles of the kingdom. To forward this deſign, ſhe endeavoured to renew the ſo often rejected treaty of marriage betwixt the Duke and the Queen of *England*; for, if it did not ſucceed, it might at leaſt be attended with this advantage, that the Queen would incline to favour the Duke in his new command with her forces and autho-

* The *Italians*, under the name of *Flanders*, uſually comprehend all the Low Countries.

rity.

rity. So that nothing being omitted that could promote that end, the Duke of *Alençon* himſelf went this year into *England*, where he continued a long time, during which he was entertained with great honour and magnificence by the Queen. And though ſhe abhorred the thoughts of ſubmitting to the yoke of matrimony, and the States of *England* could not endure the tyranny of a *French* King; yet, becauſe the intereſts of ſtate made it neceſſary to diſſemble, not only to increaſe the Duke of *Alençon's* reputation, and conſequently the ſtrength of the United Provinces, but to create a jealouſy in the King of *Spain*, who at that time was very intent upon many other deſigns, which gave great ſuſpicion to the neighbouring Princes, the Queen pretended to conſent to the marriage, and, amongſt the entertainments and diverſions of the court, ſhewed much honour to the Duke of *Alençon*, and favoured him with a great degree of intimacy. The King likewiſe diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy in his behalf, the chief of which was *Francis de Montpenſier*, Prince Dauphin, a nobleman of engaging addreſs, but of no great penetration, often employed on account of his well known integrity and honeſt diſpoſition, and very far from aſſociating or concerning himſelf with factious men. On the arrival of this embaſſy, which was received with great ſhew of reſpect, the articles and conditions were diſcuſſed which were to be obſerved by both parties, and the affair proceeded ſo far, that the Duke and the Queen exchanged their rings, as a reciprocal promiſe of future marriage; though ſhe ſtill conſtantly perſevered in her reſolution to lead a ſingle life, and therefore peremptorily refuſed to proceed any further in the matter. But that happened in the courſe of the following year. 1579.

This year the King of *Navarre* aſſembled a congregation of his party at *Mazeres*, in the county of *Foix*, after the departure of the Queen Mother, to conſider in what manner they ſhould act for the time to come; where, after much diſcourſe concerning the peace, many ſeemed very deſirous of war, and it was at laſt debated, whether they ſhould ſtand to the agreement, or take up arms again. Indeed, the King of *Navarre* himſelf was not much averſe to active meaſures, as he knew, by experience, that peace and idleneſs would inſenſibly diminiſh, and at laſt utterly ruin his party: for many, that were tired of innovations, returned ſincerely to the Catholick church; many, ſeeing the *Hugonots* depreſſed, and excluded from all offices and honours, pretended to return; and all of them, as the memory of paſt tranſactions wore away, and the authority of command began to dwindle, equally withdrew themſelves from the care and intereſts of the faction. And he himſelf, being reduced to a very low ebb of fortune, not only foreſaw his own ruin approaching, but had not at preſent ſufficient to maintain the dignity of a King, nor of the

1579. the firſt Prince of the blood. Theſe neceſſities were aggravated by the inſtigation of the Prince of *Condé*, who, being of a more reſtleſs and impatient temper, could not digeſt the affront of being excluded from the government of *Picardy*; and the aſſent, or rather deſire, of many young men that were concerned in the management of that party, concurring with him, they concluded at laſt, that it was better to undergo the fatigue of arms, than to periſh ingloriouſly in the indolence of peace, as they inevitably muſt do. Upon which account, they reſolved to prepare themſelves, and ſeek ſome occaſion to renew the war; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the King's manner of living, being now thought to proceed from a diſſolute diſpoſition and weakneſs of ſpirit, it encouraged every one to purſue his own intereſt and inclinations, without any ſort of regard or reſtraint. The King of *Navarre*, therefore, having ſent for the deputies of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, that were come to the aſſembly, after a long diſcourſe, in which he exhorted them, on their parts, to lend what aſſiſtance they were able to the common cauſe, gave them the pieces of a broken *French* crown of gold, to carry to Monſieur *De Chaſtillon*, ſon to the Admiral *De Coligny*, who was returned into *Languedoc*, and to Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, who reſided in *Dauphiné*, with directions, that they ſhould give credit, in matters relating to the management of the war, to thoſe that ſhould bring them the remaining pieces of the crown, that being a very ſecret token, and not eaſy to be counterfeited. With this reſolution they returned to their ſeveral provinces, and ſecretly began to prepare for war.

But as the King of *Navarre* was deſirous to put a good face upon the beginning of this inſurrection, and to aſſign ſome ſpecious reaſons for it; now the time was come when the cautionary towns were to be reſtored (though the King demanded them but coldly, and rather out of compliance with the Catholick party than any deſire to have them) he took occaſion to make loud complaints, and ſummoned frequent aſſemblies, or ſynods, as they call them, of the *Hugonots*, in which he endeavoured to ſhew them, that the time of reſtoring thoſe places was not yet come, nor the execution of the edict fully accompliſhed, ſince the free exerciſe of their religion was neither permitted in *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, nor the iſle of *France*. Upon which, the Miniſters, who were much pleaſed with this pretence, began to grow warm and incline to war; which the King of *Navarre* was reſolved to open with ſome great undertaking, the fame of which ſhould ſtir up and awaken all the reſt of his party out of their lethargy. He therefore deſigned to begin with an attempt upon *Cahors*, which town, having been promiſed by the King to the Lady *Margaret* his wife, as her dower, was never aſſigned to her, but withheld by the Governor in the King's name. This furniſhed him with

with a reaſonable pretence (ſo neceſſary in civil wars to engage the concurrence of the people, and to conceal the private intereſts of party) and at the ſame time would add greatly to his ſtrength, by the acquiſition of an opulent city and neighbouring territory, both very large, and wonderfully convenient for his preſent deſigns. 1579.

The Prince of *Condé*, likewiſe, who could not eaſily forget the affair of *Picardy*, reſolved to go ſecretly into that province, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of his adherents, to make himſelf maſter of a ſtrong place or two, by which he might get footing there, and extend his ſtate and fortune beyond the narrow limits of *Xaintoigne*; he thought he ſhould, at the ſame time, be able to conceal his private views, by the ſpecious pretence, that he would live in obedience to the King, and proceeded in that manner only to revenge himſelf of his enemies, by whoſe machinations he had been excluded from his government. And, as he was of a more haſty and impetuous diſpoſition, he ſtruck the firſt ſtroke. For being arrived in diſguiſe at *Poictiers*, he paſſed from thence, with very great danger, through the other cities and provinces of *France*, into the heart of *Picardy*, where, in the ſpace of a few months, having drawn together about three hundred men, from different parts, by his own addreſs and the aſſiſtance of his friends, he entered *La Fere*, a ſtrong place, and of great conſequence, from whence he drove away the Governor, together with the ſmall garriſon that was there, and made himſelf maſter of it the 29th day of *November*; after which he immediately wrote to the King, "That he held that fortreſs in his name, as he was appointed Governor "of that province by his Majeſty, but had been excluded from it by the "malice of his enemies." He began, however, to make preparations to defend himſelf, in the beſt manner he could, as he was pretty well aſſured the King would uſe all his endeavours to drive him out of ſo ſtrong and convenient a receptacle.

But in the beginning of the next year, one thouſand five hundred and eighty, the King of *Navarre* (after he had ſent the remaining pieces of the broken crown to the Lord of *Chaſtillon* and Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, as a ſignal for them to begin the war) proceeded to the execution of his intended deſign upon *Cahors*, which was to ſurpriſe that city on a ſudden, and reduce it into his own power. 1580.

The city of *Cahors* is ſituated upon the river *Lot*, which, ſurrounding it on three ſides, leaves only one paſſage open, called *La porte aux Barres*; the other three ſides are entred by three large bridges that croſs the river. By one of theſe, called *the new bridge*, the King of *Navarre* reſolved to attack the town ſuddenly in the night, not having forces ſufficient to aſſault or beſiege it in the day-time. And though there was no draw-bridge, yet there was a gate at the entrance of the bridge that was kept

1580. locked, and defended by two ravelines, through which it was neceſſary to paſs, to come at the gate of the city that ſtood at the other end: for which reaſon he propoſed to faſten a petard at each gate (an engine till that time little regarded, on account of its novelty, but ſince much eſteemed, after frequent trials, for its uſefulneſs in ſurpriſes and ſudden attempts) and when he had opened a paſſage, to proceed immediately to an aſſault. For this purpoſe, beſides thoſe that were to go before and faſten the petard, he divided his men into four bodies, the firſt conducted by the Baron *De Salignac*, the ſecond by the Sieur *De St. Martin*, Captain of his guards; the third, in which were the gentry and he himſelf in perſon, by *Anthony* Sieur *De Roquelaure*; and the fourth by the Viſcount *De Gordon*, in which were twelve hundred good muſketiers. The petard being faſtened to the firſt gate, by Captain *John Robert*, produced its intended effect, and thoſe few ſoldiers that were in the ravelines were cut to pieces, without making any conſiderable reſiſtance. The ſecond petard likewiſe ſucceeded, and burſt open the gate of the city; ſo that they might eaſily have entered, if they had met with no farther oppoſition. But the people of the town, being awakened by the report of the firſt petard, and the Sieur *De Veſins*, who was the Governor, having run to the alarm juſt as he was, not only without arms, but almoſt without cloaths, they bravely oppoſed the entrance of the enemy, and freſh men ſtill coming in armed, from all parts of the city, to their aſſiſtance, there was a very hot engagement betwixt the firſt parties; for ſome of them kept inceſſantly pouring in their ſhot at a diſtance, whilſt the boldeſt of them advanced up to each other, and joined in a cloſe fight with their ſhort arms: ſo that by little and little, the ſecond and third parties being every where mingled with the firſt, the encounter became general and very bloody, in which the Governor of the town, in a manner unarmed, and in the thickeſt of the fight, being killed on that ſide, and the Sieur *De St. Martin* on the King of *Navarre's*, the ſucceſs continued doubtful at leaſt two hours. But the Baron *De Salignac* firſt, and then the Sieur *De Roquelaure* being dangerouſly wounded, and carried out of the fight, the courage of the aſſailants began to fail, ſo that they gave ground very faſt. For though they had at firſt advanced as far as the great ſquare, yet they were now driven back again almoſt to the very gate, and would certainly have been totally repulſed, and beaten out of the city, as the Viſcount *De Gordon* advanced but ſlowly with the muſquetiers that were in the rear, if the King of *Navarre* (not only afflicted at the loſs of his Captains, but highly picqued at the diſgrace his men were like to undergo, and in deſpair of ever retrieving his affairs if his firſt undertaking miſcarried) coming up to the head of his ſoldiers, in the very face of the enemy, had not renewed the aſſault, by fighting gallantly and undauntedly with

with his own hand. For the gentlemen and common ſoldiers bravely preſſing forwards after him, and ſtriving to out-do each other in following the ſteps of their leader, who ſupported the fury of the enemy with incredible valour, advanced ſo far, that at break of day they had recovered the main ſquare of the city, the townſmen having ſhut up and fortified themſelves, as well as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit, in the publick ſchools; from whence, though they made a terrible fire of their ſmall arms on every ſide, to the great ſlaughter of the aſſailants, who fought without cover in the open ſtreets, yet the King of *Navarre* never moved from the head of his men, though they that were next to him were often killed by his ſide. In this manner they fought all the day, and all the following night, except when they now and then reſted themſelves a little, which both ſides had an opportunity of doing by the darkneſs of the night. The next day, about ſun-riſing, the King of *Navarre* received intelligence, that ſupplies were coming to the relief of the city from the neighbouring towns: upon which he ſent the Sieur *De Chouppes* to fight them on the outſide of the *Porte aux Barres*, whilſt he courageouſly redoubled the aſſault, to drive the townſmen from the places where they had barricadoed themſelves; but he met with ſo ſtout and vigorous an oppoſition, that though the ſupplies were defeated that came to the aſſiſtance of the townſmen, and they received no relief, yet he was not able all that day and the next night to make them ſurrender, till three pieces of cannon, that were found in the city-arſenal, were mounted and brought out to batter and break down the barricadoes. After which there enſued a dreadful and bloody ſlaughter of the people. Thus, after a continual fight of three days, the city of *Cahors* being at laſt taken, and thoroughly plundered, gave the *Hugonot* ſoldiers not only an opportunity of enriching themſelves with plenty of ſpoil, but of wreaking the hatred which many of them bore to the very name of a Catholick. In this enterpriſe the undaunted courage of the King of *Navarre* was admired by every one, who, having in his other actions given many teſtimonies of a great and exalted mind, ſhewed himſelf in this, to the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of his friends, a gallant and daring ſoldier, as his ſubſequent exploits more fully proved him. 1580.

At the ſame time Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, not being able to raiſe the nobility in *Dauphinè* (as they diſdained to put themſelves under the command of a perſon, who, though born a gentleman, could not boaſt of any very illuſtrious pedigree or conſiderable fortune) had prevailed upon the country people to take up arms againſt ſome of the chief of them, by whom they complained they had been grievouſly oppreſſed. But as he met with very little ſucceſs in his undertaking, becauſe Monſieur *De Maugiron*, Lieutenant of that province, and Monſieur *De Mandelot*, Go-

1580. vernor of *Lions*, often routed and diſperſed his peaſants, he at laſt retired and fortified himſelf in *La Mure*, after he had made ſeveral attempts to no purpoſe.

But in *Languedoc*, whether it was that the Lord of *Chaſtillon's* authority was not yet of any great weight amongſt the people, or that men were weary of their hardſhips, or ſtood in awe of Monſieur *D'Anville*, who ſeemed very ready to ſuppreſs any appearance of an inſurrection, there was no riſing or taking up of arms, as the King of *Navarre* expected, but every thing continued very ſtill and quiet, as the Marſhal laboured very diligently to take away all occaſions of diſcontent, by a punctual obſervation of the royal edicts.

The King having received information of theſe new commotions in ſo many different places, at a time when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure and free from all the troubles and dangers of war, reſolved to exert himſelf once more againſt the rebels, to reduce them to their duty, and an exact compliance with the articles of the peace. For this purpoſe he raiſed three ſeveral armies with the utmoſt expedition: one had orders to march into *Picardy*, for the recovery of *La Fere*; another into *Guyenne*, againſt the King of *Navarre*; and the third, to quiet the commotions in *Dauphinè*. From which ſudden reſolution, and his activity in levying and diſciplining thoſe forces, men of penetration were more confirmed in their opinion that his indolence was only feigned; and that, under a ſhew of eaſe and negligence, he harboured ſome deeper and more important deſigns in his mind. Over theſe armies the King appointed commanders, ſuitable to the occaſion, and his ſecret intentions. For, being anxious for the immediate recovery of *La Fere*, becauſe it is ſo near the heart of the kingdom, and the city of *Paris*, and eaſy to be relieved by the States of *Flanders*, which lie contiguous to that province, he ſent thither the Marſhal *James de Matignon*, whom he always uſed to employ on the moſt important occaſions, and when there was a neceſſity for acting with vigour. On the other hand, being deſirous that the King of *Navarre* ſhould be kept down, but not utterly ſuppreſſed, becauſe he was not willing to throw too much weight into the other ſcale, and make the faction of the *Guiſes* ſuperior (which had no other counterpoiſe ſo effectual as his party) he ſent *Armand*, Marſhal *De Biron*, who, he knew, would act according to his old principles, and proceed but coolly againſt that party. And being obliged to employ ſome one of the Princes of *Lorrain*, on account of the great power of that family, to which it was neceſſary to ſhew a proper reſpect, and becauſe he would not totally alienate thoſe of the Catholick league, he made choice of *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* for *Dauphinè*, as he thought him of a more moderate diſpoſition than his brother,

brother, and that what was to be done in thoſe parts was very eaſy, and of but little conſequence. 1580.

The event of theſe meaſures fully anſwered the King's expectation: for Monſieur *Matignon* having beſieged *La Fere*, from whence the Prince of *Condé* was already departed, and gone into *England*, retook it in a ſhort time, though not without ſome loſs. The Duke of *Mayenne* took *La Mure*, and ſpread ſuch terror amongſt the *Hugonots* of that province, that he quickly reduced not only the nobleſſe and commonalty to obedience, but *Les Diguieres* himſelf alſo. And the Marſhal *De Biron* having defeated ſome troops of Gens d'armes, and taken ſeveral inconſiderable places in *Guyenne*, at laſt broke his thigh in two places, by a fall from his horſe, and retired with his army into quarters, without making any further progreſs. So that the King of *Navarre*, being not able to keep the field, and prevented from undertaking any thing of moment by the oppoſition which he met with from the King's army, yet ſhewed more courage than ſtrength, by ſtill continuing in arms and employing himſelf in undertakings of ſmall importance.

In the mean time the Duke of *Alençon* returned out of *England*, buoyed up with hopes and fair promiſes by the Queen, but without any certainty of ſucceſs in that match, and began to make preparations for his enterpriſe in the Low Countries. Upon which account he interpoſed betwixt the King his brother, and the King of *Navarre* his brother-in-law, and endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the former agreement, being afraid, that if the war ſhould break out in good earneſt again, he ſhould not be able to obtain that aſſiſtance from *France* which he expected for the accompliſhment of his deſign. He went therefore in perſon to *Libourn*, and then to *La Frêche*, a town in the county of *Foix*, whither the King of *Navarre* alſo came, and, on the King's behalf, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Marſhal *De Coſſé*, and *Pompone* Sieur *De Belliere*; in which negociation he took ſo much pains, that he brought the affair to a good concluſion. For the King of *France* was naturally inclined to it: and the King of *Navarre* was not only very weak, and much reduced by the ill ſucceſs of his late enterpriſes, but had no hopes at all of any aſſiſtance from abroad. The Prince of *Condé*, who went into *England*, and from thence into the Low Countries, and afterwards into *Germany*, found all the people there wholly intent upon the affairs of *Flanders*, weary of the inſtability of the *French Hugonots*, and diſſatisfied at their taking up arms, whilſt the King lived in peace, and punctually obſerved the conditions of agreement: ſo that having no expectation of foreign ſupplies, and not thinking his own forces ſufficient to effect any great matters, the former articles were willingly accepted by him; and thus, after the edict of the late peace, and the treaty concluded with the Queen Mother at *Nerac*

1580. were confirmed, both parties laid down their arms again, and all differences were compoſed in a peaceable manner.

After theſe civil diſſenſions were quieted, there were ſtill two different enterpriſes that kept the whole kingdom in motion: that of the Duke of *Alençon*, who, with the tacit permiſſion of his brother, was preparing to march into the Low Countries againſt the King of *Spain's* forces, under the command of *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*: and that of the Queen Mother, on account of the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of *Portugal*. For King *Sebaſtian* being ſlain in the war with the *Moors*, and after him King *Henry*, the Cardinal dying without children, amongſt many others who pretended to that crown, the Queen Mother likewiſe, as heir to the houſe of *Boulogne*, and deſcended in a right line from *Robert*, ſon of *Alphonſo* the third, and the Counteſs *Matilda* his firſt and lawful wife, entered her claim to that ſucceſſion; alledging, that all the Kings that had reigned ſince *Alphonſo* (being deſcended from *Beatrice*, who could not be the lawful wife, but concubine of *Alphonſo*, whilſt *Matilda* was yet alive) were illegitimate. And, becauſe ſhe was at ſo great a diſtance, and in many other reſpects not ſo powerful as ſome of the other competitors, ſhe was deſirous that the affair might be decided in a judiciary manner, without having recourſe to arms. But the King of *Spain*, who confided in his power and nearneſs to that kingdom, having in the mean time taken poſſeſſion of it with an army, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed the lawful ſucceſſor by thoſe that had the government of it; the Queen joined intereſts with *Anthony* Prior of *Crato* (who pretending to the ſame kingdom, had been driven out of it by the *Spaniards*) and ſent out a powerful fleet, under the command of *Philippo Strozzi*, againſt King *Philip*, to relieve the *Azores* iſlands, in the weſtern ocean, belonging to that kingdom, which yet adhered to *Anthony*, and to make new acquiſitions, if they could land upon the coaſts near *Liſbon*. The death of *Strozzi*, the diſperſion of his fleet, and other events that happened in that expedition, I muſt leave to be related by thoſe authors that write the hiſtory of *Portugal*, for fear of enlarging this narration beyond its due bounds, and making it too prolix, by the addition of foreign matters, that have but little or no connection with the affairs of *France*.

The ſame ſilence, and for the ſame reaſon, I ſhall obſerve, in relation to the expedition into *Flanders*, whither the Duke of *Alençon* (having raiſed a very great army, by the private conſent of the King) marched the
1581. following year, which was one thouſand five hundred and eighty-one, to relieve the city of *Cambray*; and after he had ſo done, and reduced it into his power, he proceeded, with a ſtill greater force, into the Low Countries, to receive the title and poſſeſſion of thoſe ſtates which had ſhaken off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and put themſelves under his protection, upon certain conditions

conditions and limitations. The King of *Spain*, therefore, and the Pope, complained to the King of *France*, by their Ambaſſadors, not only of the Duke of *Alençon's* proceedings, but that *Anthony* of *Portugal* was received in *France*, and there abetted in his pretenſions to that kingdom, by the attempts of the Queen Mother. But he anſwered the Ambaſſadors, and excuſed himſelf to both, by ordering his agents at *Rome* and *Spain* to ſay, That *Anthony* had been received by his mother, and relieved as her ſubject, as ſhe herſelf laid claim to the crown of *Portugal*: That the fleet, which had been ſent out, was equipped at her own charges, without his privity or conſent; and, though it ſhould be engaged and beaten, he ſhould not think himſelf at all injured or ill uſed, as it was a private affair, that did not concern his intereſts, or the crown of *France*: That, as to the Duke of *Alençon*, he had reſolutely oppoſed him more than once, but that he was more inclined to follow the ſuggeſtions of others than to obey his commands: That he was ſorry he had not been able to reſtrain thoſe of the *French* nation that went with him; but that the diſobedience of his ſubjects was known to all the world, as well as the quality of thoſe perſons that were gone thither, who for ſo many years had diſturbed the kingdom, in his time, and in the reigns of his brothers and predeceſſors: That for his own part, he had given a ſufficient proof of his good intentions, when the States of *Flanders*, being deſirous to put themſelves under his protection, he had refuſed it, without the leaſt heſitation: ſo that as he had no hand in the preparations that were made againſt *Flanders*, nor in the others againſt *Portugal*, he thought the peace and amity that ſubſiſted betwixt himſelf and his Catholick Majeſty were in no wiſe either violated or infringed. Concluding, that to give a further proof his ſincerity, and deſire to continue in friendſhip with the crown of *Spain*, if his Catholick Majeſty ſhould deſire it, he would, at any time, ſend an army into the Low Countries to aſſiſt the Prince of *Parma*, with expreſs orders, not only to make war againſt the States, and the other commanders, but even againſt his brother the Duke of *Alençon* himſelf. 1581.

This was the ſubſtance of what the King ſaid, which he confirmed and ſet off by many particular inſtances; but in reality endeavoured to keep both enterpriſes on foot, rejoicing not only that the Duke of *Alençon* was about to leave the kingdom, but that Monſieur *De la Noüe*, the Marſhal *De Biron*, and many other principal commanders that were to attend him, would draw off moſt of that humour which diſtempered the ſtate, along with them. When this was effected, which happened in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-two, he returned to his former repoſe, and continued the proſecution of thoſe meaſures which long practice had now made familiar to him. And, as cunning and diſſimulation were become part of his nature, he did that of courſe which he was at 1582.

1582. firſt inclined, and had reſolved to bring about by artifice, ſtill continuing to exalt and throw all the power into the hands of ſuch only as he himſelf had brought to court, who were exceſſively careſſed and favoured by him. To *Anne de Joyeuſe*, whom he had created Duke and Peer of *France*, he gave his ſiſter-in-law, and own ſiſter to the Queen, in marriage: and to *John Lewis de la Valette*, who was alſo created Duke of *Eſpernon*, and Peer of *France*, he granted the moſt important governments and the greateſt offices as they became vacant. Next to theſe, the higheſt in his favour were the Chancellor *Chiverny*, *René* Sieur *De Villequier*, *Francis* Sieur *D'O*, *Pompone de Bellieure*, *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, and the Marſhals *De Retz* and *Matignon*, who being no leſs mature in underſtanding than in years, did not aſpire to the firſt rank in the King's favour, leſt they ſhould alſo be firſt expoſed to the blaſts of envy and adverſity; but giving up the higheſt places to the vanity of younger men, contented themſelves with a more ſecure and moderate condition. The prudence of the Marſhal *De Retz* was particularly remarkable; who, being an *Italian*, and therefore knowing himſelf liable to the hatred and perſecution of the *French*, though the King endeavoured to promote him to the higheſt riches and honours, not only threw hindrances and impediments in the way of his own advancement, but afterwards, when he ſaw the King was reſolved to raiſe him, he diſcreetly contrived, that thoſe honours which he knew were deſigned for him, ſhould be procured by the intereſt and mediation of ſome perſon of the higheſt rank; which ſucceeded ſo happily for him, that his greatneſs was eſtabliſhed without envy, as every one was either unwilling, or aſhamed to oppoſe the advancement of a man, whom he himſelf had favoured with his good offices, and probably made a friend and dependant of him. But *Joyeuſe*, *Eſpernon*, and the other young men, whoſe age and experience had not taught them ſo much moderation, ſpreading all their ſails before this proſperous gale of fortune, laboured, by all poſſible means, to attain to the higheſt dignities. So that the death of *Philippo Strozzi*, who was General of the *French* infantry, happening at the *Azores*, that poſt was given to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, but with much greater power and authority. The Marſhal *De Biron* having quitted the office of Lieutenant in *Guyenne*, to go into *Flanders* with the Duke of *Alençon*, it was conferred upon the Marſhal *De Matignon*. And the governments of *Orleans*, *Blois*, and *Chartres*, vacant about that time by the death of the Marſhal *De Coſſe*, were given to the Chancellor. The ſame rule was obſerved in all things, and the moſt important places and governments were conſtantly beſtowed upon creatures of the King's own bringing up.

1583. But in the following year, one thouſand five hundred and eighty-three, the Duke of *Alençon*, having attempted to convert his limited command

mand in the Low Countries into a free and abſolute government, the ſucceſs did not anſwer his expectation: and being hated and oppoſed, upon that account, by thoſe very perſons that had firſt invited him thither, he was driven from thence by the forces of *Alexander Farneſe*, and (to the King's great mortification) returned into *France*, where, it was apprehended, he would excite ſome new diſturbances, as he was of ſo raſh and inconſiderate a diſpoſition, and always ready to run headlong into any dangerous undertaking. Being recalled, however, into *Flanders* by his adherents there, who were more inclined to him, though fickle and inconſtant, than to ſubmit to the tyranny of the *Spaniard*, the King promiſed to furniſh him with very large ſupplies of men and money, that ſo he might return to his former enterpriſe, and deliver him from the fear and ſuſpicion of freſh commotions. And he would certainly have performed his promiſes, if the Duke of *Alençon* (who was beyond meaſure afflicted at his late diſappointments, and worn out with continual care and fatigue, or, as ſome ſaid, with that diſſolute courſe of life to which he had wholly abandoned himſelf) had not died at *Chaſteau Thierry*, a caſtle of his own, in the month of *June*, one thouſand five hundred and eighty-four, leaving the States of *Flanders* at liberty to chuſe another chief, and his brother free from the apprehenſion of new inſurrections. After his death the Signiories of *Anjou*, *Angouleſme*, and *Berry*, which had been aſſigned to him for his appanage, reverted to the King. But the city of *Cambray*, taken two years before, and put under the government of the Sieur *De Balagny*, devolved ſeemingly, and, as by right of inheritance, to the Queen Mother; the King not caring to ſeize openly upon it himſelf, leſt it ſhould occaſion a rupture betwixt him and the court of *Spain*.

1583.

1584.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

OF

FRANCE.

BOOK VII.

ARGUMENT.

The true reaſons why the Duke of Guiſe and his adherents endeavour to revive the Catholick League, which was almoſt extinct. Their pretences for ſo doing. The quality of the perſons that aſſented to and concurred with the League. The deſign of drawing over the Cardinal of Bourbon, and his reſolution to embrace it. Philip, King of Spain, undertakes the protection of it. The conditions agreed to with his agents at Joinville. The Pope's irreſolution in ratifying and approving the League. He at laſt determines to defer it for a while. The King of France enters into a conſultation about proper means of oppoſing that union. The opinions differ. He ſends the Duke of Eſpernon to confer with the King of Navarre, to perſuade him to embrace the Catholick faith, and return to court. The King

King of Navarre having conſidered that propoſal, reſolves to continue firm to his party. The League takes offence at this treaty, and makes grievous complaints. The inhabitants of the Low Countries, having ſhaken off their obedience to the King of Spain, offer to put themſelves under the crown of France. The King is uncertain what to do in the affair, but at laſt refers them to another time. King Philip miſtruſts theſe proceedings, and ſollicits the Duke of Guiſe and the League to take up arms. Forces are raiſed, both within and without the kingdom, for that purpoſe. The King reſolves to oppoſe them, but finds himſelf too weak. The Cardinal of Bourbon leaves the court, retires to Peronne, and publiſhes a manifeſto with the reſt of the confederates. They aſſemble an army in Champagne, and ſeize upon Thoul and Verdun. The city of Marſeilles riſes in favour of the League, but the conſpirators are ſuppreſſed by the reſt of the citizens. The ſame happens at Bourdeaux: Lions, Bourges, and many other places in the kingdom, ſide with the League. The King anſwers the manifeſto of the League. He endeavours to draw over many particular perſons from it, as alſo the city of Lions; but not ſucceeding in his deſign, he reſolves to treat of an agreement with the confederates. The Queen Mother goes into Champagne, to confer about it with the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Bourbon. After many negociations the peace is concluded. The King of Navarre publiſhes a declaration againſt the League, and challenges the Duke of Guiſe to a duel. The Duke takes no notice of it, and cauſes the declaration to be anſwered by others. The Duke of Bouillon and the Lord of Chaſtillon go into Germany, to raiſe the Proteſtant Princes there in favour of the Hugonots. The King conſults about the manner of performing what he had promiſed in his agreement with the League. The opinions differ, and there ariſes great diſcord about it amongſt his counſellors. He reſolves to make war upon the Hugonots, and coming to the Parliament, prohibits any other religion but the Roman Catholick. He ſends for the heads of the clergy and the magiſtrates of Paris, and demands money of them to carry on the war. He raiſes ſeveral armies againſt the Hugonots. Pope Gregory the thirteenth dies. Sixtus the fifth ſucceeds him; who, at the inſtigation of the League, excommunicates the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and declares them incapable of ſucceeding to the crown. This excommunication is differently ſpoken of in France: many write againſt it, and many in favour of it.

FROM the aſhes of the Duke of *Alençon*, the half-extinguiſhed ſparks of the League began to revive and burn afreſh. For the King, by his artful management at the laſt aſſembly of the States of *Blois*, and afterwards, by making his people ſenſible of the pleaſures and advantages which reſulted from the peace, and by keeping the heads 1584.

1584. of the *Hugonots* low and at a diſtance, having taken away the occaſions and ſpecious pretences of the Lords of *Guiſe*, it was grown old of itſelf, and in a great meaſure decayed and diſſolved. And though thoſe Lords, who were ſtung to the quick by the exceſſive greatneſs of the minions, and continually ſpurred on by the ſuſpicion which they entertained of the King's proceedings, had omitted no opportunity of aſperſing him, and bringing themſelves into repute; yet things had, till that time, rather been debated and talked of, than ſettled in any determinate manner, and conſiſted more in words than actions. But now, on account of the Duke of *Alençon's* death, and becauſe the King, after having been married ten years, had no probable hope of iſſue, affairs began to take a very different turn. For as the conſideration of the King of *Navarre's* being firſt Prince of the blood, and conſequently next in ſucceſſion to the crown, continually added to the inveteracy of the *Guiſes*, his natural enemies, and ancient competitors for power: ſo it likewiſe afforded them a fair handle to renew the League, that they might take meaſures, in time, to prevent the kingdom from falling into the hands of a *Hugonot* Prince, to the ruin of the Catholicks, and the total extirpation of the eſtabliſhed religion. So that the affronts which they received, and the ſuſpicions that they had for many years entertained, concurring with the opportunity of this emergent occaſion, to urge them forwards, they began not only to repair the old ſtructure, but to plan out and lay the foundations of new deſigns. The mortifications which the Lords of *Guiſe* received at court were many and great. For, beſides ſeeing themſelves excluded from the King's favour, and the adminiſtration of ſtate affairs, in which they now had no ſhare, though formerly they uſed to be principally concerned: and being ſo little able to do any thing for their followers and dependants, becauſe the King reſerved to himſelf alone the diſpoſal of all grants and honours: they were alſo highly provoked at the greatneſs of theſe new favourites, who being raiſed merely by the liberality of their Prince, without any pretence of illuſtrious birth or merit of their own, were now arrived at ſuch a pitch of grandeur, that the ſuddenneſs of the blaze eclipſed all thoſe honours which they, with infinite pains and extreme danger, had attained to in the courſe of ſo many years. And though the Duke of *Joyeuſe* was allied to the houſe of *Guiſe*, by his marriage with the Queen's ſiſter, and ſeemed, in many reſpects, to be intereſted with them, yet they diſdained to lie under the ſhadow of another's protection, where they were wont to ſee an infinite number of perſons ſhelter themſelves under the wing of their favour and authority. To this was added, that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, either through his natural inclination, or the hopes of raiſing himſelf upon the ruins of other great men, or out of the friendſhip, which he had maintained from his childhood,

childhood, with the King of *Navarre*, who was utterly averſe to any acquaintance with them, ſeemed to deſpiſe and undervalue the merits and power of ſo great a family, and failed not, upon every occaſion, to mortify and perſecute them: whilſt, on the other hand, he conſtantly favoured and took all opportunities of ſupporting and aſſiſting the Princes of *Bourbon*. So that it was the general opinion, that, in order to lower the credit and reputation of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he had perſuaded the King to determine an affair, which had never been fully decided by his predeceſſors: namely, That in the ceremonies at the King's coronation, and upon other occaſions, the Peers ſhould not have precedence according to their age or priority of creation: but that thoſe Peers, who were Princes of the blood, ſhould abſolutely take place of all the reſt, by prerogative of the royal family; which greatly incenſed the Princes of *Lorrain*. But it touched them much more nearly, to ſee the King wholly intent upon depriving them of all their offices and governments, to heap them upon his minions. For *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, having been firſt declared Admiral (a place held by the Marquis *De Villers*, his father-in-law, after the death of the Admiral *Coligny*) was afterwards forced, by the King's earneſt requeſt, to accept eighty thouſand crowns in lieu of it, and to reſign his office, which was immediately given to the Duke of *Joyeuſe*. And becauſe the Duke of *Eſpernon* complained, that a poſt of ſo much dignity was not conferred upon him, the King, being deſirous to ſatisfy him, or at leaſt pretending to be ſo, for the accompliſhment of his deſigns, had often moved the Duke of *Guiſe* to give up his office of * Grand Maſter of the Palace: and when he ſaw the Duke was diſpleaſed at the overture, and reſolved not to part with it, he took away all the authority and privileges, that uſually belonged to the office, by little and little, leaving him only the empty name; and gave the Duke of *Eſpernon* the poſt of Colonel-General of the infantry, inſtead of it, which, having been formerly promiſed to *Timoleon de Coſſé* for his great merit, and he being dead before it became vacant, the ſucceſſion to that employment ſeemed of right to belong to his ſon *Charles* Count *De Briſac*, who was a firm friend to the Lords of *Guiſe*, as his father and grandfather had been before him. The Duke of *Aumale* likewiſe complained, that having been appointed Governor of *Picardy*, in preference to the Prince of *Condé*, admiſſion into many of the chief places was denied him, to render his poſſeſſion, in a manner, doubtful and uncertain; amongſt which *Boulogne*, *Calais*, and *La Fere*, were held by perſons depending on the King, in the name of the Duke of *Eſpernon*. In ſhort, all that bore the character of dependants on the houſe of *Guiſe*, 1584.

* Lord High Steward of the King's houſhold, formerly called *Le Comte du Palais* and *Le Seneſchal de France*.

1584. were either by money, or other means, diveſted of their offices and governments, or at leaſt deprived of the authority and execution of them, which, by indirect ways, were reſerved for, and transferred to, the King's favourites and confidants.

Theſe things were at that time either the whole, or the greateſt part of what diſguſted the Lords of *Guiſe*; in which thoſe that were converſant in ſtate affairs, and remembered what had happened five and twenty years before, could not help admiring the effects of Divine Juſtice in the revolutions of this world: when they ſaw the Princes of that houſe treated exactly in the ſame manner as they had uſed the families of *Bourbon* and *Montmorancy*, when they were at the head of the adminiſtration in the reign of *Henry* the ſecond; concluding, that though God, for the moſt part, reſerves his vengeance and puniſhments till the everlaſting pains of the world to come, yet he is ſometimes pleaſed, by ſuch manifeſtations of his power, to give us a glympſe of that juſtice with which he governs the courſe of mortal affairs.

But beſides the affronts which theſe Princes pretended to have received, they were much more deeply ſtung with the jealouſy which they had conceived, from many conjectures and other circumſtances that daily happened. For ſeeing the King took great care to balance their forces by thoſe of the *Hugonot* Lords, and did not ſeem inclined to ſuppreſs that party, which they thought he eaſily might have done: that, under various pretences, he was continually diveſting all the dependants on both factions of their honours and employments, to beſtow them on ſuch as ſhould acknowledge them merely from himſelf: that, where other excuſes were wanting, he bought thoſe offices which they poſſeſſed, with great ſums of money, to get them all into his own diſpoſal: that he allowed no interceſſion for any body, in order to take away the bait that drew ſo many followers and dependants to both parties: that he expended immenſe ſums of money to accompliſh thoſe things, and was heaping up much more in *Metz*, *Boulogne*, and *Angouleſme*, though in the name of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, they judged that all theſe meaſures tended to their ruin and deſtruction. Nor did it give them any ſatisfaction to ſee the King taken up with religious exerciſes, and now addicted to a peaceable, inactive courſe of life; for as they knew his diſpoſition, and had been intimately acquainted with him, from his very infancy, they imputed that to deep cunning and diſſimulation. The Duke of *Guiſe*, therefore, who was a man of infinite penetration, and vaſt ambition, comparing all theſe things together, determined with himſelf to be beforehand with his enemies, and to ſtrike the firſt ſtroke. In which reſolution he was boldly ſeconded by his brother *Lewis* the Cardinal, a man of high ſpirit, and no leſs reſolution and abilities than himſelf; as alſo

by *Henry de Savoye* Duke of *Nemours*, and *Charles* Marquis of *St. Surlin* (both ſons of *Anne d'Eſte*, and conſequently his brothers by the mother's ſide) by *Charles* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Aumale*, and *Claude* his brother, a Knight of *Jeruſalem*, *Charles* of *Lorrain*, Duke *D'Elbeuf*, *Emanuel*, Duke *De Mercœur*, and his brothers, who, though allied to the King, yet in regard to their common family, were yet ſtrictly united with the Duke of *Guiſe*, both in opinion and intereſts. But *Charles*, Duke of *Mayenne*, did not come into their meaſures ſo haſtily; for, weighing the courſe of human affairs with more coolneſs and deliberation, he thought it no leſs difficult and dangerous for the League to pull down the King, who was ſupported by the majeſty of the royal name, and the natural obligation of his ſubjects, than it would be for the King himſelf to ruin and deſtroy their family, that was protected by the favour of the Catholicks, and by the merit and innocence of their own actions. Upon which account, as he eſteemed it unneceſſary to put themſelves in ſuch a fright, and by that means to hazard their ſafety by raſh and precipitate reſolutions, he adviſed them to proceed with more conſideration and greater reſpect toward the lawful poſſeſſor of the crown. But the Duke of *Guiſe* being determined in his own mind, and truſting that he ſhould be able to influence, and draw all the reſt over to his opinion, by the weight of his authority, the firmneſs of his courage, the eloquence of his harangues, joined to his other great abilities, diſregarded his brother's advice, and was fully bent upon proſecuting the deſigns of the League; for the better formation and enlargement of which, he diſſembled his diſguſts as well as his ſuſpicions and private intereſts, and ſeemed only concerned for the ſake of religion and the publick good, whilſt he was continually putting a ſiniſter conſtruction upon all the King's actions, and artfully took every opportunity of exaggerating the danger which, as he pretended, hung over the Catholick religion in that kingdom. 1584.

He founded his apprehenſions upon the death of the Duke of *Alençon*, and the barrenneſs of the Queen, who, during the ſpace of ten years that ſhe had been married, had brought forth no child: ſo that if the King ſhould die without heirs to the houſe of *Valois*, the crown would devolve upon the Princes of *Bourbon*, and in the firſt place upon the King of *Navarre*, a relapſed heretick, and an open enemy to the *Roman* religion. He farther urged, that his acceſſion to the crown would be the univerſal ruin of religion, and the total converſion of *France* to the rites and opinions of *Calvin*; and therefore ſhewed how much it concerned all good Catholicks to guard againſt it in time, and prevent the imminent deſtruction with which they were threatned: and as they had united themſelves ten years before, to hinder the Prince of *Condé* from getting admiſſion into the government of *Picardy*, it behoved them much more

1584. more now to combine and unite together, to prevent the King of *Navarre* from entering, not into a city or province alone, but into poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. He endeavoured to prove, that his introduction to the throne would be very eaſy. For the King, being perſuaded by the Duke of *Eſpernon* and his other favourites (by whom he was wholly governed) and induced by them to favour and advance the party of the Princes of *Bourbon*, would bring him in, by little and little, in his own life-time, without much reſiſtance: that he had therefore granted peace to the *Hugonots*, when it was evident to the whole world they might eaſily have been extirpated in that low ebb of their fortune: that, with the ſame view, he had eluded the firm and general reſolution of the States at *Blois*, artfully fruſtrating the unanimous deſire of the whole *French* nation, by his contrivances and delays: that when he had been ſometimes in a manner compelled to make war againſt the King of *Navarre*, he employed the Marſhal *De Biron*, who, though a Catholick in outward appearance, was yet, by many former proofs, known to be a favourer of the *Hugonots*, and intereſted in their faction: that he had lately taken *Geneva* into his protection, ſhewing clearly to all the world how little he eſteemed the Catholick religion, and how well he was inclined to the enemies of the holy ſee, and of the ſovereign Pontiff of *Rome*: that for the ſame purpoſe he had excluded all the Catholick Lords from any acceſs to court, or adminiſtration in the government, particularly thoſe that had ſhed ſo much of their blood for the preſervation of the kingdom and the true faith; and had brought in new people, who were privy to his deſigns, and friends to the houſe of *Bourbon*: that he had alſo deprived all the old ſervants of the crown of their offices and honours, of the principal governments and moſt ſuſpected fortreſſes, to put them into the hands of men that were Catholicks in appearance, but in reality partial to hereticks, and inwardly adherents of the King of *Navarre*: that therefore, without remorſe or compaſſion, he daily oppreſſed the poor ſubject with new taxes and intolerable impoſitions, leſt when an opportunity offered, they ſhould be able to make any reſiſtance, and oppoſe his pleaſure and their own ſlavery: and though the King made an outward ſhew both of doing and thinking otherwiſe, yet men of underſtanding ought not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by his diſſimulation, as he only pretended to be given up to a ſpiritual life, and wholly employed in exerciſes of devotion: for they that had penetrated to the bottom of theſe pretences, were thoroughly convinced, that they were but a cloak and a maſk, which, under an outſide ſhew of piety, concealed the moſt abominable hypocriſy; and that appearing in the ſtreets full of mortification, with a crucifix in his hand, and dreſſed like a penitent in ſackcloth, he abandoned himſelf in private to his unbridled luſts,

luſts, and the brutal gratification of his depraved and unnatural appetites. 1584.
From theſe things, ſet off with much pomp of eloquence, and enforced by many, and thoſe moſt particular circumſtances, he concluded, that it was highly neceſſary to provide againſt the forementioned evils in good time, to underprop the houſe before it fell upon their heads, to unite themſelves early for their own defence, and to pull down and deſtroy thoſe engines before they were brought to perfection.

Such were the reaſons that were alledged by the Lords of *Guiſe*: what they mentioned concerning the protection of *Geneva*, was, that the King, having been deſirous to renew the alliance that had ſubſiſted for many years betwixt the *Swiſs* and the crown of *France*, the Proteſtant cantons had refuſed to come into it, except his Majeſty would take *Geneva* into his protection: and he, conſidering that the affairs of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo* were in confuſion, and the friendſhip of the Duke of *Savoy* ſuſpected and uncertain (becauſe he was nearly allied to the King of *Spain*, having taken his daughter, the Infanta *Catherine*, to wife) and that if he would have a paſſage in his power, by which he might make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the *Swiſs*, without ſetting his foot in another man's dominions, it was neceſſary for him to undertake the protection of *Geneva*, through the territories of which there is a free paſſage to thoſe places that lie on the confines of *France*, at laſt reſolved to conſent to it, though out of neceſſity, and much againſt his will, as he was, both by nature and cuſtom, very averſe to having any thing to do with the *Hugonots*. As to what was ſaid concerning the King's ſecret debaucheries, though it was not altogether without foundation, on account of his amours with the court ladies, yet it was exaggerated and extended by the malice of his enemies, to ſuch vices and enormities as he naturally deteſted and abominated: and amongſt the common people, there were ſuch ridiculous and incredible reports ſpread of his abandoned courſe of life, as occaſioned at the ſame time both laughter and abhorrence in thoſe that were the beſt acquainted with his moſt ſecret actions.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, being either moved with a ſincere zeal for the Catholick religion, or biaſſed by his own private intereſts, or prevailed upon by both thoſe conſiderations united, having now formed his deſign, and ſet a good face upon it by ſuch plauſible arguments, began to employ popular and eloquent preachers to expatiate upon them in their ſermons, and to inculcate them in private converſations amongſt the common people, in order to conciliate their affections, and to promote the intereſts and extenſion of the League. The principal of theſe were *William de la Roſe*, a man of powerful eloquence, who came afterwards to be Biſhop of *Senlis*: *John Prevoſt*, Arch-prieſt of *St. Severine's* in *Paris*, a perſon of uncommon learning, and flowing oratory; *John Boucher*, by birth

1584. birth a *Pariſian* and rector of *St. Benedict's* pariſh in the ſame city: Father *Poncette*, a friar belonging to the abby of *St. Patrick* at *Melun*: *La Chriſten*, of *Nice* in *Provence*; and *John Vinceſtre*; all celebrated preachers: and, in ſhort, moſt part of the *Jeſuits*, diſguſted, perhaps, that the King, who at firſt had taken them into great favour and confidence, was now grown weary of them, and chiefly encouraged thoſe of the order of the *Feuillants* and *Hieronymites*. And as theſe promoted the intereſts of the League at *Paris*, the ſame was done at *Lions* by *Claude Matthei*, a prieſt of the *Jeſuits* order: at *Soiſſons*, by *Matthew de Launay*, canon of that cathedral: at *Roüen*, by Father *Giles Bloüen*, of the order of *Minimes*: at *Orleans*, by *Bourlate*, a very eminent divine: at *Thoul*, by *Francis de Roſier*, Arch-deacon of that church, and an infinite number of others that were diſperſed through every part of *France*, who by their credit and eloquence, ſometimes in their pulpits, ſometimes in the congregations of penitents, and ſometimes in their ſecret conferences at confeſſions, enſnared the people, and prevailed upon them to enter into that combination: which, it is very likely, many did out of a ſincere regard for religion, imagining, that by ſuch means the *Calviniſts* would be entirely rooted out, and the authority of the church reſtored to its ancient ſplendor. Numbers, however, entered into that covenant with other views; ſome moved thereto by various hopes, others obliged by their particular intereſts, whilſt all ſhrowded themſelves under the ſame cloak, and pretended that it was only for the ſupport and preſervation of the Catholick religion; ſo that the League was compoſed of two different kinds of perſons.

The firſt ſort conſiſted of ſuch, for the moſt part, as were of eminence and diſtinction, who being diſſatisfied at the power of the King's minions, and not able to bear the diſgrace of being excluded from all offices and favour at court, concurred with that party out of reſentment and hope of change, imagining they ſhould be able to advance themſelves, and at laſt accompliſh their ends, by the ſubverſion of the miniſtry. The chief of theſe was *Lewis Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, who, after he had reſigned the government of the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, and other places beyond the *Alps*, when the King reſolved to reſtore thoſe towns that had been withheld from the Duke of *Savoy*, thought himſelf either hated or deſpiſed, and could never obtain any other government, as his great ſervices to the crown encouraged him to hope he ſhould have done. In this number alſo was *Guy*, Sieur *De Lanſac*, and *Francis*, Sieur *De St. Luc*, who having enjoyed ſome tranſient beams of the King's favour, and entertained hopes of being taken into the number of his minions, were afterwards thruſt out by their competitors, and falling from ſo great expectations, had taken the contrary ſide, out of rage and diſappointment.

Amongſt

Amongſt theſe likewiſe was Monſieur *De Vins*, a man fit to be one of the chiefs of a party, not only for the greatneſs of his parts, but for the nobility of his family, which was the principal in *Provence*, and for his undaunted courage, having ſaved the King's life at the ſiege of *Rochelle*, where he interpoſed his own body, to defend him from a harquebuſs that was levelled at him, and received the ball in his right ſide: yet the King never afterwards took the leaſt notice of him, nor rewarded him with any preferment, as he had reaſon to expect, from the merit of that ſervice. *John de Hemery*, Sieur *De Villers*, was alſo with them, to whom the government of the city and caſtle of *Caen* in *Normandy* had been granted, in recompence for his many ſervices, and eſpecially for the taking the Count of *Montgomery* priſoner; but the King, without giving him any thing in exchange, ſuddenly took it away from him, and gave it to his favourite Monſieur *D'O*. In the like circumſtances was Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, Governor of *Berry*, who, after many great and faithful ſervices, performed in the time of *Charles* the ninth, was not only unrewarded for his valour and fidelity, but alſo denied the government of *Blois* and that of *Chartres*, either of which he very much deſired, as they lay ſo commodiouſly, and ſo near to that of *Berry*. The Sieur *De Mandelot*, Governor of *Lions*, likewiſe conſented to it, who having received notice to quit his government, that it might be joined to that of *Dauphinè* and the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, in favour of *Bernard*, Sieur *De Valette*, brother to the Duke of *Eſpernon*; and ſeeing firſt the Sieur *De la Mante* and then *Du Paſſage*, both creatures of the houſe of *Valette*, put into the citadel, which is the bridle of the city of *Lions*, took that party, to ſecure his own affairs. Monſieur *D'Entragues*, Governor of *Orleans*, was another of them, who having formerly received favours and benefactions from the King, was afterwards diſguſted, that he himſelf and his government ſhould be ſubject to the inſpection of the High Chancellor, with whom he had no good underſtanding; and being moved by his hatred to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who both in words and deeds had grievouſly abuſed his ſon, he at laſt joined alſo with the Lords of the houſe of *Guiſe*. The ſame reſolution was followed by the Count *De Saut*, who with his father had formerly adhered to the *Hugonot* party, though with ill fortune, but now deſerted it to avoid the fury of ſome private enemies, by whom he was violently perſecuted, and retired, for his own ſafety, under the ſhelter and protection of the League. *William*, Sieur *De Fervaques*, alſo joined in that confederacy, who (being a man of great ſubtlety, but of a fickle and inconſtant temper, and always ready to lay hold of any opportunity of ſerving and advancing himſelf, without regard to any thing elſe) after he left the King of *Navarre*, had followed the fortune of the Duke of *Alençon*, and now wanting a ſup-

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1584. port, and not being well looked on by the King, ſought new protection and new matter to employ his reſtleſs genius. But the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, a prelate of a very different diſpoſition, who, beſides his extraordinary learning and venerable deportment, was extremely careful not to deviate from thoſe ends that were ſuitable to his vocation, was obliged to take part with the League, not only on the account of religion and his long dependance on the houſe of *Guiſe*, but by the ill uſage which he received from the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who treating him with diſdain and contempt, and repreſenting him as a diſaffected perſon, had at laſt thruſt him out of the King's favour, and almoſt out of the court, where, for his great worth, he had always been held in the higheſt eſteem. But the chief of them all was the Count *De Briſac*, who took that reſolution out of pique that the office of General of the infantry (which had been promiſed to his father, and expected by himſelf, in conſideration of the great hardſhips he had undergone in the *Portugueſe* expedition for the ſervice of the Queen Mother) was given away from him, without ſo much as a promiſe of making him amends ſome other way. Upon theſe and ſuch like motives, the Sieurs *De la Roche Briauté*, *De la Baume*, *De Sourdiac*, *De Chevrieres*, *De la Broſſe*, *De Beauvais*, *De Feron*, and an infinite number of other Gentlemen, reſolved to follow this party, either out of diſguſt for things paſt, or the hopes which they had conceived of the future.

The other kind of perſons, of whom the League was compoſed, ſeemed much inferior in quality to the firſt, but was of no leſs ſervice and advantage to the cauſe: for by their means whole towns and provinces were gained, and the common people and men of ſeveral different profeſſions brought over in all parts of the kingdom. Theſe were, for the moſt part, honeſt well-meaning men, zealous for the Catholick faith, and bitter enemies to the *Hugonots*; ſome of them really believing, that the total ruin of the *Roman* religion was at hand, as the *Guiſes* pretended; and others, being deſirous to ſee the extirpation of hereſy, not only ſtrenuouſly promoted the League themſelves, but uſed all their endeavours to ſtir up the people, and gain more adherents to that faction. To theſe alſo were joined ſome of the long robe, who, under the appearance of religion, concealed ambitious deſigns and intereſted views of promoting their own ends. Amongſt theſe was *John le Maiſtre*, Preſident in the great chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*, a man of ſtrict probity and uncorrupted morals: *Stephen de Nully*, Preſident of the ſame court, *Honorat du Lawrence*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Provence*: *John le Clerc*, afterwards called the Sieur *De Buſſy*, then Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Paris*, a man of great intereſt and authority amongſt the people: *Lewis D'Orleans*, a principal advocate in the ſame court, and a man

man of ſingular learning. *Charles Hottman*, a man of great fortune, and agent for the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. *La Chappelle-martel*, ſon-in-law to the Preſident *De Nully*, *Stephen Bernard*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*; *Roland*, Intendant of the finances; *Drouard*, an Advocate in the court of the *Chaſtelet*; *Crucé*, a Proctor in the ſame court: *Campans* and *Louchard*, Commiſſaries in the court of *Paris*, and many others of the law, who were in very great credit and reputation amongſt the common people. 1584.

This body, ſo compoſed of two ſorts of perſons of ſuch different quality, where the military men concurred with the Nobleſſe, and the magiſtrates and lawyers with the clergy, was ſtrengthened and knit together, as with ſinews and bones, by the adherents and dependants of the houſe of *Guiſe*, who inſinuating themſelves into every place, earneſtly perſuaded the people to enter into the League. For, beſides the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*, the Cardinal *De Pellevé* joined in it, together with the commendatory *Diu*, a Knight of *Jeruſalem*; *Claude*, Baron *De Seneſçay*; the Sieur *De Baſſompierre*; *Peter Jeanin*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Dijon*; the Baron *De Medauy*; the Chevalier *Bertin*; the Sieurs *D'Antraguet*, *De Riberac*, *De Roſné*, *De Nice*, *De la Barge*, *De Bois Dauphin*, *De Chamois*, *De Beau-regard*, *De Meneville*, Monſieur *St. Paul*, and *Sacremore Birague*, both Colonels of foot, with a vaſt number of others, prelates, noblemen, and commanders, who owed their riſe to the favour and power of the houſe of *Lorrain*.

But as the Duke of *Guiſe* had learnt, by the experience of all former times, and the examples of the *Hugonots* late proceedings, that, through the natural inclination of the *French*, theſe deſigns would have but a weak foundation, without the protection of a Prince of the blood, he began to think of endeavouring to bring over ſome one of them, who might furniſh him with the authority and pretenſions of the royal blood, and was yet of ſuch a temper and diſpoſition, that he would ſuffer himſelf to be wholly governed and directed by him. Now there was no one more fit for his purpoſe than *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, third brother to *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, and to *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, both deceaſed. For having been always moſt religiouſly devoted to the Catholick faith, and a profeſſed enemy to the *Hugonots*, it would be eaſy to work upon him, by motives of religion, to concur with the League, and to put himſelf at the head of it. And he was alſo of ſo moderate a capacity, and of ſuch a mild and gentle diſpoſition, that the Duke of *Guiſe* might turn him which way ſoever he pleaſed, without much difficulty. But it was of ſtill greater importance, that being the oldeſt Prince of the blood, and uncle to the King of *Navarre*, he might bring the inheritance of the crown in queſtion, and pretend, that if the King died without heirs, the

1584. ſucceſſion of right belonged to him. He was therefore a very proper inſtrument to foment the pretenſions of the League, the members of which profeſſed, that the main deſign of their uniting in that manner, was, to exclude the King of *Navarre* and the other Princes, who were followers or favourers of hereſy, from the ſucceſſion to the crown. Nor was it long before fortune favoured the Duke of *Guiſe's* endeavours, with a convenient opportunity of accompliſhing his deſires with much facility. For *Andrew*, Sieur *De Rubempré*, a man of great pride and vanity, but one that, by his obſequious and ſmooth behaviour, and dreſſing in a manner that was conformable to the Cardinal's humour, had inſinuated himſelf very far into his good graces, and was reckoned his chief favourite and confidant.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, therefore, cauſed the nature of that title to be infuſed into this man (by means of the advocate *Lewis D'Orleans*, and the Abbé *De St. Owyn*, brother to *Pelicart* his Secretary) on the ſtrength of which his patron might pretend to the crown of *France*: urging, that *repreſentation*, as the lawyers call it, is of no validity in collateral degrees; and therefore that the King of *Navarre* could not repreſent the perſon of *Anthony* his father, who was the eldeſt of the brothers in the inheritance of the kingdom of *France*, but that, without doubt, it belonged to the Cardinal yet alive, and not to his elder brother, who was dead ſo many years ago. Beſides, that the King of *Navarre* being a relapſed heretick, and by the canon law incapable of ſucceeding to the moſt chriſtian kingdom of *France*; and the other Princes of the blood being likewiſe followers and favourers of hereſy, and conſequently excluded by the ſame incapacity, it was not to be ſuffered, that the frivolous conſideration and ſcruple of prejudicing the right of his nephew, ſhould cauſe it to fall into other hands: that therefore his ſucceſſion was not only juſt, becauſe the laws ſo ordained, but highly neceſſary and expedient, to prevent the excluſion of the true heirs, and at the ſame time to preſerve the Catholick religion. To this they added, that though the Cardinal was rather infirm than old, and the King of *France* yet in the flower of his youth, yet, conſidering the ſhort lives of his brothers, the weakneſs of his own conſtitution, and the continual debauches by which he was half worn out, the Cardinal was likely to out-live him, and come to the poſſeſſion of the crown before his nephew; and might transfer it to the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, who was alſo his nephew, and educated by him in the Catholick faith, to which he ſo religiouſly adhered, that amongſt ſuch a number of hereticks, and favourers of hereticks, he alone ſeemed worthy of reigning over ſo chriſtian a kingdom as that of *France*.

Theſe arguments being not only enforced by them in converſations,

and confirmed by numberleſs examples, but ſet forth in their writings, and embelliſhed with their uſual eloquence, ſoon made an impreſſion upon *Rubempré*, who was more ambitious of being the minion of a King, than the favourite of a Cardinal. Nor was it any difficult matter to inſtill them into the Cardinal himſelf: for, beſides the reaſons alledged, and the near hopes of the ſucceſſion, he repreſented to himſelf the great honour he ſhould get by propagating and extending the Catholick faith, of which he had always been a moſt zealous protector: whereas, if his nephew came to the crown, it was not to be doubted but he would utterly ſubvert that religion, and ſpread the poiſon of hereſy through the whole kingdom. This ſeed being plentifully ſcattered, and with great art, the Cardinal grew ſo fond of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his party, that when it was neceſſary to come to a reſolution, he was eaſily prevailed upon to put himſelf at the head of the League, and became a cloak and a ſhield to them that ſought the ruin and extirpation of his family, voluntarily taking the weight and burden of that enterpriſe upon his own ſhoulders. For, being over-reached by the cunning and flattery of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he gave himſelf wholly up to his opinions and government, eſteeming and honouring him exceedingly for his invincible courage and ardent zeal for the Catholick religion. So that they who then talked freely of affairs, after the manner of the *French*, uſed to compare the Cardinal to a camel, for kneeling down before his enemies, to take up a burden that might endanger the breaking of his own back. 1584.

But the League being eſtabliſhed and confirmed with theſe forces, and with the ſanction of religion and the royal blood: that it might alſo be furniſhed with money ſufficient to ſupport it, and thoſe other appendages that were neceſſary to add credit and authority to it: and that it might not want any thing that ſeemed requiſite for the ſucceſs of ſo great an enterpriſe, the Duke of *Guiſe* began to renew the negociations with *Spain* and *Rome*, which for ſome years paſt had, with many other affairs, either lain totally dormant, or been but coldly proſecuted. Nor did he find the King of *Spain* at all backward in the matter; on the contrary, being deſirous to free himſelf from the apprehenſions which he had conceived, that the *French* might occaſion him ſtill further trouble in the Low Countries, and offended at the late attempts and diſturbances there and in *Portugal*, he could not help being very well pleaſed, that they ſhould be ſo much employed in their own affairs, that they could not have any leiſure to concern themſelves in thoſe of their neighbours. And it being for his advantage that the *Hugonots* ſhould be ſuppreſſed, who bitterly hated his very name, and that the King of *Navarre* ſhould be kept from the crown of *France*, who ſtill continued in his intentions of endeavouring to recover the dominions that had been taken from him,

and

1584. and were now annexed to the crown of *Spain*, he earneſtly longed for an opportunity of cruſhing them both together; upon which conſiderations, he not only concurred with them in their undertaking, without any heſitation, but agreed alſo to furniſh them with money, imagining, he ſhould be able to accompliſh his vaſt deſigns in every part of the world, if *France*, which was the only power that could balance and reſtrain his forces, could be ſo entangled in its own inteſtine diſſentions, as to afford him time and opportunity of arriving at that degree of ſtrength and grandeur, which powerful Princes generally aſpire to. Neither did he eſteem it any violation of the peace, which was ſtill kept up with the crown of *France*: For if the Duke of *Alençon* had been openly aſſiſted by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, when he made war againſt his armies in the Low Countries, to obtain the dominion over a people that had ſhaken off their obedience to him: and if the Queen Mother had oppoſed his ſucceſſion to the kingdom of *Portugal* with the forces of the crown, he thought it much more lawful, to prevent the Catholicks in *France* from being oppreſſed by the *Hugonots*, and to hinder the King of *Navarre*, his declared enemy, from ſucceeding to the throne. And as the King of *France* had denied, that he either fomented the diſturbances in *Flanders*, or was concerned in the *Portugueze* expedition, whilſt both wars were manifeſtly carried on with the forces and money of his kingdom; he likewiſe thought himſelf at liberty, to ſend private aſſiſtance to the League, as he propoſed, and at the ſame time to deny, that he had the leaſt intention either to break or violate the peace.

For this purpoſe *Juan Baptiſta Taſſi*, Knight of the order of *St. Jago*, and *Juan Morreo*, his Catholick Majeſty's Commiſſioners, being come to *Joinville*, a place belonging to the Duke of *Guiſe*, on the confines of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, and being met there by the Duke himſelf, the Duke of *Mayenne*, his brother, and *Francis* Sieur *De Meneville*, the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* agent, in behalf of the League, both parties agreed to
1585. the following conditions, on the ſecond day of the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty five: That in caſe the preſent King of *France* ſhould die without a ſon, lawfully begotten, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſhould be declared King, as firſt Prince of the blood, and conſequently true heir to the crown; totally excluding from the ſucceſſion, all thoſe that were hereticks, apoſtates, or followers and favourers of hereticks, and had made themſelves incapable of it. And that, during the life of the preſent King, to prevent thoſe hereticks from opening and facilitating their way to the attainment of the crown, by means that they were continually practiſing, the confederated Princes ſhould raiſe armies, aſſemble forces, make war upon the *Hugonots*, and do all other things that ſhould be thought convenient and neceſſary: That if the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſucceeded

ceeded to the crown, he ſhould ratify the peace already concluded at *Cambreſis*, betwixt the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and obſerve it punctually; and uſing his utmoſt endeavours to extirpate all hereticks, by force of arms, till they were utterly deſtroyed; ſhould cauſe the decrees and conſtitutions of the council of *Trent* to be religiouſly obeyed, and prohibit the exerciſe of any other religion in the kingdom but the *Roman* Catholick. That he ſhould promiſe for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to renounce all friendſhip and alliance with the *Turk*, and not conſent to any thing that he ſhould contrive or attempt, in any place, againſt the common welfare of Chriſtendom. That he ſhould reſtrain all piracies, by which the ſubjects of the crown of *France* interrupted the commerce and navigation of the *Spaniards* to the *Indies*. That he ſhould reſtore to his Catholick Majeſty, all that had been taken from him by the *Hugonots*, and particularly the city and juriſdiction of *Cambray*; and that he ſhould aſſiſt him with proper forces, to recover what had been wreſted from him, by his rebellious ſubjects, in the Low Countries. On the other hand, that King *Philip* ſhould be obliged to contribute fifty thouſand crowns, in ready money, every month, for the ſupport of the League, and its forces: and further, ſhould aſſiſt them with ſuch a number of men, as ſhould be thought neceſſary to promote the progreſs of their arms, not only during the life of the preſent King, but after his death, for the utter extirpation and abolition of hereſy. That he ſhould take the Cardinal of *Bourbon* into his protection, together with the Lords of the houſe of *Guiſe*, the Dukes of *Mercœur* and *Nevers*, and all the other Lords and Gentlemen, that ſhould ſubſcribe to the league, with a promiſe to aſſiſt them againſt the *Hugonots* and their abettors, and to defend them againſt all violence and perſecution whatſoever. That no treaty, or agreement of any kind, ſhould be entered into with the King of *France*, without the mutual conſent of both parties; and, that the articles of this confederacy ſhould be kept ſecret, for many weighty conſiderations, till a more convenient opportunity. 1585.

This was the ſubſtance of the agreement made with King *Philip*; who, beſides the aforeſaid articles, ſecretly promiſed to contribute the yearly ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns, to be laid out by the Duke himſelf, to promote the intereſts of the League. But the negotiation met with more impediments, and was not brought to ſo ſpeedy a concluſion at *Rome*, where the ſame reaſons of ſtate did not ſubſiſt: For though father *Matthei* poſted from one place to another, with wonderful expedition, and took great pains to cement this union: and though Cardinal *Pellevè* ſtayed at *Rome*, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon Pope *Gregory* to take it into his protection; yet that Pontif, being of a very mild diſpoſition, and great goodneſs, reſolved, in this affair, to follow the

advice

1585. advice of his ſecretary *Tolomeo*, Cardinal of *Como*, a man of conſummate experience in ſtate affairs; and finding, that he could not thoroughly penetrate into the deſigns of the League, he thought he could not in juſtice conſent to the taking up arms againſt a King, who was manifeſtly a Catholick, and ſhewed infinite reſpect to the *Roman* religion, under a pretence of certain things, which he could not form any immediate judgment of, as they ſeemed dark and obſcure to him, and ſuch as only concerned the conſciences of men: for which reaſons, he ſtill deferred coming to any reſolution, till time ſhould diſcover the bottom of thoſe deſigns, which at preſent appeared very deep and impenetrable. In the mean while, he formed a congregation of certain Cardinals, and other experienced men, who were to meet and conſider the propoſals of the League: and as they ſtill anſwered conditionally, with this clauſe, *If the thing be ſo*, by which they ſhewed their doubt of the truth of thoſe things which had been repreſented to them by *Pellevè* and *Matthei*, the Pope continued to feed the agents of the confederates with good hopes, exhorting them to be vigilant, for the ſupport of the true religion, and extirpation of hereſy. For the reſt, he amuſed them with continual delays; nor could they ever, by any means, get any writing under his hand, on the ſtrength of which they might ſafely affirm, that he had approved of the League, or taken it into his protection.

Whilſt the confederate Lords were thus buſy in ſtrengthening their union, the King of *France*, being particularly informed of all theſe things, conſidered with himſelf, and conſulted with his moſt intimate confidants, what meaſures he ought to take, to divert, or oppoſe the fury of this attack. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Monſieur *D'O*, and *Alberto Gondi*, Marſhal *De Retz*, were of opinion, that the King ſhould ſhew his face boldly, and immediately join with the *Hugonots*, and the King of *Navarre*, in order to be before-hand with the *Guiſes*: that, finding them yet unprovided, and diſagreeing in their opinions, as it uſually happens in confederacies, where the concurrence of many is neceſſary, he might pluck up the firſt ſprouts of that pernicious ſeed; alledging, that being unarmed, and not yet firmly united, they might be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed before they could have time, either to aſſemble any forces, or receive any ſupplies and aſſiſtance from *Spain*: That it was not adviſable to ſtay till that huge fabrick was brought to perfection, and all the members of its body united: That it was bad policy to give time, till the great abundance of humours, which daily grew more dangerous and malignant, ſhould ſieze upon ſome of the vital parts of the kingdom; for as they might eaſily be purged away in their beginnings, before they were collected, ſo it would be very difficult, and perhaps ineffectual, to apply any remedy, when they were gathered together

gether in one corrupted maſs, and ready to ſtifle and ſuffocate the natural vigour: That they were very well aſſured, neither the Duke of *Guiſe*, nor any of his faction, had yet aſſembled any troops, and depended only on the concurrence of ſome church-men and the common people, with the adherence of a few of the nobility; forces too weak of themſelves, and not to be truſted to, as the greater part of them would diſperſe of their own accord, whenever they ſhould ſee any conſiderable ſtrength ready to oppoſe them: That the King of *Spain* was ſo embarraſſed with the affairs of *Flanders*, that he could not, without much difficulty, and many delays, perform ſo much as part of thoſe things, which he had now ſo liberally promiſed, to ſtir up the turbulent ſpirits of the *French:* and that the Pope, a Prince at ſo great a diſtance, and not very ſtrong, who ſeldom uſed any other than ſpiritual weapons, was not yet determined either to protect or aſſiſt the League. On the contrary, the greater part of the nobility, always provided with arms, and ready for war, would immediately aſſemble, whereſoever the King ſhould pleaſe to call them, in a caſe of ſo great importance: That the *Swiſs*, who had lately renewed their ancient alliance with the crown, would hire him any number of ſoldiers he ſhould have occaſion for: That the King of *Navarre* and the *Hugonots*, who ſtill continued in arms for their own defence, would thank God for ſo fair an opportunity, and willingly return to their obedience to his Majeſty, in order to make head againſt their natural enemies: That in the courſe of ſo many civil wars experience had conſtantly taught them, that neglect in the beginning rendered the diſeaſe mortal and incurable; and that quick and ſpirited reſolutions, were generally attended with a happy progreſs, and glorious concluſion. 1585.

But the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, *Renè* Sieur *de Villequier*, *Pompone* Sieur *de Bellievre*, and *Villeroy*, Secretary of ſtate, were of a different opinion; urging, that if the King intended to make war againſt the houſe of *Lorrain*, and all the other confederate Lords, he muſt either do it alone, and by his own ſtrength, or in conjunction with the *Hugonots:* that if he moved alone, his forces would be very weak and inconſiderable; for as the whole kingdom was divided into Catholicks and *Hugonots*, he, being an enemy to both, would have no party at all, except ſome few ſervants and dependants, againſt two powerfully eſtabliſhed and inveterate factions, which were in poſſeſſion of all the largeſt and moſt conſiderable Provinces in *France:* for the *Hugonots* had ſecured *Poictou*, *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, and *Gaſcony*, together with great part of *Dauphinè*; and the intereſts of the *Guiſes* was firmly eſtabliſhed in *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Picardy*, *Lionnois*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*, beſides the city of *Paris*, which was very much inclined to favour them: ſo that his Majeſty would certainly be left without revenues, without ſtrong places, without ſubjects, without an army,

1585. and without money, by entering into a war ſo ruinous to himſelf, and ſo ridiculous to all the world. But if he joined with the *Hugonots*, beſides the unworthineſs of the action, ſo contrary to his former principles and deſigns, and ſo unbecoming the picty of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and eldeſt ſon of the Holy Church, it would be attended with very heavy conſequences; as the alienation of all the remaining part of the Catholicks, and the revolt of the city of *Paris*, ſo conſtant to the true religion, and ſo confirmed an enemy to the *Hugonots*; beſides the addition of freſh forces to the League, (which could not receive better news, or more effectual nouriſhment) and the authenticating thoſe lies and ſcandals, which had already been ſpread abroad, concerning the King's deſigns and real intentions: that it would juſtify and put a good face upon the *Spaniard's* protection of the League, and neceſſitate the Pope to declare in favour of it, when he ſaw the King united with the enemies of the Apoſtolick See: That the moſt important, the neareſt, and inland provinces of *France* would be loſt, by waiting for ſupplies and aſſiſtance from thoſe that were at ſuch a diſtance, and at the extreme parts of the kingdom. Nor was the ſtrength of the *Hugonots* conſiderable, or their aſſiſtance to be depended upon; for on one hand, they were exhauſted, and unable to come out of their native Provinces, where yet they could hardly ſupport themſelves: and on the other, they could not eaſily unite themſelves faithfully and ſincerely with the King in ſo ſhort a time, as he had always been their bitter enemy and perſecutor: That the memory of the recent and bloody maſſacre at *Paris*, of which he was eſteemed the principal author, and in a manner the ſole perpetrator, would have much more weight with them than any profeſſions of kindneſs at preſent, which would be looked upon by the ſuſpicious, only as diſſimulation, and an artifice to draw the ſimple and unwary into his net again; and, finally, that the proverb was very true, *Different natures never agree well together*. So that they thought it would be much better, to give ſatisfaction to all in general, and to the confederated Lords in particular; the greater part of whom, they knew, had conſented to that union, only out of private diſguſts and reſentment: for if the Lords of *Guiſe*, and the other principal men in the kingdom, could be ſatisfied, the pretence of religion would vaniſh, and grow out of date, and the League muſt of neceſſity break and diſſolve of itſelf; inſiſting, that when the cauſes were taken away, the effects would naturally ceaſe; and ſhewing, at large, that it was in the King's power to diſunite the League, by granting thoſe things, of his own accord, to the chiefs, and others of the confederates, which they endeavoured to extort from him by force of arms, the event of which was uncertain and precarious.

The Queen Mother concurred in this advice, as the ſafeſt, and that which was likely to be attended with the leaſt noiſe and ſcandal. And, being

being experienced in the ſeveral revolutions of ſo many years, ſhe thought it no leſs dangerous than ſhameful, to forſake the more favourable, more certain, more powerful, and more conſtant party of the Catholicks, to follow the almoſt deſperate fortune of the *Hugonots*. This was, likewiſe, the common voice and opinion of the generality of the courtiers; who every where, but eſpecially in *France*, uſually talk with great freedom, of the moſt important concerns of their maſters. 1585.

But the authority of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the other minions, was very great: and they foreſaw their own ruin inevitable, in that ſatisfaction which was propoſed to be granted to the confederated Lords; for thoſe things, which they knew they would inſiſt upon, could not be granted, without diveſting the favourites of that greatneſs and authority, and of thoſe offices, which they then enjoyed: So that not one of them, except the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, conſented to an agreement with the Catholick League; to which he was induced, partly by the hatred that he bore to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who ſtood much higher than himſelf in the King's favour; and partly, becauſe he thought his near alliance with the houſe of *Lorrain* would enable him to keep upon his legs, and ſtand his ground, though all the reſt of the minions ſhould fall. Beſides, this advice was very contrary to the inclination and deſigns of the King himſelf, and would oblige him to pull down, in one inſtant, all that he had been ſo many years in building up: For if he conſented to give the *Guiſes*, and their confederates, ſatisfaction, he muſt be forced to put that authority, thoſe fortreſſes and offices into their hands again, from whence he had been ſo long in diſengaging but a part of them, and that too by little and little, with infinite pains and expence, and muſt himſelf, of conſequence, deſtroy his own firſt reſolution, of totally ruining and extirpating both factions. He would, therefore, more willingly, have conſented to oppoſe the League, and join with the *Hugonots*, if the remonſtrances of his own conſcience, together with the unſeemlineſs of the action, and the oppoſition that he met with from the Queen Mother, had not abſolutely diſſuaded him from it. In this ſtate of doubt and uncertainty, he at laſt reſolved to ſound the King of *Navarre's* inclination more thoroughly, and to feel the pulſe of the *Hugonots*, that he might endeavour, if it was poſſible, to prevail upon him, and the other Princes of *Bourbon*, to reconcile themſelves to the Church: imagining, if he could ſucceed in that, he ſhould be able to deſtroy the foundations of the League, and reduce the *Guiſes* to very great ſtraits and difficulties. For when their chief pretence of ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown to the true heir, which gave colour and authority to the affairs of the League, was once taken away, and he had united the forces of the houſe of *Bourbon* ſincerely to himſelf, he ſhould not only prevent all oppoſition from the court of *Rome*, and

1585. undeceive the common people, who were made to believe, that this confederacy was calculated only for the defence and preſervation of the Catholick religion, but ſilence all clamours ariſing from the inſtigation of the Clergy, and ſo put an end to the whole affair at once. He hoped likewiſe, that many individuals, and perhaps the very heads of that party, would be prevailed upon, by ſhame and reſpect, to deſiſt from thoſe practices, which then would have no other foundation left, but the ambition and unreaſonable pretenſions of great men; and that by withdrawing the fewel, the flame, which then raged with ſuch fury, and ſpread ſo far, would preſently be extinguiſhed.

For this purpoſe he diſpatched the Duke of *Eſpernon* to confer with the King of *Navarre*, under a pretence of going to viſit his mother, who was then very old, and lived in *Gaſcony*: being fully perſuaded, that for his own intereſt, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to convert him to the Catholick religion; for if he failed in that, he muſt ſee that the King would be inevitably neceſſitated to gratify the heads of the League, and reduce the grandeur of his favourites, amongſt whom he held the chief rank. But the Duke of *Eſpernon*, being come to the King of *Navarre* in *Gaſcony*, and propoſing very advantagious conditions to him, in his Majeſty's name, provided he would reſolve to turn Catholick, and come to court; there aroſe no leſs doubts and debates in his council, than there had done before in the court of *France*. For the Sieurs *John de Saligman*, and *Anthony de Roquelaure*, the King of *Navarre's* moſt faithful counſellors, earneſtly perſuaded him to rely upon the King's word, to reconcile himſelf to the Catholick church, and return to court, as firſt Prince of the blood: alledging, that this was the only way to conquer his enemies, without arms or diſpute, to recover the place due to him, in right of his birth, to get poſſeſſion of the inheritance of the crown, to which the King himſelf, conſidering he had no children, would not fail to open and facilitate his paſſage, and finally to re-eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity, not only in his own family and affairs, but throughout the whole kingdom of *France*. And though he would be obliged to ſuffer much, and to diſſemble and bear with many things to attain thoſe ends, yet it would be acting the part of a wiſe man to mortify his inclinations, and reſtrain his deſires in matters of inferior concern, in order to accompliſh ſo great and important a deſign: That if many people underwent great hardſhips to obtain a private inheritance, and perhaps but a very moderate one, much more ought to be done and ſuffered, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown of *France*: That they clearly ſaw the King's intention, and the inclination of his counſellors and favourites; nor could he ever wiſh for a fairer opportunity, of ſubverting and diſſipating the power of his ancient enemies and perſecutors.

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But his Chancellor, *Arnold* Sieur *De Ferriere*, a man of great ſubtlety and profound learning, was of a different opinion, and earneſtly perſuaded him to the contrary. For having returned to *France*, after his embaſſy to *Venice*, where he had reſided many years, and finding himſelf but little eſteemed at court, he had retired from thence, and gone over to the King of *Navarre*. So that being afraid, if his maſter came to an agreement with the King and returned to his duty, he ſhould be left deſtitute and forſaken, he, though a Catholick, concurred in opinion with *Philip de Mornay*, Sieur *Du Pleſſis*, *D'Aubigny*, one of the King of *Navarre's* confidants, and with the reſt of the *Hugonots*, who, being obſtinate in their principles, endeavoured to ſhew, that temporal advantages were not to be preferred to a good conſcience and the ſalvation of the ſoul, which are eternal: that the King of *Navarre* ought to take care, leſt, by changing his faith ſo often, he ſhould get the publick and ſcandalous character, not only of a fickle and inconſtant man, but even of an Atheiſt: that the hopes with which they now endeavoured to amuſe him, were built upon a very weak foundation; for the King and Queen of *France*, being in the flower of their age, might yet very likely have children; in which caſe their former affections and inclinations would certainly revive, and he would become the joke and contempt of the court, as he had been before: that the hope of ſucceeding a King, who was but two and thirty years old, was a very diſtant and precarious one, as the King of *Navarre* himſelf was but little younger; ſo that, according to the common courſe of nature, it was not eaſy to judge which of them would live the longer: that in the mean time, for the ſake of things ſo remote and uncertain, he muſt not only live in a ſtate of preſent ſervitude, and lay down the command and dependance of his followers, but deprive himſelf of the power and ſupport of his party, and ſubmit to the pleaſure and diſcretion of his enemies. That all the world knew the temper and inclinations of the King, who being deſirous, for his own intereſt, to make uſe of the King of *Navarre* in the preſent conjuncture, would reaſſume his former hatred after the danger was over, and proſecute the intention that he had derived from the firm reſolution of his anceſtors, to depreſs, and perſecute, and finally to deſtroy the houſe of *Bourbon*. And with what ſentiments, with what heart, could he return to impriſon himſelf in the *Louvre*, where he had, with his own eyes, beheld that bloody maſſacre of all his friends, and for many hours held his own life ſo uncertain, that he ought to acknowledge his ſafety rather as the effect of divine goodneſs, than of any clemency and moderation in his enemies? That he ought not to diſtruſt the juſtice of God in eſtabliſhing him in the lawful poſſeſſion of the crown, in caſe the King ſhould die without a ſon: that it was much more eaſy to ſucceed 1585.

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1585. ceed in that point, whilſt he was ſupported by a powerful body of forces and the adherence of an armed party, that had ſo often withſtood the fury of his perſecutors, and the rage of ſo many Princes combined together againſt him, than when he was deſerted by his friends, deprived of all aſſiſtance, deſpiſed by his enemies, and thrown into a priſon at court: that therefore he ought not for the future to expoſe himſelf to the certainty of being betrayed, and perhaps of being poiſoned or murdered, as he had ſeen his mother, and ſo many of his friends and ſervants; but to ſupport himſelf by his own magnanimity, and leave the event of things, ſo diſtant and obſcure, to the direction of Divine Providence.

There was no doubt amongſt the wiſeſt men, but the firſt advice, of reconciling himſelf to the King and church, and returning to the court, was the ſafeſt and moſt expedient: but he could not lay aſide the ſuſpicion of being deceived again, and circumvented by the machinations of his enemies: nor could his active genius bear to think of quitting his liberty, and the command over his party, for almoſt a certain impriſonment, or at beſt a very private ſtation at court. He conſidered, that if he was wrong in this, his error could not be fatal, as his life would ſtill be ſecure: whereas, if the King was not ſincere in his profeſſions, or ſhould ſuffer himſelf again to be influenced and directed by the arts and authority of the *Guiſes*, he ſaw he muſt infallibly run the riſk of being either poiſoned or aſſaſſinated. He was alſo very deeply affected with the thoughts of the Lady *Margaret* his wife. For having in a manner repudiated her, on account of her infamous way of life, and ſhe being gone to a caſtle belonging to her in *Auvergne*, where ſhe continued her diſſolute courſes, he ſaw that he muſt of neceſſity either receive her to his bed again, or never expect to live in ſincere friendſhip and confidence with the Queen Mother and his brother-in-law, but that new diſcords and diſſenſions would daily ariſe, to the utter ruin of his affairs. Theſe conſiderations, added to the authority of *Ferrier*, and the arguments and inſtigation of the miniſters, made him reſolve neither to turn Catholick nor go back to court; though he very reſpectfully, and with great modeſty, offered the aſſiſtance and forces of his whole party to ſerve his Majeſty whenever he pleaſed, to reduce thoſe to their duty who had preſumed to diſturb the peace of his kingdom with the forces of the League.

In this conference, the reſtitution of thoſe places that had been granted to the *Hugonots* by the edict of pacification, was likewiſe treated of, as it had been many times before: for as the limited time was expired, the King moved to have them reſtored to him according to the agreement. But the King of *Navarre*, being determined not to forſake his party, excuſed himſelf for not delivering them up; by repreſenting, that the times to come were like to be ſuch, as made him rather deſire to have others added

added to them, than to reſtore thoſe of which he was already in poſſeſſion; beſeeching the King to conſider the urgency of his affairs, and to impute the failure to the open attempts and inceſſant perſecution of his enemies. But this point being brought upon the carpet only to keep up appearances, there was not much debate about it: and the excuſe was readily admitted and approved of, on account of the preſent circumſtances and ſituation of affairs. 1585.

With theſe anſwers the Duke of *Eſpernon* returned to court. But the heads of the League took occaſion, from this conference, to report every where, that it had been to propoſe a union betwixt the King of *France* and the *Hugonot* faction for the eſtabliſhment of hereſy, and the introducing the King of *Navarre*, a known enemy of the Catholick church, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom: for which purpoſe the King had alſo ſent him two hundred thouſand ducats. Theſe things being thundered out of the pulpits, by their preachers, filled the people with vain fears, and an implacable hatred to the perſon of their Prince, and all his favourites and counſellors. But the vanity and impatience of the *Hugonots* in a great meaſure refuted theſe calumnies: for the Sieur *Du Pleſſis*, being ambitious of having it known that he was the author of the King of *Navarre's* determinations, and deſirous of getting credit and eſteem with his own party, publiſhed a printed narrative of all that paſſed at the conference with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, together with the arguments made uſe of by the King of *Navarre's* counſellors, and his final reſolution and anſwer: by which it appeared, that the King of *France* did not want to join with the *Hugonots* for the ſuppreſſion of the Catholick religion, as it was given out by the League, but only endeavoured to bring back the King of *Navarre*, and the other Princes of the blood, into the boſom of the church. And alſo, that it was not true, that the King voluntarily conſented, that the *Hugonots* ſhould keep poſſeſſion of thoſe places, but that, as they refuſed to reſtore them for apparent reaſons, he ſeemed to bear with their denial, rather than to put arms into the hands of the other faction alſo, at ſo unſeaſonable a time.

The Duke of *Eſpernon*, at his return, found new matter of doubts and conſultations: for, after the Duke of *Alençon's* death, the people of the Low Countries, being deprived of all foreign aſſiſtance, and in a manner abandoned by every body, reſolved to put themſelves under the crown of *France*, and by that means to ſecure the King's protection againſt the *Spaniards*. For which purpoſe, they ſent an honourable embaſſy, about that time, to the King of *France*, to intreat him to take upon him the ſovereignty and protection of all their territories, and to make war upon the King of *Spain* with a powerful army, to deliver them entirely from that yoke which they had already, in ſome meaſure, ſhaken off.

1585. This embaſſy was at firſt kept ſecret by his Majeſty, leſt it might exaſperate King *Philip*, but afterwards publickly received and admitted, when he ſaw the *Spaniſh* agents ſtill continued to foment the League.

There were many of thoſe who had adviſed him to join with the *Hugonots*, that exhorted him not to reject the offer of ſo large a territory, and ſo fair an opportunity of extending his dominions; urging, that as the *Spaniards* thought it lawful to diſturb the peace and quiet of his kingdom by ſecret practices and ſuggeſtions, ſurely it was much more lawful for him to undertake the protection of that oppreſſed people, to retort the injury that he had received, and to reduce thoſe to a neceſſity of looking to their own, who now craftily endeavoured to throw the affairs of others into diſorder and confuſion: that this was the beſt way to digeſt and expel the noxious humours that diſtempered his kingdom: that he would never enjoy any peace at home, but by making war abroad, to engage the forces and reſtleſs ſpirit of his ſubjects: That this was an effectual method to break the League, which, being deprived of all ſupplies and aſſiſtance from the *Spaniard*, muſt naturally ſink of its own accord, not having ſufficient ſtrength or ability to ſupport itſelf: That, finally, it was high time to free themſelves from the numberleſs miſeries that ſurrounded them, to give vent to the ardour of the *French* nation, and rather to employ their arms for the deſtruction of the ancient enemies of the kingdom, than uſe them to tear out the bowels of their common mother.

But as theſe reaſons ſeemed feaſible, and the end was certainly very great and generous, ſo it was exceeding difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to be accompliſhed. For with what armies, with what forces could the King pretend to undertake and carry on a war of ſuch conſequence, whilſt his kingdom was ſo miſerably divided and torn to pieces, and he himſelf diſtruſted by both factions? On the Catholick party he could have no dependance, becauſe moſt of them were ſecretly united with the King of *Spain*: and to join with the *Hugonots*, would be attended with the difficulties and impediments that have been before-mentioned. The King, therefore, being determined by the circumſtances of affairs, and adviſed by his mother, returned a very gracious anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, expreſſing his concern for the oppreſſions they complained of, excuſing himſelf by the preſent diviſions and inteſtine diſcords of his kingdom, and ſhewing how ready he ſhould be to ſuccour and protect them at another time: with which anſwer, and great ſhew of reſpect, they were at laſt diſmiſſed. And yet, when Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, his Catholick Majeſty's Ambaſſador, made a bitter complaint that the embaſſy was received, and that the Ambaſſadors of thoſe that rebelled againſt his maſter had been ſo much honoured; the King, being either highly provoked

voked at the *Spaniards* proceedings, or not willing to ſhew any ſigns of fear or meanneſs of ſpirit, boldly anſwered, " That the common right " of nations, and the near neighbourhood of a people that was derived " from the *French*, and formerly ſubject to their command, inclined " him indeed to take them into his protection: but that, for the ſake of " his own intereſts, he had not yet altogether determined to concern " himſelf in their affairs, and that he would not willingly break the " peace in publick, though he very well knew it had been already vio- " lated by the King of *Spain* in private: that, however, he would ſig- " nify his pleaſure at his own time, and was not to be intimidated by " the threats or forces of any one whatſoever, as he was a free King, " abſolute maſter of himſelf, and at liberty to make war or peace when " and whereſoever he pleaſed." By this anſwer the King thought to have checked the forwardneſs of the *Spaniards*, by raiſing an apprehenſion in them, that he would interfere in the affairs of *Flanders*. But it produced a contrary effect, and quickened their endeavours to kindle a fire in his kingdom, that he might not be at leiſure to do ſo in that of his neighbour. For as ſoon as Don *Bernardino* had received it, he departed from court and began to ſollicit the Lords of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to take up arms immediately, with the aſſiſtance and money of *Spain*, and begin to put the deſigns of the League in execution. For which purpoſe, he directly paid down two hundred thouſand ducats to the Duke of *Guiſe*, for his firſt year's penſion, and ſent three months pay into *Germany*, to raiſe ſoldiers in that country. *Lewis Fifer*, the principal commander of the *Swiſs*, being alſo corrupted by him with great bribes, had conſented to enter into the ſervice of the League: and *Chriſtopher* Sieur *de Baſſompierre*, was gone into *Germany* to hire a body of *German* horſe. Nor were they leſs active and expeditious in raiſing both horſe and foot, in thoſe provinces that were under the influence of the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*, that they might act with vigour in the proſecution of their deſigns. 1585.

But the King, who could neither be perſuaded to join with the *Hugonots*, nor to give ſatisfaction to the confederate Lords, waited to take ſuch meaſures as time and opportunity ſhould point out, and made but ſlow preparations to oppoſe them, rather endeavouring to ſet a good face upon his cauſe, and juſtify himſelf, than to hinder the progreſs of the League. For though he received certain intelligence, from many different places at the ſame time, of their raiſing and aſſembling ſoldiers, he contented himſelf with ordering publick prayers and proceſſions to be daily made, to beſeech God that he would be pleaſed to bleſs him with children; and thought it ſufficient to iſſue an edict to all the Governors of provinces, on the 28th of *March*: in which, after the uſual preamble,

1585. and proteſting that he was guided in all his actions by a deſire of publick tranquillity, and that he had begun to provide proper remedies for the relief of all his ſubjects, which ſome enemies to peace laboured to oppoſe and prevent, he ſtrictly prohibited all raiſing and aſſembling of ſoldiers, charging his magiſtrates to chaſtiſe the leaders of them in the moſt rigorous manner; and commanding all the Nobleſſe and common people to riſe at the ringing of the alarm-bell, to defeat, purſue, and cut them in pieces, and to deliver as many as they could take alive, into the hands of juſtice, that they might receive the puniſhment due to their inſolence and rebellion. Which edict only cauſed thoſe that were aſſembling forces to be his declared enemies, whilſt it neither hindered nor retarded the proceedings of the confederates. At laſt, however, when it became abſolutely neceſſary to make other proviſions, and ſuch as were more ſuitable to the quality of the times, after long doubt and uncertainty, he reſolved to oppoſe the deſigns and attempts of the League, by his own ſtrength, and without any connection with the *Hugonots*, in the beſt manner he could; hoping that he ſhould be able of himſelf to curb and reſtrain the inſolence of that faction for the preſent, and that the *Hugonots* would at leaſt ſtand neutral and indifferent ſpectators of the event, without giving him any trouble or diſturbance, or entring into any other union or confederacy, and perhaps might add both life and vigour to his undertakings.

But he ſcarce begun to put this reſolution in practice, when the fallaciouſneſs of that expectation appeared in the weakneſs of his forces. For though the Sieur *De Fleury*, brother-in-law to Secretary *Villeroy*, who was then the King's Ambaſſador in *Switzerland*, had in a ſhort time raiſed ten thouſand foot of that nation for his Majeſty's ſervice, yet, as they were to march through the provinces of *Burgundy*, *Champagne*, and *Lionnois*, which were poſſeſſed by the heads of the League, their paſſage was very difficult and uncertain: and *Jaſpar*, Count of *Schomberg*, who was ſent to raiſe ſome *German* cavalry, being obliged to paſs through the ſame provinces, was taken priſoner, by an order from the Duke of *Lorrain*. For the Duke, being animated with the hopes of recovering *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, cities upon the confines of his ſtate, and long before taken away from the Duke's predeceſſors by the Kings of *France*, had at laſt changed his reſolution of ſtanding neuter, as he had done in all the late diſturbances, and was gone over to the League, which was chiefly fomented by the Lords of his own family. Nor did things ſucceed more proſperouſly at home than abroad: for the Nobleſſe being divided by motives of religion, and their former dependencies not yet forgotten, but revived by theſe new commotions, came in very unwillingly, and in ſmall numbers, to the King's party: the common people were ill affected

to

to his name, and would not ſtir to his aſſiſtance in this exigency: and his revenues, not only interrupted by the rumour of war, but often intercepted by the heads of the faction, were almoſt reduced to nothing: ſo that he was every way deſtitute of the ſinews of war. 1585.

The heads of the League, therefore, being encouraged by the diſtreſs which they ſaw the King was in, openly began to aſſemble forces, and proceed to the execution of their deſigns. The firſt ſtep was the departure of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* from court; who, under pretence of keeping Lent at his biſhoprick of *Roüen*, went to *Gallion*, a palace about eight leagues from that city, where he was received by a great number of the Nobility and Gentlemen of *Picardy*, and conducted by them for his ſecurity to *Peronne*, the place that gave birth to the League. Here, being met by the Duke of *Guiſe*, with the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, as alſo the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*, they publiſhed a manifeſto, which, though it run in the common name of the Catholick Peers, Prelates, Princes, Lords, cities, and corporations of the kingdom of *France*, was yet ſubſcribed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* alone. The following is an exact copy of it.

" In the name of Almighty God, the King of Kings. Be it known " to all men, That the kingdom of *France* having, for fourteen years laſt " paſt, been infected with a contagious ſedition, that has been raiſed to " ſubvert the ancient religion of our fathers, which is the only ſure " foundation of the ſtate, ſuch remedies have been applied as have " tended rather to confirm than eradicate the diſeaſe; ſuch as have had " the name of peaceable meaſures indeed, whilſt they in no wiſe pro- " cured peace to any but thoſe perſons that had diſturbed it, and left all " good men diſquieted in their conſciences and moleſted in their eſtates. " And inſtead of a remedy for theſe evils, which might have been hoped " for in time, God hath permitted that the late Kings ſhould die young, " without leaving any children capable of inheriting the crown; and, to " the grief all good men, hath not yet been pleaſed to give any to the " King that now reigneth, although his good ſubjects have not ceaſed, " nor ever will ceaſe, to offer up their moſt earneſt prayers, to beſeech " God of his mercy to bleſs him with poſterity. So that his Majeſty, " being the only ſon remaining of all thoſe that his divine favour gave to " good King *Henry* the ſecond, of glorious memory, it is too much to " be feared (which God avert) that his houſe, to our great misfortune, " will become extinct, and that great diſturbances will ariſe throughout " all *Chriſtendom*, about eſtabliſhing a ſucceſſor in the throne, which " poſſibly may be attended with the total ſubverſion of the *Roman* Ca- " tholick Apoſtolick religion in this moſt chriſtian kingdom; where it

1585. " would never be ſuffered that a heretick ſhould reign, conſidering that
" the ſubjects are not bound to acknowledge or ſubmit to the dominion
" of a Prince that deviates from the Catholick faith; as the firſt oath
" which our Kings always take, when the crown is ſet upon their heads,
" is, to maintain the *Roman* Catholick and Apoſtolick religion, upon
" which condition only their ſubjects afterwards ſwear allegiance to them.
" Yet, ſince the death of the Duke of *Alençon*, the King's brother, the
" pretenſions of thoſe who have at all times publickly profeſſed and
" ſhewn themſelves perſecutors of the Catholick church, have been ſo
" favoured and ſupported, that it is now become exceeding neceſſary to
" make ſome wiſe and ſpeedy proviſion againſt them, for the prevent-
" ing of thoſe manifeſt diſtractions, the miſeries of which are already
" ſufficiently known to all men, the remedies to few, and the manner
" of applying them hardly to any one: and ſo much the more, becauſe
" it is eaſy to judge, by the great preparations and practices that are every
" where carrying on, by the raiſing of ſoldiers both within and without
" the kingdom, the withholding of towns and ſtrong places, which
" ſhould long ſince have been delivered up into his Majeſty's hands, that
" we ſhall very ſoon ſee the effects of their evil intentions; being cer-
" tainly informed, that they have lately ſent to treat with the Proteſtant
" Princes in *Germany*, for the procuring of forces, that they may the
" more eaſily oppreſs all good men, as their deſigns tend to no other
" purpoſe, but to ſecure and poſſeſs themſelves of effectual means to
" deſtroy the Catholick religion, in the preſervation of which all men are
" intereſted, eſpecially the great, who have the honour to hold the
" chief offices and dignities of this kingdom, and whom they labour to
" ruin even in the King's life-time; nay, more, by his royal authority,
" that when there ſhall be no body left that is able to oppoſe their de-
" ſigns for the future, they may the more eaſily bring about that change
" of the Catholick religion which they now meditate, in order to enrich
" themſelves with the patrimony of the church, after the example of
" what has been done in *England*. All the world very well knows,
" and plainly ſees, the actions and behaviour of ſome, who having in-
" ſinuated themſelves into the favour of the King our Sovereign (whoſe
" Majeſty hath ever been, and ever ſhall be, held moſt ſacred by us)
" have, in a manner, totally poſſeſſed themſelves of his authority, to
" maintain themſelves in that greatneſs which they have uſurped, favour-
" ing and promoting, by all poſſible means, the aforementioned changes
" and pretenſions, and have been both audacious and powerful enough
" to exclude not only the Princes and Nobility from the private converſa-
" tion of his Majeſty, but all that are naturally moſt near to him, not
" admitting any but ſuch as are their own dependants: in which they

" have

" have ſo well ſucceeded, that no other perſons have now any part in the 1585.
" government and adminiſtration of the ſtate, nor the whole power that
" belongs to their places; ſome having been deprived of the title, and
" others of the authority of their dignities, though they are ſtill ſuffered
" to enjoy the vain and empty names of them. The ſame has been
" done to many Governors of provinces, commanders of fortreſſes, and
" other officers, who have been forced to reſign their places, in con-
" ſideration of certain ſums of money, which they have received againſt
" their will and inclination, becauſe they durſt not contradict thoſe that
" had the power to oblige them to it. A new example, and never be-
" fore practiſed in this kingdom, to extort offices by dint of money, from
" perſons to whom they had been given as a reward of their valour
" and loyalty. By theſe means they have made themſelves maſters of
" all the forces both by ſea and land; and in the ſame manner they
" daily attempt to uſe others that are ſtill in poſſeſſion. So that there
" is not one of them who is not in fear, or who can aſſure himſelf that
" his place will not be wreſted out of his hands: notwithſtanding that,
" as they had been conferred upon them for their merits, they could
" not, nor ought not to be deprived of them by the laws of their coun-
" try, except upon ſome juſt and reaſonable conſideration, or that they
" had been guilty of ſome miſdemeanour in the execution of their office,
" of which too they ſhould firſt be convicted in a judiciary way. Theſe
" men have likewiſe drawn into their own hands, and for their particu-
" lar uſe, all the gold and ſilver out of the King's coffers, in which was
" lodged all the ready money that had been paid in by the receivers-
" general, having the whole revenue at their ſervice, and the managers
" of it at their devotion; which will make it eaſy for them to diſpoſe of
" the crown, and ſet it upon whoſe head they pleaſe. Their avarice,
" moreover, has put them upon abuſing the good nature of the ſubjects,
" in which they have exceeded all bounds, ſtill laying heavier taxes upon
" the poor people every day, not only equal to thoſe that the calamities
" of war had introduced (which yet have not been leſſened ſince the
" peace) but much more grievous, by infinite other impoſitions, which
" they are continually inventing to gratify their greedy and inſatiable
" appetites. Indeed, ſome glympſe of hope once appeared, when, upon
" the inceſſant complaints and lamentations of the whole kingdom, the
" States-General were convened at *Blois*, which is the ancient remedy
" of domeſtick evils, and a ſort of conference betwixt the Prince and
" his ſubjects, who there met together to ſettle the terms of due obedience
" on one ſide, and due protection on the other: both which were ſworn
" to, and both aſcertained at the ſame time with the royal name, and
" the fundamental conſtitutions of the kingdom of *France*. But this ſo

" much

1585. " much wiſhed for, ſo much laboured point, ſerved to no other purpoſe
" but to authorize the evil counſels of certain people, who, pretending to
" be good politicians, were in reality exceedingly ill affected to the
" ſervice of God, and the welfare of their country: And, not being
" contented with diverting the King, who was naturally well inclined,
" from the pious and neceſſary reſolution which he had taken, at the
" moſt humble requeſt of all his ſtates, to unite his ſubjects in one only
" *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick religion, that they might live in that an-
" cient piety, by which this kingdom had been eſtabliſhed, preſerved,
" and afterwards enlarged, till it became the moſt powerful in all *Chriſten-*
" *dom*; though it might at that time have been effected without danger,
" and almoſt without reſiſtance; they, on the contrary, perſuaded him,
" that it was neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice, to weaken the authority
" of the Catholick Princes and Lords, who had expoſed their lives to in-
" finite hazards, with exceeding zeal, in fighting under his banner for
" the defence of the ſaid Catholick religion; as if the reputation which
" they had acquired, by their valour and fidelity, was a means to render
" them ſuſpected, inſtead of being honoured and eſteemed. Thus the
" abuſe, which began to ſwell by little and little, has ſince fallen, like a
" torrent from a precipice, with ſo much violence upon this poor king-
" dom, that it is upon the point of being overwhelmed by it, and almoſt
" in deſpair of relief. For the order of the clergy, notwithſtanding all
" the juſt remonſtrances which they have made from their frequent con-
" vocations, is now oppreſſed by the demand of exorbitant aids and ſubſi-
" dies, not to mention the contempt that is ſhewn of the conſecrated
" things, that belong to God's holy church, which is daily plundered and
" polluted; the Nobility deſpiſed, enſlaved, and almoſt beggared, by
" continual demands, and illegal exactions, which they muſt pay to their
" utter impoveriſhment, if they mean to ſave their lives, that is, barely
" to eat, drink, and be clothed; the cities ſo heavily laden with the
" burden of frequent and unheard of impoſitions, which they call *Pro-*
" *jects* or *Inventions*, that there is now no room left for any new taxes,
" and it is become abſolutely neceſſary to provide ſome means to take off
" or alleviate the preſent.

" For theſe juſt cauſes and conſiderations, we *Charles* of *Bourbon*, firſt
" Prince of the Blood, Cardinal of the *Roman* Catholick church, whom
" it moſt nearly concerns to take the Catholick religion in this kingdom,
" and the preſervation of the good and loyal ſervants of his Majeſty and
" the ſtate, into his patronage and protection; with the aſſiſtance of many
" Princes of the Blood, Cardinals, and other Princes, Peers, Prelates,
" and great Officers of the Crown, Governors of Provinces, chief Lords
" and Gentlemen of many cities and corporations, and of a great

" numbe:

" number of good and faithful ſubjects, which conſtitute the beſt and 1585.
" ſoundeſt part of this kingdom; after having maturely weighed the
" motives of this enterprize, and taken the advice not only of our own
" particular friends, who are moſt zealous for the welfare and tranquil-
" lity of the kingdom, but of other diſcreet men, and ſuch as fear God,
" (whom we would not offend for any worldly conſideration) do hereby
" declare, that we have all of us ſworn, and ſolemnly engaged, to make
" uſe of force and arms, that the holy church of God may be reſtored
" to its former dignity, and that the true Chriſtian Catholick religion
" may be firmly re-eſtabliſhed: that the Nobility may enjoy perfect
" liberty, as they ought to do: that the people may be relieved, the new
" impoſitions aboliſhed, and all additions, ſince the reign of *Charles* IX,
" (whom God abſolve) entirely taken away: that the parliaments may
" be left free in their conſciences, and at full liberty in their judicial pro-
" ceedings; and all the ſubjects of the kindom maintained in their go-
" vernments, places, and offices, ſo that they ſhall not be taken from
" them, except in the three caſes only that are ſpecified in the ancient
" conſtitutions, and by the ſentence of the ordinary judges of the parlia-
" ments: that all ſums of money, which ſhall be raiſed upon the people,
" ſhall be employed in the defence of the kingdom, and the purpoſes
" for which they are appointed: and that henceforward the General
" Aſſembly of the ſtates ſhall be held freely, without any corrupt practices,
" every three years at leaſt, without fail, where every one ſhall have
" free leave to complain of thoſe grievances, againſt which there is no
" due proviſion made. Theſe things, and others, that ſhall be more
" amply and particularly ſet forth, are the motives of our recurring to
" arms, which are now taken up for the re-eſtabliſhment of the king-
" dom, the ſupport of the good, the puniſhment of the evil, and the
" ſafety of our own perſons, which ſome have often, and very lately,
" endeavoured to deſtroy by ſecret conſpiracies; as if the ſecurity of the
" ſtate depended upon the ruin of good men, and ſuch as have ſo often
" hazarded their lives to preſerve it. We therefore have no other
" means left to deliver ourſelves from theſe dangers, and to divert the
" dagger, that is already at our breaſts, but to have recourſe to thoſe
" remedies that we have always abhorred; which yet are excuſable,
" and ought to be accounted juſt, as they are abſolutely neceſſary, and
" applied by principal authority, and of which we ſhould not avail our-
" ſelves at preſent, merely for the ſake of our eſtates only, and the
" danger that our private properties are in, if the total ſubverſion of the
" Catholick religion in this kingdom, and of the ſtate, was not inſepa-
" rably connected with it; for the preſervation of which we ſhall never
" refuſe to expoſe ourſelves to any kind of danger, as we think we can-

" not

1585. " not die a more honourable death, than in the ſupport of ſo juſt and
" righteous a cauſe, to diſcharge the debt, which, as good Chriſtians, we
" owe to the ſervice of God, and the obligation we lie under, as true
" and loyal ſubjects, to prevent the deſtruction of the ſtate, which would
" be the natural conſequence of the ſaid alteration: Proteſting, that we
" do not take up arms againſt our ſovereign Lord the King, but for the
" guard and juſt defence of his perſon, life, and kingdom, for which we
" all ſwear to expoſe our lives and fortunes, to the laſt drop of our blood,
" with the ſame fidelity that we have done in times paſt, and to lay down
" our arms immediately, whenever it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to put an
" end to the danger that threatens the ruin of God's ſervice, and ſo
" many good men, which we humbly beſeech he will ſpeedily do, to
" convince the world, by ſolid and ſubſtantial proofs, that he is indeed
" a Moſt Chriſtian King, indued with the fear of God, and one that
" hath the welfare of the Catholick religion thoroughly at heart, as we
" know he always uſed to have, and as it becomes a tender father, and
" a King, affectionately zealous for the preſervation of his ſubjects.
" This requeſt, if his Majeſty is pleaſed to comply with, he ſhall be ſo
" much the more dutifully obeyed, acknowledged, and honoured by us,
" and all his other ſubjects, with the moſt obſequious reverence, which
" we ardently wiſh for, and long to ſee, more than any other thing in this
" world: and though it would be no unreaſonable thing, to deſire his
" Majeſty would be pleaſed to appoint his ſucceſſor, by a publick decla-
" ration, that during his life, and after his death, the people committed
" to him, may not be divided into parties and factions by differences about
" the ſucceſſion; yet are we ſo little moved with any ſuch expectation,
" that the calumny of thoſe that upbraid us with it, will be ſeen to have
" no foundation at all: for, beſides that the laws of the kingdom are ſuf-
" ficiently clear and well known, the hazard to which we the Cardinal
" of *Bourbon* expoſe ourſelves in our old age, and laſt ebb of life, abun-
" dantly proves, that we are not buoyed up with ſuch vain hopes, but
" animated only by real affection to the true religion, which entitles us
" to an inheritance in a better kingdom, the enjoyment of which is much
" more deſirable, and of infinitely longer duration. Our intentions, there-
" fore, being of ſuch a nature, we all of us jointly and humbly beſeech
" the Queen, mother to the King, our moſt honoured Lady, (without
" whoſe prudence and wiſdom, the kingdom would long ago have been
" utterly ruined and deſtroyed) by the faithful teſtimony which ſhe can,
" will, and ought to give of our great ſervices, but in particular of us the
" Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who have always honoured, ſerved, and aſſiſted
" her, in her moſt important affairs, without any regard to our fortune,
" friends, relations, or even life itſelf, to ſtrengthen her hands, and thoſe

" of

" of the King's party, and to enable them to ſupport the Catholick religion, 1585.
" that ſhe will ſtand by us at this juncture, and employ all that credit
" with the King her ſon, which her unwearied patience, and inceſſant
" labours, have juſtly merited, and which her enemies would baſely
" have robbed her of. We alſo earneſtly intreat all the Princes, Peers of
" *France*, Officers of the Crown, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and others,
" of what quality ſoever they be, who have not yet joined us, that they
" would favour and aſſiſt us with all their power, in the execution of ſo
" meritorious and praiſe-worthy an undertaking. And we exhort all
" cities and corporations, if they value their own preſervation, to conſider
" ſeriouſly of our intentions, and to reflect upon the eaſe and quiet which
" may thereby redound to them, as well in publick, as in their dome-
" ſtick affairs; and having ſo done, to lend their aſſiſtance to this good
" work, which cannot but proſper with the grace of God, to whom
" we ſubmit the whole. But if their councils conſiſt of many members,
" and they cannot immediately agree to unite with us; we admoniſh
" them, at leaſt to open their eyes, and take care of their own affairs:
" and in the mean time, not to ſuffer themſelves to be tempted or ſe-
" duced by ſuch as, out of a malicious interpretation of our deſigns,
" would poſſeſs themſelves of the ſaid cities, and put garriſons into them,
" to reduce them to the ſame degree of ſervitude, that other places groan
" under, which are already in their hands. We farther declare to all
" men, that we will not exerciſe any act of hoſtility, except againſt thoſe
" that ſhall endeavour to oppoſe us by force and arms, and to ſhew
" favour, by other unwarrantable means, to our adverſaries, who ſeek to
" ruin the church and ſubvert the ſtate. And we aſſure every one, that
" our armies, which will be compoſed of honeſt and conſcientious men,
" ſhall not injure or oppreſs any body, either in paſſing through or ſtay-
" ing in any place, but ſhall be kept under ſtrict diſcipline, and take
" nothing but what they pay for. We will alſo receive into our protection,
" all thoſe good men that are zealous for the honour of God, and his holy
" church, and for the proſperity and reputation of the true Chriſtian
" religion of this kingdom: proteſting, however, that we will never lay
" down our arms, till the aforeſaid things are fully performed; and that
" we are all of us determined, rather to ſacrifice our lives cheerfully in
" this cauſe, and be honourably buried in one common ſepulchre, con-
" ſecrated to the memory of the laſt *Frenchmen* that died fighting in the
" ſervice of God and their country. Finally, ſince all our help muſt
" come from God, we pray all true Catholicks to join with us in our
" pious endeavours, to reconcile ourſelves to his divine Majeſty, by a
" thorough reformation in our lives, to appeaſe his wrath, and to call
" upon him with purity of conſcience, as well in publick prayers, and

1585. " ſolemn proceſſions, as in our private and particular devotions; to the
" end, that all our actions may tend to the honour and glory of him,
" who is the Lord of Hoſts, and in whom we truſt for ſtrength and
" ſupport."

After this manifeſto, the heads of the League began to act with vigour, and made themſelves maſters of many cities, and ſtrong places, ſome by ſecret practices, and others by open force and arms: for having already aſſembled an army, that conſiſted of twelve thouſand fighting men, they marched with it to *Verdun*, a city upon the confines of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and though the Governor behaved gallantly, and reſolved to make an obſtinate defence; yet one *Guittaut*, a man of great authority amongſt the citizens, having got ſecretly into the town, prevailed upon them to take up arms the day after the ſiege was begun, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the gates, that they might let in the army of the confederates; which inſurrection the Governor couragiouſly oppoſed; but having very few men, he was eaſily overcome: for the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, having entered the city, drove him out with all his partiſans, and made *Guittaut* Governor of the city, which fell abſolutely into the power of the League. The city of *Theul* followed the example of *Verdun*, in taking up arms, and driving out the King's officers, and voluntarily ſurrendered itſelf to the League. The ſame, very likely, would have happened at *Metz*, a fortreſs and city of great importance, if the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was Governor of it, had not foreſeen the danger, and ſent ſome gentlemen and ſoldiers thither, in good time, from ſeveral parts. By this addition, the garriſon was ſo ſtrengthened, which in that place, as a frontier town, always uſed to be very powerful of itſelf, that the Duke of *Guiſe* did not think fit to make any attempt there; either, becauſe he had not ſufficient ſtrength to beſiege it, or apprehended he ſhould loſe ſo much time before it, as would prejudice his main deſign.

At the ſame time there happened a commotion in the city of *Marſeilles*, the chief port in *Provence*, and a place infinitely coveted by thoſe of the League, that they might the more eaſily, and by a ſhorter paſſage, receive ſupplies from *Spain*. They had drawn over to their party *Lewis Dariez*, Conſul of that city, and *Claude Boniface*, commonly called *Chabanes*, one of the Captains of the trained bands. The firſt of whom, being a man of a tyrannical diſpoſition, wanted to be abſolute Governor of the place: the other, aſpiring to the inheritance of his brother, who was one of the King's Treaſurers, and a very rich but avaricious man, had wickedly conſpired to murder him, and for that reaſon was deſirous to raiſe a tumult, that he might the more conveniently execute his deſign. Theſe two, having gathered together a mob, that was made up of all ſorts and degrees of people,

people, went to the Treaſurer's houſe one night, when it was dark, and calling him to the door, under a pretence of delivering him certain letters, baſely aſſaſſinated him, and afterwards ran armed through the whole town, calling upon the people to appear in defence of their *Liberty and Religion*, which, they gave out, was in the utmoſt danger from the machinations of *Hugonots* and foreigners. The common people being thus raiſed, ſome, that were generally reputed *Hugonots*, were taken, and committed to priſon, others were maſſacred, and many concealed themſelves in private houſes, whilſt the greateſt part of the citizens were in a manner aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden an inſurrection, and at the weight and authority of the Conſul and Captain, who, with the ſame impetuoſity, made themſelves maſters of the forts that command the harbour. They, likewiſe, immediately diſpatched an expreſs, to give advice of this to *Lewis Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*; who, being of opinion, that it was poſſible to reduce this city by other means, and without the help of thoſe wicked practices, which were ſuggeſted by private intereſts, under a pretence of going to *Rome*, ſtayed ſometime upon the road, at *Avignon*, in hopes that if the deſign upon *Marſeilles* ſucceeded, he ſhould be appointed Governor of *Provence*, by the League. They alſo ſent for Monſieur *De Vins*, and the Count *De Saux*, who were neareſt at hand, to come immediately to their aſſiſtance. But as they did not arrive ſo ſoon as was expected, the day following, when the fury of the people began to ſubſide, and the villainy of *Chabanes*, againſt his own brother, was diſcovered, the multitude that was in arms, began to ſeparate by degrees; and *Bouquier*, one of the graveſt and oldeſt of the citizens, and a man of the greateſt eſteem and authority amongſt them, having called the people together, exhorted them all to turn their arms againſt the authors of this ſedition, and endeavour to bring the murderer *Chabanes* to condign puniſhment; at which the ſtronger and more powerful party of the citizens (who, as it generally happens, in places of great wealth and commerce, were in the utmoſt pain and anxiety about their properties) immediately took arms, and began to fall upon thoſe that had raiſed the tumult. They alſo ſent, in great haſte, for the Grand Prior of *France*, natural brother to the King, and Governor of that province, who was then at *Aix*, and immediately came to their aſſiſtance, with two hundred horſe, which were all the forces that he could raiſe upon ſo ſhort a notice. Upon his arrival, the people flocked to his ſtandard in very great numbers, and ſoon recovered the fort *de la Garde*; where the Conſul *Dariez* and Captain *Chabanes* were taken, and executed the next morning: by which ſevere example, the city was delivered from preſent danger, and kept in obedience to the King. 1585.

The deſign upon the city of *Bourdeaux*, in *Guyenne*, was attended with no better ſucceſs. For when the confederates attempted to make them-

1585. ſelves maſters of that place, by means of the caſtle, commonly called *Le Chaſteau de la Trompette*, of which the Sieur *De Valliac* was Governor, and one of thoſe that had ſigned the League; the Marſhal *De Matignon* (Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre* in the government of that Province, but a Catholick, and dependant upon the King of *France*, and then reſident in the town) having received a particular account of every thing that was then in agitation, made a pretence of holding a general council in his palace, to communicate ſome orders that he had received from court to them all; by which means, amongſt the reſt, he alſo drew thither the Sieur *De Valliac*, who did not in the leaſt dream that he was yet at all ſuſpected by the King. When they were there aſſembled, he acquainted them with the revolt that was then contriving; and not only impriſoned *Valliac*, but at the ſame inſtant commanded the artillery to be planted againſt the caſtle walls, threatening to put the Governor of it to death, if they that were within it ſhould dare to fire upon the town. By which menaces, and the reſolute behaviour of the Marſhal, *Valliac* was ſo terrified, that he ordered his men to deliver up the fortreſs immediately; which was ſoon fortified by additional works, and manned by ſo ſtrong a garriſon, that it was ever after kept in ſtrict obedience to the King, under the command of *Matignon*.

But theſe ſucceſſes were trifling in compariſon, and not by any means ſufficient to balance the frequent revolts that happened in other parts of the kingdom; for as the heads of the League began to declare their intentions more freely every day, the Sieur *De Mandelot*, Governor of *Lions*, took and demoliſhed the citadel there; the Sieur *De la Chaſtre* delivered up *Bourges* into the hands of the League; the Sieur *De Entragues*, having driven thoſe of the King's party out of *Orleans*, had made himſelf abſolutely maſter of it; the Count *De Briſac*, with the city of *Angiers*, and others under his government, had openly joined the confederates; the Duke of *Guiſe*, in perſon, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Mezieres*, a city of importance, on the confines of *Champagne*; the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the caſtle and city of *Dijon*, in *Burgundy*; and at laſt they were come with a ſtrong army to *Châlons* in *Champagne*, the place appointed for their chief magazine, and principal ſeat in the war. There they determined to wait for the arrival of the forces, both horſe and foot, which had been raiſed in *Germany* with *Spaniſh* money, and were, as they had intelligence, upon their march towards *Lorrain*: and whilſt they advanced, the Duke of *Guiſe*, leaving the Duke of *Mayenne* to command the army, with the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*, went himſelf, with a ſelect troop of horſe, to *Peronne*, from whence he conducted the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to *Châlons*, with infinite ſhew of reſpect, to give reputation, by his name and preſence, to the proceedings of the League, to ſhew him to the army,

and to ſhelter himſelf under his wing, in the courſe of the future war. 1585.

In the mean time, the King endeavoured to guard againſt theſe powerful and near preparations, both by words and actions, as much as he was able. And firſt of all, he anſwered their manifeſto with another of the following tenour.

" ALTHOUGH the King hath already frequently admoniſhed his ſub-
" jects, both by proclamations and edicts, not to let themſelves be ſe-
" duced by ſome, who endeavour to allure them into their aſſociations,
" and to ſtir them up to rebellion, and by ſo doing, to make them forfeit
" their happineſs and repoſe; and hath likewiſe offered and promiſed
" pardon to ſuch as, being already engaged, ſhould withdraw themſelves,
" as ſoon as they were informed of his intentions; yet his Majeſty hath,
" to his great diſſatisfaction, been informed, that, notwithſtanding his
" ſaid edicts and gracious declarations, ſome or other of his ſubjects are
" daily entering into ſuch aſſociations, induced thereto by divers intereſts,
" but for the moſt part dazzled and deceived by the fair and ſpecious pre-
" tences with which the authors of thoſe inſurrections endeavour to gloſs
" over their deſigns. Upon which account he hath thought fit, for the
" univerſal benefit of all his good ſubjects, for the diſcharge of his
" conſcience towards God, and for his own reputation in the world, to
" oppoſe the light of truth to thoſe artifices, which is equally a conſola-
" tion to the good, and an enemy to the bad; that his ſubjects, being
" guided by the clearneſs of it, may be enabled to know and diſcern in
" time, and without any difficulty, what is the original and true end of
" ſuch commotions, and by that means avoid thoſe miſeries and calami-
" ties, both publick and private, which are likely to ariſe from them.

" The pretences which the authors of theſe diſturbances make uſe of,
" are principally founded upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Catho-
" lick Apoſtolick religion in this kingdom; upon the diſpoſing of digni-
" ties and honours to thoſe that have juſtly merited them, and upon the
" welfare, honour, and relief of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons;
" all which things are known to every one, by ſubſtantial proofs, to be
" ſo dear and precious to his Majeſty, that none can have the leaſt
" reaſon to entertain any doubt concerning his intentions therein. So
" that it does not appear, that there was any occaſion to incite his ſub-
" jects to rebellion, to furniſh them with arms, or to raiſe foreign troops,
" to make him comply with any articles that they ſhall propoſe, in caſe
" they be juſt, poſſible, and beneficial to his ſubjects. For, as to religion,
" his Majeſty has ſo often expoſed his own life, whilſt he gloriouſly made
" war for the propagation of it, before he ſucceeded to the throne; and

ſince

1585 " ſince it pleaſed God to call him to the government of this kingdom,
" he hath ſo often hazarded his crown, in conjunction with the lives and
" fortunes of his good ſubjects and ſervants, and uſed all other poſſible
" means for the ſame purpoſe, that it would be altogether unneceſſary
" at preſent to deſire they would believe him when he affirms, that no
" man whoſoever he may be, or of what profeſſion ſoever, either in this
" kingdom or any other, hath true religion and piety more at heart than
" he hath always had, and by the grace of God ever will have. And if,
" according to the example of the King his brother, of happy memory,
" and of many other Princes in *Chriſtendom* (whoſe ſtates and kingdoms
" have been diſturbed with different opinions in religion) his Majeſty,
" with the prudent advice of the Queen his mother, of the Lord Cardi-
" nal of *Bourbon* and other Princes, Officers of the Crown, and Lords of
" his Council, who were then near his perſon, has appeaſed the tumults
" that were raiſed amongſt his ſubjects, about matters of faith, and waited
" in hopes, that it would pleaſe God to reunite them all in the boſom
" of the holy church; it does not therefore follow, that his fervour and
" devotion in what concerns the glory of God, and the perfect re-eſta-
" bliſhment of the *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick church, is in any wiſe
" ſince altered, or leſs at preſent than what he ſhewed it to be during
" thoſe troubles. On the contrary, that is ſo far from being the caſe,
" that his Majeſty is deſirous every one may know, that he concluded
" the peace purpoſely to try if by means of it he could reunite his ſubjects
" in the church of God, whom the iniquity and licentiouſneſs of the
" times had ſeparated from it: having ſo long experienced, with the
" hazard of his perſon and ſtate, and with the price of the blood of a
" great number of Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of his ſubjects,
" who loſt their lives in thoſe broils, that the diſſenſions raiſed about reli-
" gion, which had taken root in this kingdom during the minority of the
" late King, his brother, and of himſelf, to the inexpreſſible concern of the
" Queen their mother, could not be extinguiſhed by dint of arms, without
" the deſtruction of his ſaid ſubjects, and evident danger of his kingdom:
" Wherefore his Majeſty determined upon a peace, when he ſaw all
" ſorts of people tired and harraſſed out, by the too long continuance of
" thoſe diſtractions, and that he had no longer any means of ſupplying the
" expences of ſo devouring a war; which would not have been the caſe,
" if the deputies that were preſent at the aſſembly of the States General
" of the kingdom, held at *Blois*, had requeſted his Majeſty abſolutely to
" prohibit the exerciſe of the pretended reformed religion quite through
" his dominions; for then that courſe would not have been reſolved upon,
" which was there taken and ſworn to, and which his Majeſty laboured
" to put in execution, according to the manifeſt purpoſe and tenour of it.

" For

" For if it had been concluded in good earneſt to proſecute the war, 1585.
" care would likewiſe have been taken to provide money ſufficient to
" ſupport it from time to time, as it was neceſſary to do, and as his Ma-
" jeſty had recommended to them: and then thoſe people could have
" had no pretence of complaint, who now give out, that every one was
" quickly deprived of that glympſe of hope which had been conceived
" from the reſolution taken by the States. Though indeed it is neither
" lawful nor becoming in a ſubject, for many reaſons, to cenſure the
" actions of his Sovereign, and particularly, becauſe he muſt often be
" ignorant of the ſecret cauſes that are the motives of his proceedings,
" which ſometimes are more pregnant and refined than they appear to
" the world: as that does not belong to any one but God alone, the
" ſearcher and judge of all hearts, and of the actions of Princes, who
" knows the reaſons that determined his Majeſty, above all things, to
" ſecure a peace: as it is certain, that if he had not done ſo, the king-
" dom would in a moment have been filled with foreign troops, and with
" divers factions and new diviſions, which might have occaſioned end-
" leſs diſcords and diſtractions in the ſtate.

" His Majeſty, therefore, in order to obviate the aforeſaid inconve-
" niencies, to fruſtrate the effects of them if they ſhould happen, and to
" try the gentleſt remedies, agreed to the late peace; and not with any
" intention to ſettle and eſtabliſh hereſy in this kingdom, as it has been
" induſtriouſly reported; for ſuch a thought never entered into the heart
" of ſo pious and chriſtian a Prince, as his Majeſty is well known to be:
" who having foreſeen and experienced the calamities of war, thought
" it his duty readily to conſent to the peace, that he might at leaſt in-
" dulge his good ſubjects in thoſe points that were propoſed and re-
" queſted in the aſſembly of the ſaid States-General, for the common
" good of the kingdom: peace and concord being the principal and
" moſt neceſſary foundations for the eſtabliſhment of good laws, and the
" reformation of manners: which two points his Majeſty has particularly
" attended to, as it plainly appears by the edicts that he has publiſhed
" for that purpoſe, and which he has conſtantly laboured to have ob-
" ſerved and put in execution. If theſe his good intentions have not
" ſucceeded according to his deſire, it has been matter of extreme
" concern to him; and may be imputed altogether to the negligence
" of ſome of his officers, the malevolent cunning of his enemies,
" and the footing which impiety, diſobedience, and corruption, had
" gained in this kingdom during the late war. By that peace, many
" cities full of citizens and Catholick inhabitants, were delivered from
" ſoldiers that had ſeized upon them: and the exerciſe of the *Roman*
" Catholick Apoſtolick religion was reſtored; as by the care and endea-

" vours

1585. " vours of his Majeſty it is alſo brought to paſs in almoſt all the towns
" of this kingdom; in which, nevertheleſs, thoſe that make profeſſion
" of the ſaid pretended reformed religion, have been ſince the ſaid com-
" motions, and ſtill are the ſtrongeſt, and by whom the exerciſe of the
" Catholick religion had, till then, been baniſhed, both before and ſince
" his acceſſion to the crown. Juſtice likewiſe, has made its appearance
" again; and if not altogether in ſo full a manner as might have been
" wiſhed, yet ſo, that ſometimes it has had ſtrength ſufficient to relieve
" the good and intimidate the evil. The Prelates and other Clergy are
" re-eſtabliſhed in their churches, and in the poſſeſſion of thoſe goods
" that were taken from them. The Nobility and Gentry have been able
" to live ſecurely in their own houſes, without being ſubject to thoſe ex-
" pences that they were obliged to be at during the war, to keep them-
" ſelves from being ſuddenly ſurprized. The Citizen, that was deprived
" of his poſſeſſions, and forced to wander up and down the fields with
" his family, is come back again to his own houſe by means of the ſaid
" peace. The Merchant has likewiſe wholly returned to his occupation,
" which was interrupted by the former commotions. And the poor
" Peaſant, ſinking under the intolerable burden which the unbridled li-
" centiouſneſs of the ſoldiers had laid upon his back, has had time to
" breathe, and have recourſe to his uſual labour to ſupport his miſerable
" family. In ſhort, there is no ſort of perſon or eſtate that has not effec-
" tually ſhared in the benefits and advantages of that peace.

" And as his Majeſty has always been moſt zealous for God's glory,
" and as ſollicitous for the publick welfare of his ſubjects, as a moſt
" Chriſtian and truly good Prince ought to be, being convinced that all the
" evils and calamities of a ſtate chiefly ariſe from the want of true piety
" and juſtice, he hath, ſince the concluſion of the ſaid peace, continually
" laboured to repair thoſe two pillars, which the violence of civil diſ-
" cords had in a great meaſure pulled down and thrown to the ground:
" and for that purpoſe had begun to nominate ſuch perſons to eccleſiaſti-
" cal dignities that have the cure of ſouls, as are worthy and capable,
" and ſuch as are appointed by the holy conſtitutions. He hath alſo in-
" vited his ſubjects, by his example, to reform their manners, and to
" have recourſe to the grace and mercy of God by prayer and auſterity
" of life; which has confirmed the Catholicks in their duty to his Di-
" vine Majeſty, and induced ſome of thoſe that were ſeparated from the
" church of God, to reunite themſelves to it. He has in like manner
" graciouſly taken time to hear the complaints and remonſtrances of the
" clergy, after having given them leave to meet for that purpoſe, and
" uſed his utmoſt endeavours to redreſs their grievances; having ſince
" much leſſened their burden inſtead of adding to it (as it has been re-
" ported)

" ported) by new and extraordinary tenths, without any regard to the 1585.
" neceſſity of his own affairs: being very much concerned that he could
" not alſo free them from the ordinary ones, having found them engaged
" when he came to the crown, for the ſupport of the bank of *Paris*.
" The ſaid Prelates and Clergy have likewiſe had his Majeſty's permiſſion
" to call and hold their provincial councils, by means of which they
" have been enabled to conſult and provide for the reformation of abuſes,
" introduced into the church during the ſaid tumults, and have made
" many good and pious ordinances for the government of it, which
" have been approved of and commended by his Majeſty. Theſe are
" the fruits and publick advantages which the church of God and the
" *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick religion have in general reaped from the
" aforeſaid peace, beſides infinite other private and particular ones, which
" it would be too long to enumerate.

" In relation to juſtice, every one knows the pains that his Majeſty
" has taken to draw it out of the obſcurity in which it had been buried
" by thoſe troubles, and to reſtore it to its ancient force and ſplendor:
" having not only aboliſhed all ſupernumerary offices, as they became
" vacant by death, but likewiſe prohibited the ſale of others, and put an
" end to that venality, which want of money had obliged his predeceſſors
" to introduce, without any conſideration of his own neceſſities, which
" were no leſs than theirs. Beſides this, he has put a ſtop to all pardons
" and * *evocations*, which in times paſt were granted at his own will and
" pleaſure, being ſenſible that the hope of the former gave encourage-
" ment to wickedneſs, and the too much eaſineſs in granting the
" latter, had introduced confuſion in matters of juſtice. And his Ma-
" jeſty, ſince the late peace, has had opportunity of ſending courts, com-
" poſed of the officers of the Parliament of *Paris*, to do juſtice to his
" ſubjects upon the ſpot, from whence thoſe fruits have been gathered
" which every one has taſted of, and which would yet have been more
" conſiderable, to the ſatisfaction of all good men, if his upright inten-
" tions had been better ſupported by thoſe, who naturally, and by the
" particular obligation of their offices, were bound to have done ſo.
" But as the adverſity of the times has encouraged ſome to impute the
" faults of others to his Majeſty, ſo the corruption and malignity of them
" has been ſo great, that many have been audacious and indiſcreet
" enough to take pleaſure in defaming and miſrepreſenting his moſt
" pious and beſt actions, endeavouring, in that manner to gain them-
" ſelves credit, at the expence of his reputation: and have carried their
" impudence to ſuch a height, that they have dared to attribute the

* *Evocation*, is a transferring of cauſes from one court to another.

1585. " laudable reſolution which he had taken, of cauſing the ſentences and
" decrees of the ſaid courts to be executed upon malefactors, to cruelty
" and want of mercy. Thus his Majeſty, having by theſe means begun
" to provide for rebuilding of theſe two pillars, the only true and ſolid
" foundations of all monarchy, had flattered himſelf that he ſhould be
" able to eſtabliſh and reſtore them abſolutely by the continuation of
" peace, if God had been ſo merciful to him to make his kingdom and
" ſubjects worthy of it: which, it appears, was dreaded, as ſoon as fore-
" ſeen, by thoſe who at preſent endeavour to excite his ſubjects to re-
" bellion, but under a pretence of providing for thoſe points, and give
" out, that they have taken arms to prevent thoſe troubles, which, they
" fear, will happen after the death of his Majeſty, about the eſtabliſhment
" of the ſucceſſion, to the prejudice of the *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick
" religion: being perſuaded, or at leaſt affecting to be ſo, that his Ma-
" jeſty, and thoſe that are near his perſon, favour the pretenſions of ſuch
" as have always ſhewn themſelves perſecutors of the ſaid religion: a
" thing which his Majeſty prays and admoniſhes his ſubjects to believe
" he never ſo much as thought of. For being, God be thanked, in the
" full vigour and flower of his age, and in perfect health, and the Queen
" in the ſame circumſtances, he hopes God will yet give him iſſue, to
" the univerſal joy of his good and loyal ſubjects. And it ſeems to his
" Majeſty to be too great a forcing of time and nature, and too great a
" diſtruſt of the mercy and goodneſs of God, of the health and life of
" his Majeſty, and of the fruitfulneſs of the Queen his conſort, not only
" to move ſuch a queſtion at preſent, but to endeavour to decide it by
" force of arms. For inſtead of curing and delivering this kingdom
" from the evils which they pretend to fear may one day flow from that
" cauſe, they go about to haſten the pains and mortal effects of them,
" by now beginning a war upon that account: as it is certain, that is
" the ready way to fill the kingdom immediately with foreign forces,
" with factions and endleſs diſcords, with ſlaughter and bloodſhed, and
" infinite murder and devaſtation. How then can the Catholick religion
" be eſtabliſhed? how will the Clergy be diſburdened of tenths? how
" will the Nobleſſe live quietly and ſecurely in their own houſes, and
" enjoy their rights and privileges? how will the cities, and the inhabi-
" tants of them, be exempt from garriſons; and how will the poor people
" be freed from the taxes and impoſitions that they labour under? Here
" his Majeſty exhorts and admoniſhes his ſubjects to open their eyes,
" and not to flatter themſelves that this war will end ſo eaſily as the au-
" thors of it give out: but to weigh and maturely conſider the inevitable
" conſequences of it, and not to ſuffer their reputation to be ſtained, and
" their arms to ſerve as inſtruments of their country's ruin, and the ag-

" grandizing of thoſe that are enemies to it. For whilſt we are blind 1585.
" to our own intereſt, and fight one againſt another, ſtrengthened in
" appearance, but weakened in reality by their aſſiſtance, they will reign
" happily, and eſtabliſh their own power. They complain alſo of the
" diſtribution of honours and offices in this kingdom; alledging, that
" ſuch are deprived of them as have merited moſt in his Majeſty's ſer-
" vice. A weak and diſhonourable pretence ſurely, for the ruin and
" ſubverſion of ſo flouriſhing a kingdom; the Kings of which have never
" been conſtrained to employ any one ſooner than another; as there is
" no law that obliges them to do ſo, but the good of their own ſervice.
" Yet hath his Majeſty always honoured and favoured the Princes of the
" blood, as much as any of his predeceſſors have done, and ſhewn a
" deſire to advance others alſo in honour and reputation, by employing
" them in his ſervice. For whenever his Majeſty has had occaſion to
" raiſe armies and aſſemble forces, he has always given them the charge
" and command of them, preferring them to all others. And if it be
" conſidered who thoſe are that even now hold the greateſt and moſt
" honourable offices in the kingdom, it will be found, that they who
" are ſaid to be the authors of theſe complaints, have more reaſon to ac-
" knowledge the goodneſs and favour of his Majeſty, than to murmur
" and ſeparate themſelves from him. But they ſay they have only the
" name of them, and that in reality, they are deprived of the privileges
" belonging to their ſaid offices, which are uſurped by others. Now,
" before one can judge of the juſtneſs of ſuch a complaint, it is neceſſary
" to examine the foundation of the rights and pre-eminencies which are
" generally attributed to every office, and to enquire how, and by what
" perſons they have been exerciſed in the times of the Kings his prede-
" ceſſors: a thing often propoſed by his Majeſty, out of a deſire to aſcer-
" tain the rights of every man's office, and which would long ago have
" been ſettled and decided, if his good intentions had been ſeconded
" and aſſiſted, as they ought to have been, by thoſe that are moſt in-
" tereſted in them. But ſhall it be ſaid at preſent, and left upon record
" to poſterity, that private intereſts and diſcontents were the cauſes of
" ſubverting a whole ſtate, and of filling it with blood and deſolation?
" This is not a proper method to be taken for the regulation of thoſe
" abuſes that are ſo much complained of, as they have to deal with a
" moſt pious Prince, who will ever oppoſe all evils, and readily embrace
" ſuch convenient meaſures as ſhall be thought fit to provide againſt
" them.

" Let them therefore lay down their arms, let all foreign forces be
" ſent back to their own countries, and let the kingdom be freed from
" that danger with which it is threatned from the preſent inſurrection:

1585. " and inſtead of purſuing that courſe which is ſo full of difficulties, ſo
" pregnant both with publick and private miſeries and calamities, let
" them return to the paths of duty and reaſon, by which means the
" holy church of God, that always ſuffers, and is diſhonoured in turbu-
" lent times, will be more eaſily reſtored to its ancient power and
" ſplendor, and the Nobility ſatisfied and contented, as they ought to be.
" For, which of his Majeſty's predeceſſors hath ſhewn more favour
" and regard to that order than he himſelf hath done? who hath not
" been content with preferring it to the ancient and principal honours
" of the kingdom, but has alſo purpoſely inſtituted new ones, to add
" greater luſtre to true Nobility, and from which he hath excluded all
" other perſons whatſoever. His Majeſty will alſo have more opportu-
" nity of providing, from time to time, for the eaſe of his people, as he
" hath already very well begun to do, and deſires to continue to the
" utmoſt of his power. And although the chiefs of this war promiſe
" that their forces ſhall obſerve ſuch diſcipline, that no body ſhall have
" reaſon to complain of them; and alſo admoniſh the inhabitants of
" cities not to receive any garriſons into them; yet it is already ſeen,
" that the ſoldiers which they have gathered together, daily commit in-
" finite outrages and villainies, whilſt they themſelves have put forces
" into thoſe cities and places which they have taken to govern, and keep
" them at their own devotion. Beſides, it is moſt certain that many va-
" gabonds, who can do nothing but miſchief, will riſe up, as it always
" happens, under the name and protection of each ſide, and will com-
" mit infinite robberies, murders, and ſacrileges: ſo that inſtead of put-
" ting an end to that danger which threatens the ruin of God's ſervice,
" and of all good men, as they promiſe to do by this war, it will fill
" the kingdom with all manner of impiety and licentiouſneſs. They
" alſo give out, that their perſons and lives are in danger by treachery,
" which is one of the reaſons that induce them to take up arms. No
" one certainly can believe, that ſuch an imputation can at all concern
" his Majeſty, who is by nature ſo far from any kind of revenge, that
" the man is yet unborn that can, with truth, make any ſuch complaint
" againſt him, what offence or injury ſoever he may have received from
" any one. There may be many found to confirm the truth of this,
" who, in ſuch caſes, have experienced the lenity and gentleneſs of his
" diſpoſition, and will ſerve as monuments of it to poſterity. Where-
" fore his Majeſty prays and exhorts the chiefs of the ſaid tumults and
" commotions to diſband their forces immediately, to ſend back the fo-
" reigners, to ſeparate themſelves from all Leagues, and laying aſide every
" attempt of that kind, to be fully aſſured, as his kinſmen and ſubjects,
" of his perfect good-will and friendſhip: which, if they ſhall comply
" with,

" with, he promiſes to continue honouring them with his favour, and " making them partakers of thoſe dignities which it is his cuſtom to con- " fer upon men of their quality: he hereby likewiſe invites them to re- " concile and reunite themſelves with him, to provide duly and effec- " tually for the re-eſtabliſhment of God's ſervice, and the publick good " of his ſubjects, by ſuch means as ſhall be thought moſt proper and " convenient, which his Majeſty has the higheſt deſire of putting in " practice. He likewiſe admoniſhes the Clergy and Gentry, his ſubjects, " maturely to weigh the conſequence of theſe commotions, ſincerely to " promote his intentions, and to believe that his chief aim hath ever been, " and ever ſhall be, to do good to all, and neither to injure or offend " any one: commanding them moſt ſtrictly, as alſo all his other ſub- " jects, to ſeparate and withdraw themſelves from all Leagues and Aſſocia- " tions, and to reunite themſelves with him, as nature, their duty, their " own welfare and ſafety oblige them to do: to the end, that if theſe " civil diſſentions ſhould make further progreſs (which he beſeeches God " of his infinite goodneſs to prevent) he may be aſſiſted and ſupplied " with their council and arms, for the preſervation of the kingdom (with " which that of the *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick church is inſeparably " connected) of their honour and reputation, of their perſons, families, " and eſtates: offering and promiſing them, if they ſhall ſo do, both " the continuation of his favour, and alſo ample rewards for their ſervice " and fidelity." 1585.

This was the King's declaration, publiſhed in anſwer to that of the League; in which he thought it becoming the Majeſty of his perſon to ſum up affairs in as brief a manner as poſſible, without deſcending to particulars, but afterwards employed perſons of great learning and eloquence to give a full anſwer to the allegations of the Lords of *Guiſe*; who having replied at large, and in print, both ſides were ſo enflamed, that it now became much more neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, than to multiply words any longer. The King endeavoured, therefore, not only to draw his forces together from all parts, to reſiſt the attempts, and to oppoſe the army of the League, that was ſo near at hand, but alſo to diſunite and detach ſome of thoſe that he thought moſt fit for his purpoſe, from their dependance on that union. And becauſe the city of *Lions* was extremely neceſſary for his deſigns, and convenient for the bringing in of the *Swiſs* that way, who were prevented from paſſing through *Burgundy* and *Champagne*, provinces held by the League; he began to practiſe upon the Sieur *De Mandelot*, in order to draw him over to his party, and had ſtrictly engaged the Secretary *Villeroy* in that affair. For *Mandelot*, having a daughter of great beauty and a large fortune, there was

1585. was a treaty of marriage ſet on foot betwixt her and *Charles* Lord of *Alincourt*, ſon to *Villeroy*, which was not a little forwarded by the privilege that the King gave *Mandelot*, of putting his ſon-in-law into the government of the city of *Lions* after him. For as he would be freed by this alliance from the apprehenſion of being thruſt out of his place by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to eſtabliſh his brother in it, and the King had authorized and approved of the demolition of the citadel, which was already compleated, he could no longer have any reaſon to adhere to the League, when thoſe jealouſies were over which had induced him to come into it. Nor was this treaty in vain; for *Mandelot*, who was a man of a gentle diſpoſition, and fond of ſo powerful an alliance, conſented to the match, and promiſed to grant a free paſſage to the *Swiſs*, that were raiſed by the Sieur *De Fleury*, uncle to the new bride. The King's perſuaſions prevailed alſo upon *Lewis Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, who being diſappointed in his hopes of the government of *Provence*, by the unſucceſsful event of the attempt upon *Marſeilles*, and ſeeing (as he ſaid himſelf) that the Pope would not determine to approve of the League, and take it into his protection, began to liſten to the inſinuations of *Franciſco Nuovoloni*, a native of *Mantua*, and his intimate friend, whom the Abbé *Pierre D'Elbene*, one of the King's confidants, had gained over by weighty reaſons and large promiſes from his maſter: ſo that he at laſt reſolved to write to the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, that he renounced the League, and was determined to leave them: alledging, that he never ſaw the expreſs conſent and approbation of his Holineſs; and that, notwithſtanding the long negociation that had been carried on at *Rome* by Father *Matthei*, he had never received any ſatisfaction in his ſcruples, or been convinced that it was lawful in this affair to take up arms againſt a King that was a Catholick, and his true and natural Sovereign. By his example many others began to fall off, and particularly the Sieur *De Villers*, who having engaged in the League, chiefly out of the veneration that he had ever borne to the Catholick religion, was diſſatisfied to ſee that the principal deſign of the confederates was upon the King's own perſon. For which reaſon he entirely gave up the reſentment that he had conceived, at not being appointed Governor of the caſtle of *Caën*, and having a free pardon granted him by the King for the death of Monſieur *De Lizores*, whom he had killed in a duel, he returned to his obedience, and afterwards faithfully ſerved his Majeſty as long as he lived. But this was only like taking a drop of water from the ocean: for the fury of the people was ſo great, and the concurrence of the Clergy ſo general, in favour of the League, that it grew ſtronger and ſtronger every day. The preparations which the King made for war were not more

fortunate

fortunate in other reſpects; for though the Catholick Cantons of the *Swiſs* had at firſt conſented to have forces raiſed there in his Majeſty's name; yet ſome of their leading men, being corrupted by the League, and others over-awed by the authority of *Spain*, they not only refuſed to let thoſe levies be completed, but allowed the Duke of *Guiſe* to raiſe ſix thouſand foot amongſt them. And though the other Cantons had promiſed the Sieur *De Fleury* to make up the number of ten thouſand, which were raiſing for the King, yet they deſired to add this expreſs condition, "That they ſhould only ſerve in his defence, and not be obliged to act "offenſively againſt any perſon whatſoever;" being ſo perſuaded by the reſt, who favoured the party of the confederates: by which the King plainly foreſaw, that he ſhould be at a great expence, and undergo many difficulties, and at the ſame time receive but little advantage from the aſſiſtance of the *Swiſs*, who were reſtrained by the nature of the aforeſaid conditions, and fought againſt others of the ſame nation; which, by the experience of many former examples, he knew was always hazardous, and often fatal. The forces alſo of the kingdom, that ſided with him, were very weak, as he had not had ſufficient time to effect his deſigns by artifice and diſſimulation, and had been prevented by the ſagacity and quickneſs of the *Guiſes*; ſo that, except his own dependants, and thoſe of his minions, every body elſe was attached to one or other of the factions: and thoſe that did follow the royal authority, appeared very ſlow and cold, being in a manner terrified and amazed at the bold attempt of the confederates: Nay, even ſome of thoſe in whom the King confided, and that had been favoured and advanced by him, were, as we have already obſerved, gone over to the League, as the Sieur *De Entraques*, *St. Luc*, the younger *Lanſac*, and many others; every one being diſguſted at the prodigious degree of favour that was ſhewn to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the vaſt authority he was in. But what kept him in the greateſt trouble and ſuſpenſe, was the ſuſpicion that he had of the city of *Paris*, the head indeed of the kingdom, but ſo great and powerful a one, that which way ſoever it inclined, it had always weighed down the ſcale. In this city, which was united with the confederates, there was alſo a particular League, that was under the management of the Sieur *De Meneville*, the Preſident *Nully*, *La Chapelle Martel*, the Sieurs *De Buſſy*, *De Hotteman*, and other principal citizens, who had bought up arms with great diligence in all parts, at any price, and had ſecretly diſtributed them amongſt the people, that the city might be able to riſe upon occaſion, and even, if it was neceſſary, to ſeize upon, or detain the King's own perſon, till the arrival of the confederate army, towards the raiſing and ſupporting of which the private citizens had paid three hundred thouſand crowns into the hands of the Duke of *Guiſe*. The King being ſecretly informed

1585.

of

1585. of theſe things by *Nicholas Poulain*, Lieutenant to the Provoſt of the Iſle of *France*, and one of the confederates, was in very great perplexity of mind: for if he ſtaid in *Paris*, he was in evident danger of receiving ſome inſult from the fury and madneſs of the people, who were prepoſſeſſed with a belief, that he favoured the King of *Navarre*, and the *Hugonots*. On the other hand, if he left the city, he was certain it would revolt, which was only now hindered by his preſence, and by the means that he made uſe of every hour to prevent it: So that notwithſtanding he had ordered all the officers and private men of his guards to their poſts, and made choice of five and forty gentlemen of known loyalty, to each of whom he allowed a ſtipend of an hundred crowns by the month, and their diet at court, that they might be conſtantly near his perſon, yet he lived in very great apprehenſion and inquietude, ſeeing himſelf mounted on ſo headſtrong and ungovernable a ſteed.

Theſe difficulties, which ſeemed altogether inſuperable, and the hope of drawing over many of the League to his party in time, and of diſſolving that union by his uſual arts, which then ſeemed impoſſible to be effected by force, determined the King to follow the advice of the Queen his mother, and of the Sieurs *De Bellieure* and *Villeroy*; which was, to protract things as much as he could, and to give the League ſuch ſatisfaction as was neceſſary to divert the force and violence of the confederates, and to endeavour, by time and artifice, to diſunite that combination; experience having ſo often manifeſtly ſhewn, that the troubles and dangers, both at home and abroad, were increaſed by reſiſtance, and having recourſe to arms; but that by compliance, and giving way a little, thoſe hazards might be deferred, and thoſe imminent calamities avoided. For this purpoſe the Queen undertook to treat with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Princes of the League; and being attended by the Marſhal *De Retz*, Monſieur *De Brulart*, Secretary of State, and Monſieur *De Lanſac*, ſhe went to *Eſpernay*, in *Champagne*, ten leagues from *Châlons*, to confer with the Lords of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. The confederate Lords alſo came thither, and, without delay, began to treat of the means of an accommodation; but the intentions of the parties were ſo different, that it was hard to come to any concluſion. For the Queen only endeavoured to gain time, as well to give the King an opportunity to arm and prepare himſelf, and the *Swiſs* to arrive near *Paris*, as for the conveniency of thoſe engines that were ſecretly employed to diſunite the League. Whereas, on the other ſide, the *Guiſes* took great care to guard againſt thoſe deſigns, and inſiſted upon coming to a fair and ſpeedy agreement, or proceeding immediately to war. So that though the Queen laboured very earneſtly, both by her authority and perſuaſions, yet ſhe could obtain nothing more than a truce for four days; in which interval ſhe diſpatched

Monſieur

Monſieur *Miron*, her chief Phyſician, to the King, to bring back his reſolution concerning the accommodation. The time of the truce being expired, the Queen advanced as far as *Charry*, a place belonging to the Biſhop of *Châlons*, whither the confederate Lords came alſo to meet her. Here ſhe acquainted them, that the King had ſent her orders by *Miron*, her Phyſician, to aſſure them, "That in matters of religion he was of the "ſame mind with them, and that he was equally ſollicitous for the ſecu-"rity of the Catholick faith, the extirpation of hereſy, and the eſtabliſh-"ment of one only religion and belief in his kingdom; and therefore "they that ſhewed themſelves ſo zealous for it, ought to propoſe the "means of gathering armies together, and of providing for their pay "and ſupport." 1585.

The King hoped, by this way of proceeding, to have occaſioned as much confuſion and diviſion amongſt the confederates, as he had formerly done amongſt the deputies at *Blois* by the ſame means. For there was no doubt, but the expences would naturally fall upon the clergy, and upon the commons; a thing contrary to the profeſſions of the League, which were, to alleviate the grievances of the kingdom: and in theſe armies, that were to be formed in different parts, it would be neceſſary to employ all the Nobility, to the manifeſt hazard of their lives and fortunes. The Duke of *Guiſe* therefore, and the other Lords, being ſtaggered at this difficulty, could not preſently come to a reſolution how to act in the affair, and for that reaſon took three days time to return their anſwer, to the great ſatisfaction of the Queen. After many conſultations, they at laſt determined to evade the force of the King's propoſals and demands, leſt they ſhould be obliged utterly to falſify thoſe promiſes and profeſſions, which they had made in their manifeſto, and thereby draw the odium of thoſe burdens and grievances upon themſelves, which at preſent they had fixed upon the King: And therefore, making uſe both of the power and authority which they now had, they boldly anſwered the Queen, "That it was not their buſineſs to provide thoſe means, but the King's, "who beſt knew his own ſtrength; and that without trifling any longer, "they muſt inſiſt upon a declaration and edict being immediately pub-"liſhed againſt the *Hugonots*, upon proper ſecurity for themſelves, and a "certainty, that the war ſhould not be deferred; for the carrying on of "which they offered the aſſiſtance of ſuch forces as they then had in "readineſs: otherwiſe, they ſhould order their army to march where they "thought it would be moſt ſerviceable for the execution of their enterprize." And in fact, they diſpatched the Duke of *Mayenne*, at the ſame time, with part of their forces, to meet the King's *Swiſs*, and with a commiſſion, if he thought proper, to give them battle immediately. Upon theſe reſolute demands, the Queen deſired eight days to acquaint the King, and to

1585. know his pleaſure; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, who wanted to meet his *German* forces, which, as he was informed, were arrived near *Verdun*, was eaſily perſuaded to conſent to it.

But whilſt he was gone to join them, and to make proviſion for their accommodation, the Queen, who narrowly watched all opportunities, employed * *Luigi Davila*, a *Cypriot*, and one of her Gentlemen of honour, to confer with *Franciſco Circaſſi*, one of the ſame nation, and Gentleman to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to try if ſhe could, by his means, perſuade the Cardinal to ſeparate himſelf from his aſſociation with the Lords of *Guiſe*. Whilſt this negotiation was carrying on, and renewed from day to day, the old Sieur *De Lanſac*, chief of the Queen's Gentlemen, was artfully introduced into it for the King: and on the Cardinal's part, the Sieur *De Rubempré*, who being of a haughty diſpoſition, and not having that authority in the League which he imagined he deſerved, began to think of a reconciliation with the King and his party. At laſt Monſieur *De Lanſac* had a conference with the Cardinal himſelf, under the colour of a complimental viſit, in which he repreſented to him, that he might eaſily perceive that he was not head of the League, as became the quality of his perſon, and the honour of his blood, but a tool and a vaſſal to the paſſions and ambition of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Lords of his family: that the intereſts of religion were entirely out of the queſtion; for when the King had offered to give them any manner of ſatisfaction in matters of faith, his offer was not accepted: ſo that it was now manifeſt and well known to all the world, that, under the pretence of religion, they only purſued their own private views and advantages; that it was not becoming in a man of ſo great zeal and integrity, who was placed in one of the moſt eminent ſtations of the holy church, to ſerve as a ſtale to the pretenſions of the Lords of *Lorrain*, and to give countenance to an open rebellion againſt the perſon of a King that was a known Catholick, as well as their lawful and natural ſovereign; but that nothing could be ſaid to juſtify him, who was the firſt Prince of the blood, in making himſelf the inſtrument by which the ancient enemies of his houſe would extinguiſh the remainder of the royal family: that it behoved him to conſider, that he, being old, and not likely to have children, the houſe of *Bourbon* would become utterly extinct by the ſuppreſſion of his nephews: that it ſeemed very ſtrange to every good man, that he, who all the reſt of his life had been a promoter of peace and concord, ſhould now, when

* The author's elder brother, who was in great favour and confidence both with the King and Queen mother, and much employed by them in commiſſions and negotiations during the courſe of the war.

he

he was ſo far advanced in years, become the author of war, bloodſhed, diſcord, and rebellion: that it would be much more acceptable to God, and praiſe-worthy in the ſight men, if he would unite with the King in his pious endeavours to reclaim his nephews from the way to perdition, and rather to reconcile them to the church by peaceable meaſures, than to bury them in the total ruin and deſtruction of the kingdom; that he ought not to doubt or ſuſpect the ſincerity of the King's intentions, who both openly and privately was always not only a Catholick, but exceedingly zealous for his religion: that as to the *Hugonots*, he would ſend him a blank, which he ſhould fill up as he pleaſed; and for what related to his own particular perſon, he would always honour and reverence him as father, for he was often heard to ſay, "That amongſt all that great "multitude of confederates, there was not one honeſt man but the Car- "dinal of *Bourbon*." 1585.

Theſe arguments being ſtrongly enforced and ſeriouſly reflected upon, by a man full of upright and uncorrupt intentions, had almoſt wrought their deſigned effect, and inclined him to thoughts of reuniting and reconciling himſelf to the King, by means of the Queen mother, whom he held in the higheſt veneration. But whilſt he was yet in ſuſpence, being a man of no great depth or policy, he gave the Cardinal of *Lorrain* occaſion to ſuſpect what was carrying on, by ſome converſation that paſſed betwixt them: upon which the Duke of *Guiſe* was immediately re-called, whoſe ſpirit animated the whole body, and moved every part of that union. And though by his authority he ſettled the Cardinal in his former reſolution; yet, knowing that the *Swiſs* daily advanced, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* had but few forces to oppoſe them, and conſidering that great ſums of money were neceſſary to complete the pay of the *German* ſoldiers, towards which the *Spaniards* did not contribute with that readineſs that he expected: (for being involved in the war of the Low Countries, they could hardly ſupport ſo vaſt an expence) and having more fully diſcovered, at laſt, that the diſuniting of the League was attempted by ſecret practices, the members of which were already wavering, he judged (as he always had been of opinion) that delays would be fatal to him. Being deſirous therefore to put a good face upon his taking up arms, to juſtify his intentions, and to take off thoſe ſcruples that had been inſtilled into the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and which were already not only made publick, but had taken deep root in the minds of others, he reſolved to make the following plauſible propoſal: "That as he only deſired to have one edict publiſhed againſt the *Hugonots*, by which the exerciſe of no other religion but the Catholick ſhould be allowed in the kingdom, the ſaid *Hugonots* rendered incapable of holding any office or dignity of any kind whatſoever, and certain proviſion made, that they ſhould be effectually proſecuted by force and arms.

1585. If this was complied with, he would not only not inſiſt upon any other ſecurity or conditions, but actually reſign all offices and governments that were in the poſſeſſion of himſelf, or any of his family, to put an end to all ſuſpicions of private intereſts, or deſire of picking quarrels."

This offer produced two conſequences that were of wonderful ſervice to him: one, in confirming the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in his firſt reſolution, the loſs of whom would have taken away the main foundation of the League: the other, in reducing the King to a neceſſity, either of accepting the propoſal, or of fiding with the other faction, by which he would alienate all the reſt of the Catholicks, who already began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of him. And as to the ſecurity and emoluments of his own family, he knew very well, that if the King entered into a war with the *Hugonots*, he muſt of neceſſity reunite himſelf with the Catholicks, and with the houſe of *Guiſe* in particular, which had almoſt all the forces of the kingdom in its hands: and that he muſt be ſo far from conſenting that they ſhould lay down their offices and employments, that he would be forced to confer ſtill more and greater upon them, and to truſt them with the command of his armies. He likewiſe plainly ſaw, that a full completion and accompliſhment of his deſigns muſt be the natural and inevitable reſult of a war with the *Hugonots*. And it was indeed very true, that he had linked the war with the *Hugonots* and his own intereſts ſo cloſe together, that he never wanted a fair opportunity of advancing his private deſigns, in ſuch a manner, that no other intereſt outwardly appeared but that of religion alone.

This laſt determination therefore, being reduced into writing, was preſented by them to the Queen, on the ninth of *June*, ſubſcribed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Guiſe:* at which ſhe did not ſeem much ſurpriſed; having long ago foreſeen, that the heads of the League could not take any other reſolution ſo proper. But ſhe diſpatched the ſame *Miron* that was before employed, with this declaration to the King, acquainting him, that it was neceſſary for him to conſent to it in point of religion, to divert the preſent danger, and to diſunite the forces of the confederates; for ſo many difficulties would afterwards occur in the execution, that time of itſelf would afford ſufficient oppoſition: but that if he did not conſent to it, he might aſſure himſelf, he would not only be univerſally hated and deteſted, but ſo diſtreſſed, that he would be forced to take up with harder conditions, as the Duke of *Mayenne* was already gone to obſtruct the march of the *Swiſs*; and whilſt they were retarded, the Duke of *Guiſe* would take the opportunity of joining his *German* forces, and march towards *Paris*, with an army of thirty thouſand effective men; from whence nothing elſe was to be expected, but the certain revolt of that city, and a general rebellion throughout the whole kingdom, which

would oblige him to take refuge in thoſe places that were poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots*, of whoſe forces and aſſiſtance he could not aſſure himſelf. Thus both parties were anxious about the march of the *Swiſs*. For on one ſide the Queen was afraid, that the Duke of *Mayenne* would be able to prevent it: and on the other, the Duke of *Guiſe* was apprehenſive that he would not be ſtrong enough to oppoſe them; which mutual fears inclined both parties to conſent to a peace. 1585.

The King having received the declaration, together with the Queen's advice, immediately ſent the Secretary *Villeroy* to her, and ſoon after the Duke of *Eſpernon*, deſiring that an agreement might be concluded and eſtabliſhed, on the beſt terms that could be had. Upon which the Queen, being come to *Nemours* with the Princes of the League, they agreed upon the following conditions on the 7th of *July*. That the King ſhould not ſuffer any other religion in his dominions but the *Roman* Catholick: That he ſhould baniſh all heretick preachers out of the kingdom: That he ſhould ordain, that the other *Hugonots* ſhould be puniſhed with confiſcation of their eſtates, during their life: That he ſhould declare war againſt them as ſoon as poſſible, in which ſuch perſons ſhould be appointed commanders as the League could confide in: That he ſhould aboliſh thoſe courts that had been inſtituted in the Parliaments, and eſtabliſhed in favour of the *Hugonots*, and not permit any one to be capable of holding any place or publick employment, till he made an open profeſſion of the *Roman* Catholick faith: That the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, *Mercœur*, and *Elbeuf*, beſides their other governments, ſhould hold the cities of *Châlons*, *Thoul*, *Verdun*, *St. Diſier*, *Rheims*, *Soiſſons*, *Dijon*, *Beaune*, *Rüe* in *Picardy*, *Dinan* and *Concarneau* in *Bretagne*. That a certain number of * Harquebuſiers on horſeback ſhould be paid and maintained by the King, as guards for the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guiſe*, and for the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, and *Elbeuf*: That the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould have an hundred thouſand crowns to build a citadel at *Verdun*, and that two regiments of foot belonging to the League, and under the command of *Sacromore Biragues* and *St. Paul*, ſhould be paid their arrears: That two hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be advanced them, to pay off the *German* forces that had been raiſed by the League, with which they ſhould be immediately diſcharged and ſent away: And that the confederates ſhould be forgiven an hundred and ten thouſand ducats, which they had taken of the King's revenue, and expended for the ſervice of the union.

By which articles, it plainly appeared to thoſe that had any knowledge of affairs, that it was not any compaſſion for the poor people, or a deſire

* They were commonly called *Argoulets*, and ſerved both on horſeback and on foot.

to

1585. to eaſe them of their grievances, that had given birth to the League, but the care and regard of the chiefs, for their own intereſts and ſecurity, and their deſire to ſee the party of their enemies ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed: though the higheſt zeal and concern for religion were always pretended. For that number of cities and ſtrong places, inſiſted upon for the ſecurity of the Lords of *Guiſe*, manifeſtly ſhewed, that they had penetrated into the King's ſecret intentions: and ſeeing that the *Hugonots* had their places of ſecurity, which prevented their deſtruction, they were reſolved to obtain the like for their party, that it might be no leſs difficult to ſuppreſs them, than it had proved to bring the King of *Navarre* and the reſt of his party into ſubjection: conſidering alſo, that though the war which they had cauſed to be determined upon againſt the *Hugonots*, was apparently ſet on foot to extinguiſh all diviſions in religion, it nevertheleſs at the ſame time included the ruin of the Princes of *Bourbon*, and of their friends and adherents.

The agreement being concluded and eſtabliſhed, the Duke of *Guiſe*, with the Cardinal his brother, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, went to the King at *St. Maur* near *Paris:* and the conditions being confirmed, the Duke of *Guiſe*, after many profeſſions of duty and obedience, returned to his governments.

Whilſt the peace was negociating betwixt the Queen and the League, the King of *Navarre* was in great perplexity of mind, foreſeeing the certainty of that accommodation, and that all the forces of the League would be united againſt him, to ſuppreſs and deſtroy his party. He had at firſt, by means of the Sieurs *De Clervant* and *Chaſſincourt*, his agents at court, made an offer of his forces to aſſiſt the King, exhorting his Majeſty to join ſincerely with him, and to rely upon the fidelity and readineſs of the *Hugonots* to ſerve him: and at laſt proteſted that he could not ſtand lingering in that manner any longer, and wait till he was overwhelmed in the ruin which he ſaw preparing for him. But the King, by letters under his own hand, and by many weighty arguments which he made uſe of to his agents, had exhorted him to continue quiet, and not to occaſion a greater diſturbance, aſſuring him that he would never conſent to any thing that ſhould violate the peace he had made with him, or that ſhould cauſe his ruin. And indeed ſuch was the King's intention at the firſt: but after neceſſity had reduced him to ſeek for peace with the confederates, the King of *Navarre*, who was no bad judge of things, eaſily perceived that all that ſtorm would fall upon him and his party: wherefore, being deſirous to make his cauſe appear juſt, to ſet forth his rights, and to advance his other deſigns, he publiſhed a declaration at *Bergerac*, on the 10th of *June*, in which he bitterly complained, "That he was called a relapſed Heretick, a perſecutor of the "church,

" church, a diſturber of the ſtate, and a capital enemy of the Catholicks, 1585.
" on purpoſe to exclude him from the ſucceſſion to the crown: ſhew-
" ing, that he was obliged to ſatisfy the world, and particularly the Princes
" of *Chriſtendom*, but above all, the King his Sovereign and the people
" of *France*, that theſe were calumnies thrown upon him by his enemies,
" who, out of ambition to exalt themſelves, under a pretence of taking
" arms againſt him and the reſt of the reformed religion, had taken the
" ready way to involve the ſtate in miſery and confuſion, as they had in
" reality rebelled againſt the King himſelf, and againſt the crown: and,
" contrary to the order of nature and the laws of the kingdom, declared
" a perſon to be firſt Prince of the blood, and ſucceſſor to the crown,
" who had no right to it, arrogating that authority to themſelves, which
" belonged only to the States-General of the kingdom; that he could
" not be accounted an apoſtate, as he had never altered his opinion.
" For though out of a juſt fear (which may happen to the braveſt man)
" and being forced, by manifeſt violence, he had ſent an Ambaſſador to
" the Pope; yet, as ſoon as ever he recovered his liberty, he had alſo
" declared that he had not changed his religion. Neither could he be
" called a Heretick for holding opinions (as many others did) that were
" not yet decided; as he had always offered, and did at preſent, to ſubmit
" himſelf to the inſtructions of learned men, and to the determination
" of a council lawfully aſſembled. That he was falſly accuſed of hav-
" ing perſecuted the Catholicks, many of whom he had always careſſed,
" and not only kept them near his own perſon, but employed them in
" the principal offices of his ſtate and houſhold; and that he had left the
" Clergy in his own territories, and in every other place where he had
" any command, in the peaceable enjoyment of their revenues and
" the exerciſe of the *Roman* religion. That if at ſeveral times he had
" taken up arms, he had done it without any intention to diſturb the
" ſtate, and always in his own defence, which nature dictates to every
" one: having ſeen how inhumanly thoſe were treated that had em-
" braced the reformed religion. That to oppoſe the perſecutions which
" were continually raiſing againſt him, he had ſent into *England*, *Den-*
" *mark*, and *Germany*, but with no other view than to obtain ſome relief
" from thence for the preſervation of his own liberty. That the reſolu-
" tion not to give up the fortreſſes (as they had lately been denied to the
" Duke of *Eſpernon*) was taken with the univerſal conſent of his party;
" becauſe thoſe ſuſpicions upon which they had been granted, were not
" only not taken away, but at that time very much increaſed, both by
" the great preparations for war which were made by thoſe of the
" League, and by the particular earneſtneſs with which they demanded
" yet other ſtrong places, beſides thoſe that they already poſſeſſed; only

" to

1585. " to ſecure them, as they would make the world believe, againſt thoſe
" of the reformed religion; though it was certain that party would never
" have injured or offended them, and could ſcarce defend itſelf from
" their tyranny and oppreſſion, not having ſo many towns in poſſeſſion,
" as there were provinces under the government of the Lords of *Guiſe*;
" who, after having ſhared all the King's graces and favours amongſt
" themſelves, commanded armies, beſieged cities, fought battles, di-
" ſtributed offices at their pleaſure, and by that means gained followers,
" revenged their own quarrels, and advanced their private intereſts at
" the expence of the crown, now attempted to make themſelves maſters
" of the King's perſon, and to govern the ſtate; and all this under a pre-
" text of religion. That every one might plainly ſee with how little
" reaſon they demanded other fortreſſes for their ſecurity. But to de-
" prive them of that pretence alſo, he and the Prince of *Condé* his couſin,
" though they ought rather to endeavour to ſtrengthen than do any
" thing to weaken themſelves, both offered immediately to reſign thoſe
" that were in their hands, together with the governments which either
" of them held; provided the Lords of *Guiſe* would do the like by thoſe
" that they had taken, and alſo by their governments: by which, he
" ſaid, the apprehenſion of that danger and diſturbance would be en-
" tirely taken away, with which his enemies gave out, that he and thoſe
" of the reformed religion now threatned the ſtate. That he left it to
" the world to judge, whether ſervants, or thoſe of the royal blood, had
" more intereſt in diſturbing it, and which of them were likely to be
" more faithful to their Prince, and whether it was probable that ſtran-
" gers and aliens could be better affected to the kingdom of *France* than
" natural-born *Frenchmen?* That if any one was deſirous to know the
" diſparity that there had ever been betwixt his family and that of *Guiſe*,
" in their care and regard for the publick good, he ought to call to mind
" the things that each of them had done, and to compare their actions:
" and then he would find, that thoſe of the houſe of *Bourbon* had ne-
" ver been the inventors of new gabels, had never inſulted the Nobility,
" nor violated or perverted juſtice in any reſpect, as the predeceſſors of
" the heads of the League had continually done, who not only intro-
" duced many new taxes, expoſed every employment to ſale, and con-
" founded all diſtinction of offices (many of which had been engroſſed
" by their own family, and others ſold in the time of *Henry* the ſecond
" and *Francis* the ſecond) but even alienated the temporal revenues of
" the church to gratify their avarice, under a pretence of making war
" for the ſake of religion. That he had never fomented wars and com-
" motions, as his enemies had done: but been content with barely de-
" fending himſelf, and upon all occaſions accepted ſuch conditions of

" peace as his Majeſty had been pleaſed to grant him. But that it was 1585.
" a thing worthy of more conſideration, that he had offered himſelf to
" attend the King in all his important expeditions, and particularly when
" he had been called to the government of the States of *Flanders*: where-
" as the heads of the League, on the contrary, had oppoſed that under-
" taking, and been the occaſion that an opportunity of gaining ſo much
" glory was loſt, and an acquiſition of ſuch importance utterly neglected.
" That though he could not reaſonably expect to ſucceed to the crown,
" becauſe of the King's youth (whom he wiſhed to have children) yet he
" could not help being provoked to ſee himſelf ſo unworthily treated by
" his enemies, who having moleſted him in his governments, and ſeized
" upon cities and fortreſſes in the midſt of them; now turned their at-
" tempts upon his life and honour, never ceaſing to perſecute him with
" malicious ſlanders, to make an impreſſion upon the multitude, that he
" was unworthy and incapable of ſucceeding to the crown; and, for the
" accompliſhment of their deſigns, without having any regard to the
" King's youth, endeavoured to make an unſeaſonable proviſion againſt
" thoſe events, which, they pretended to fear, would come to paſs after
" his death. In the concluſion, he demanded leave of the King, with
" all reſpect and ſubmiſſion, to give the *lie*, as he thereby did, to all
" thoſe that had ſlandered and abuſed him in their declarations, except-
" ing the Cardinal his uncle, and offered to decide the quarrel himſelf
" with the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was the head of that party, by fighting
" him hand to hand, or two, ten, or twenty of a ſide, or any other
" number, as the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf pleaſed; propoſing, if there
" were to be more than one of a ſide, that his couſin the Prince of *Condé*
" ſhould be his ſecond, not deſiring in that caſe to ſtand upon any in-
" equality in their rank, as they were neither moved to that reſolution
" by hatred or ambition, but for the ſervice of God alone, and to deli-
" ver their Sovereign and the people of *France* from thoſe calamities
" which war of neceſſity produces, and by deciding that difference at
" once, to leave the kingdom in peace, and the King's mind at eaſe,
" without giving him any further diſturbance. Wherefore he beſeeched
" his Majeſty to appoint the field, in any part of his dominions: and if
" the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould not think himſelf ſecure in any part of the
" kingdom, he offered to go out of it with him to any other place, that
" might be equally ſafe to both parties, which he left to the Duke's
" choice, and to put an end to the diſpute with thoſe weapons that were
" commonly uſed by Gentlemen of honour."

The King of *Navarre* endeavoured, by this declaration, not only to juſtify his own cauſe, and to ſet that of the confederates in a bad light, but, as he found himſelf inferior in ſtrength, though not at all in courage, to

1585. reduce the war to a private duel, which, if the challenge was accepted, he was ready to engage in; that he might thereby put his fortune, now almoſt ruined by ſo many powerful attacks, upon ſome ſort of equality: and if the offer was not accepted, he knew it would caſt a blemiſh upon the Duke of *Guiſe's* reputation, and that of the League, and be a means of conciliating the affections of the people exceedingly to himſelf, who would not fail to extol his generoſity, in expoſing his own life to prevent the general diſtractions of a war. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, perceiving the artifice of his enemy, and being deſirous to ſuppreſs him by the ſuperiority of his forces, without being obliged to hazard his own life, would not anſwer the declaration, that he might not be forced either to accept or refuſe the challenge, but cauſed it to be anſwered by other perſons, in many little pamphlets, the purport of which was, "That no Lord of the "Catholick party profeſſed any enmity to the King of *Navarre* on any "private account, but that what they did was for the ſake of religion and "their own conſciences: ſo that it was by no means fit to reduce the "cauſe of the publick to a private duel, as that would be to act very con-"trary to the end they had propoſed to themſelves." Theſe, and other ſuch like, were the reaſons that they oppoſed to thoſe that were alledged by the King of *Navarre*; who, being informed that the peace was actually concluded betwixt the King and the heads of the League, wrote letters to the King, which were likewiſe printed, wherein he complained bitterly, that whilſt he, in obedience to his Majeſty's command, by letters under his own hand, had forborn to arm himſelf, or to undertake any new enterpriſe, an agreement was concluded with his enemies, by which he had engaged to violate the edicts of peace already publiſhed, and, contrary to his former promiſes, to renew the war againſt thoſe of the reformed religion; earneſtly exhorting and beſeeching the King to conſider, that he took up arms againſt his good and faithful ſubjects, only to gratify the paſſions of thoſe that rebelled againſt him, and that he would remember that the devaſtation of his whole kingdom would be the conſequence of the war that was going to be raiſed againſt him; but that, if he perſiſted to work his ruin, he ſhould be obliged, by the law of nature, to defend himſelf; and hoped that God, in regard to the juſtice of his cauſe, would deliver and preſerve him from the perſecutions of men, and one day make his innocence appear to the whole world. Beſides theſe, he wrote other letters to the Nobility, the people, and the Parliaments, excuſing himſelf by laying the blame upon the League, and endeavouring to ſhew, that though he had punctually obſerved the conditions of peace, he was now unjuſtly to be attacked, in open violation of them. After which declarations, having ſent for the Prince of *Condé* and the Marſhal *D'Anville*, who, he knew, were no leſs perſecuted than the

the *Hugonots*, they jointly concerted the meaſures that were to be taken for their own defence, and the maintenance of thoſe which adhered to their party. And as they were ſufficiently convinced, by repeated proofs, that nothing was more neceſſary for their defence than ſupplies out of *Germany*, which might draw off the power and forces of their enemies into very remote places, they immediately ſent perſons on purpoſe to negociate with the *German* Princes for a ſtrong body of troops. And this commiſſion was entruſted to the Duke of *Bouillon* (who in his own right, derived from his anceſtors, had ſeized upon *Sedan*, an exceeding ſtrong place upon the confines of *Champagne* and *Lorrain*) and to Monſieur *De Chaſtillon*, ſon to the late Admiral *De Coligny*, who was Governor of *Montpelier* for the *Hugonots*, and was now ſecretly gone in diſguiſe out of *Languedoc* to *Geneva*. 1565.

In the mean time the King conſulted in private with his mother and the Cabinet Council, about the manner of executing the agreement with the League. Secretary *Villeroy*, with the Sieurs *De Bellieure* and *Villequier*, were of opinion, that there was no better nor ſurer way for the King to put an end to the diſtractions of his kingdom, and fruſtrate the deſigns of the *Guiſes*, than to enter ſincerely into a war with the *Hugonots*; to convince the world of his zeal for the Catholick religion, and the averſion he had to the *Calviniſts*; to put the moſt powerful of the Nobility into all the great offices of the kingdom; to ſettle the form of petitions, of granting favours, and of the diſpoſal of the publick money, in the manner formerly obſerved by his predeceſſors; and to gratify the deſires of thoſe in particular who were alienated from him, out of diſcontent that they had no intereſt at court. They ſhewed that this was the method to deprive the League of all pretences, and to gain the affection and applauſe of the people, who, becauſe they ſaw him averſe to thoſe meaſures, now followed and adored the Lords of *Guiſe*, as the ſupporters of religion, and the reſtorers of juſtice and publick tranquillity: that it was high time to pull up that main root of ſchiſm and diſcord that had been firſt planted by the *Hugonots*, and to reunite all his ſubjects and vaſſals to himſelf, in the ſame bond of charity, in the ſame religion, and for the ſame general end. And, laſtly, that he could neither more honourably nor more eaſily diſſolve the League, than by acting uprightly and ſincerely, and ſhewing himſelf a very different ſort of a perſon from what he had been repreſented by the heads of it: for by acting with that integrity, he would more effectually defeat their deſigns, and draw off more followers from the Lords of *Guiſe* in one day, than he could do by all his artifices and double dealing in the courſe of his whole life, though it ſhould laſt an hundred years. The Queen Mother inclined to this advice, though with ſome reſerve: for, as ſhe knew ſhe was already ca-

1585. lumniated as a favourer of the *Guiſes*, and a perſecutor of the King of *Navarre*, on the account of her daughter, ſhe was not willing to ſhew any partiality to the Catholick ſide. And being ſecretly picqued that the King would not abſolutely confide in her, but had ſent the Duke of *Eſpernon* to *Nemours*, to conclude the treaty that was negociating with the League, ſhe was very backward in declaring her opinion; perhaps, for fear of loſing her authority with the King her ſon; or, as others ſaid, out of a deſire to ſee him entangled in ſuch difficulties, that he muſt be once more obliged to that maſterly hand which had ſupported the government with ſo much prudence and moderation, and ſo often prevented the imminent ruin of the crown.

But the King was differently inclined, and utterly averſe to the opinion of theſe Counſellors. The reaſons that perſuaded him to the contrary were two: one, that if he was to make war upon the *Hugonots* in good earneſt, it muſt of courſe be a very long one, and attended with many difficulties; and conſequently oblige him to truſt great offices and employments in the hands of the Lords of *Guiſe*, which would increaſe their power, and create them ſtill more dependants: beſides, the glory of the victory would certainly be attributed to them alone, as it was evident they had compelled him by force to conſent to a war. The other reaſon was, that if the *Hugonot* party was once ſuppreſſed, which was the only check that he had upon the exceſſive power of the *Guiſes*, he ſhould be left a ſacrifice to their ambition, which would then have no reſtraint: for they would never be without one pretence or other, even when that of religion was taken away, it not being reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that people ſo artful in contriving, and ſo bold in executing their deſigns, ſhould ever be at a loſs for excuſes. Theſe were the reaſons avowed by the King; to which were added ſome of a more ſecret nature, as, the implacable hatred that he had long borne to the houſe of *Guiſe*, and which was now more enflamed than ever; his partiality to his minions, whoſe power and authority his fondneſs would not ſuffer him to diminiſh; his inordinate deſire of diſpoſing of all the wealth and revenues of the kingdom at his own pleaſure, to gratify his profuſion and extravagance; and, laſtly, the continuation of his old deſign to deſtroy and extinguiſh both factions in the end, by ſupporting them alternately againſt each other. Nor indeed was he much to be blamed. For having had ſufficient proofs of the audaciouſneſs of the *Guiſes*, and of ſo many others of their followers and abettors, he could not prevail upon himſelf to increaſe their authority, or make any freſh addition to their power; nor, on the other hand, to deprive himſelf of the ſervice of thoſe that he had bred up for his purpoſe, and the aſſiſtance of his neareſt confidants, with the evident peril of being left at the diſcretion of his enemies, as they might eaſily find

find out other occaſions and pretences to carry on the undertakings which they had already begun upon. Wherefore, after ſome doubt, he at laſt inclined to the opinion of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, the Marſhal *De Retz*, and Abbe *D'Elbene*, (who, being a *Florentine* by birth, and ſon to the nurſe of *Charles* the ninth, had advanced himſelf, by the ſtrength of his parts, to a very high degree of favour and confidence) and reſolved, in appearance, to perform the articles of the treaty that had been concluded with the League, but artfully to interrupt and prevent the effect of them. For though he had formerly endeavoured to ſuppreſs the *Hugonots*, and was not at preſent much averſe to their extirpation; yet he was not willing to have it thought, that he made war upon them at the inſtigation of others, or that he had been compelled to it by his own vaſſals, whilſt the merit and honour of it would wholly redound to the Lords of *Guiſe*. 1585.

This reſolution, however, had not only an unfortunate iſſue (as thoſe deſigns generally have that are too much refined, and above the level of common policy) but alſo a difficult and unpromiſing beginning; as it revived differences, and created diſtruſt, even amongſt the King's Counſellors. For the Duke of *Eſpernon*, being jealous of his maſter's favours, and deſirous to maintain his own greatneſs, began to hate and perſecute Monſieur *De Villeroy*, who had firſt introduced him at court, and with whom he had long lived in very great friendſhip; laying to his charge, that he had been corrupted with money and promiſes by the Duke of *Guiſe*, that he held a ſecret correſpondence with him, and therefore had firſt adviſed the King to extirpate the *Hugonots*, to reduce the adminiſtration of government to its ancient channel, and to reunite himſelf ſincerely with the Catholicks of the League; the intention of all which was only to deprive his Majeſty's friends of their power and authority. There had been, indeed, a coolneſs betwixt them, ſince the time that the Duke had prevented the marriage of *Alincourt*, *Villeroy's* ſon, to Mademoiſelle *De Maure*, a very rich heireſs of that family, to match her with Monſieur *De Bellegarde*, a kinſman of his own, and ſon to Monſieur *De Terms*; at which *Alincourt* was ſo provoked, that he went over to the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, who made him Cornet in his own troop of *Gens d'Arms*. The reſentment, which this proceeding occaſioned in the Duke of *Eſpernon*, was afterwards ſtill heightened, when he ſaw the King approved of the demolition of the citadel at *Lions*, by the perſuaſion of *Villeroy* (as he ſaid) though in fact it was only to draw over the Sieur *De Mandelot* to his party. Yet theſe reciprocal diſguſts had been but ſecret, and it was hoped they might wear away in time; till, upon occaſion of the abovementioned advice, they grew more publick, and were carried ſo far, that the Duke of *Eſpernon* not only began to hate the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, and the Sieur *De Villequier*, the King's old favourites and faithful ſervants, but to inſinuate ſuſpicions of

1585. of the Queen mother, as if ſhe was ſtill as well affected to the houſe of *Guiſe* as ever ſhe had been formerly, and endeavoured to keep her ſon as it were in a ſtate of perpetual pupillage, by fomenting commotions and civil wars, that he might be reduced to ſuch difficulties and diſtreſſes, as muſt oblige him to make uſe of her advice and aſſiſtance for the government and ſupport of the kingdom. Theſe diſcords and ſuſpicions breaking out, at a time when the ſtricteſt union and concord were abſolutely neceſſary, occaſioned ſeveral of the King's beſt and moſt able ſervants to deſert him, and many others to incline to the Duke of *Guiſe's* party, out of hatred to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and a deſire to ſee him humbled: and, which was of the greateſt conſequence, induced the King not to put ſo much confidence as he uſed to do in the counſels of his mother; who, therefore, was often unwilling to declare her opinion, and ſometimes complied with his, againſt her inclination, that ſhe might not totally alienate him from her.

But the King, though he ſtill reſolved to purſue his former deſigns, went with great ſolemnity to the Parliament on the 19th of *July*, where he cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, in which he revoked all others that had been iſſued, at different times, in favour of the *Hugenots*, and prohibited the exerciſe of any other religion but the *Roman* Catholick, in all parts of his dominions; ordering all miniſters and preachers of the pretended reformed religion to depart the kingdom, within a month after the publication thereof, and ſtrictly enjoining, that all his ſubject and vaſſals ſhould conform to the rites of the holy church, and make publick profeſſion of the Catholic faith in the ſpace of ſix months; or, if they would not comply, that they ſhould get out of the confines in the ſaid term: that after the ſix months were expired, the *Hugenots* ſhould be proceeded againſt with capital puniſhment and confiſcation of their eſtates, as hereticks and enemies to the publick peace: that thoſe of the aforeſaid religion ſhould be incapable of holding any rank, office, or dignity, of any kind whatſoever, in his kingdom: that all courts of judicature, conſiſting of members of different religions, which had been eſtabliſhed in their favour by any late edicts of pacification, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed: that they ſhould reſtore all places that had been granted to them for their ſecurity, and deliver them up immediately, without diſpute or demur, into the King's hands: that all Princes, Peers, great Officers of the Crown, Parliaments, Governors, and other Magiſtrates, ſhould ſwear to the obſervance of this edict, which ſhould be perpetual and irrevocable.

When the King came out of the parliament, he was received by the people with ſhouts of joy at the edict that had been publiſhed. But he ſhewed very plainly, by his gloomy countenance, that he was but little pleaſed with theſe unſeaſonable acclamations; and it was obſerved by many,

many, that, contrary to his uſual affability, he would not ſo much as return any ſalute to the *Prevôt des Marchands*, nor to the other Magiſtrates and Officers of the city of *Paris*: which, as he did it to ſhew that he deſpiſed them for their levity and inconſtancy, and with how much reluctance he entered into meaſures that were dictated by others, ſo it gave a handle to the *Guiſards* to ſpread it about, that he ſecretly favoured the *Hugonots*, and that the zeal and activity of the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain* had compelled him, by mere force, and much contrary to his own inclination, to declare war againſt them. 1585.

The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marſhal *D'Anville*, who had met together at *St. Paul*, returned an anſwer to the King's edict, by a new proteſt: and ſhewed, that this was an unjuſt perſecution, raiſed by thoſe that had ſo often diſturbed the peace: that it was neither the ſincere deſire of the King, nor the Queen his mother, whoſe clemency and upright intentions were known to all the world: that as the King had formerly declared all thoſe to be guilty of rebellion, that had taken up arms without his commiſſion, the Lords of *Guiſe* had incurred the penalties due to that crime, having taken cities, and committed other acts of hoſtility, not only againſt the orders, but even againſt the perſon of the King himſelf. For which reaſons, they, the ſaid King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Marſhal *D'Anville*, and the reſt of their friends, knowing them to be rebels, and treating them as ſuch, had taken up arms againſt them, their adherents and accomplices, for the defence of their lawful ſovereign, the ſupport of the crown, the ſecurity of their own perſons, and the liberty of their conſciences: and at the ſame time declared, that they would take all thoſe into their protection, even though they were Catholicks, that would live peaceably in their own houſes, without lending any aid or aſſiſtance to that conſpiracy.

I remember when this proteſt was brought to the King, and made publick in *Paris*, *Lewis* Sieur *De Lanſac*, a cavalier of great wiſdom and experience, talking in the *Louvre* of the ſituation of affairs, ſaid publickly, without any regard to thoſe of the League, " That the *Hugonots* had at laſt " got the better; for whereas they were at firſt accuſed of diſturbing " the kingdom, ſurprizing cities, fomenting diſcords, and being enemies " to their Sovereign; they now, with more reaſon, retorted thoſe things " upon the Catholicks, and proved them guilty of the ſame crimes; " which were ſo much the leſs excuſable in the heads of the League, as " they uſed to make louder complaints, and exclaim more bitterly than " all others, againſt the inſurrections and conſpiracies of the *Hugonots*: " and if they deſerved to be blamed for having concluded an alliance " with the *Engliſh*, the perpetual enemies of *France*, the Catholicks did " not deſerve to be praiſed for having entered into a confederacy with the " *Spaniards*:

1585. " *Spaniards:* that the King of *Navarre* was a better pen-man than was " neceſſary for a ſoldier; but, that if he had ſeconded his proteſt with " declaring himſelf a Catholick, he would have entirely fixed the charge " of ſedition and rebellion upon the League."

But neither the King of *Navarre's* proteſt, nor the opinions of the wiſeſt men, could moderate the univerſal ardour of the people, and particularly of the *Pariſians*, who were fully bent on the ruin of the *Hugonots:* on the contrary, they began to murmur againſt the King, and ſaid, that the term of ſix months was too long and favourable, being impatient to ſee the war begun immediately. This being known to the King, who was deſirous to put them out of conceit with their projects, and make them ſee that they laboured for their own diſadvantage, he ſent, on the 11th of *Auguſt* in the morning, for the *Prevôt des Marchands*, the Preſident and Vice Preſident of the Parliament, and the Dean of the cathedral church of *Paris*, to the *Louvre*, and particularly deſired the Cardinal of *Guiſe* to be there preſent. As ſoon as they were aſſembled, he ſaid, " It gave him great ſatisfaction that he had been ſo well adviſed, and that, " after having had patience for ſo long a time, he had, by the perſuaſion " of his ſervants, eſpecially of thoſe that were there preſent, at laſt re- " called the edict of pacification, that had been formerly publiſhed in " favour of the *Hugonots:* that if he had been a great while in reſolving " upon it, it had not been for want of affection to the Catholick religion, " but becauſe he had ſo often experienced the difficulties that attended a " war, and could not immediately be convinced, that this laſt reſolution " could be more eaſily executed than the reſt: which conſideration had " ſo long kept him in ſuſpence, and did ſo ſtill, in ſome meaſure, as he " foreſaw the great inconveniencies which this war would bring upon the " ſtate in general, and upon every particular perſon. Nevertheleſs, as he " found himſelf ſupported by ſo many perſons, of whoſe fidelity he was " well aſſured, and knew they would cheerfully perſevere in the execu- " tion of that undertaking, he could not help rejoicing and congratulating " himſelf upon it; praying them to enter into a conſultation with him, " concerning the beſt means of bringing that undertaking to a happy con- " cluſion, which they had adviſed him to. For which purpoſe he thought " proper to acquaint them with the number of forces that he intended to " raiſe, and what proviſions were neceſſary to be made for the beginning " of the war: that he would have three armies on foot, one in *Guyenne*, " another near his own perſon, and the third to prevent any foreign forces " from entering the kingdom, which he had certain intelligence were " ready to begin their march: that it would be a bad time to think of " war when the enemies were at the gates, or to make peace when " they were become the ſtrongeſt: that he had always found it very in-

" convenient

" convenient to break the edicts of peace, but much more ſo now to 1585.
" begin a war: and therefore exhorted every one of them to conſider
" well what they were going do, and that it would be too late to cry
" out for peace, when the mills of *Paris* were on fire: that for his own
" part, though he had followed the advice of others, againſt his own
" opinion, yet he was reſolved to ſpare nothing that belonged to him,
" and was ready to ſtrip himſelf to his very ſhirt for the ſupport of thoſe
" armies: that ſince they were not ſatisfied with the agreement of peace,
" it was neceſſary they ſhould aſſiſt him in the expences of the war; as it
" was not fit that he alone ſhould be oppreſſed, but that every particular
" perſon ſhould bear his part of thoſe hardſhips, which before he only
" had ſuſtained." Then turning himſelf to the firſt Preſident, he commended him very much for the great affection to the Catholick religion, which, he ſaid, he had taken notice of in the long and eloquent ſpeech that he made at the revocation of the edict; but that it was reaſonable that he, and all his company, ſhould conſider the neceſſity of his affairs: which was ſuch, as would oblige him to have recourſe to extraordinary methods of raiſing money, as the ordinary ones were not ſufficient: and therefore intreated them, that there might be no mention made to him of their penſions, which he ſhould not be able to pay as long as the war continued. After which he addreſſed himſelf to the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and told him, that as the people of *Paris* ſeemed ſo over-joyed at the revocation of the edict of peace, he did not doubt but they would readily aſſiſt him in the execution of a thing, which they had forced him to comply with: commanding him to call a council of the citizens the next day, and there to tell them, " That whilſt the war laſted, they muſt not expect to receive
" the rents due to the city chamber: (which had been appropriated by
" his predeceſſors, in the late occurrences, to eſtabliſh a ſort of a bank that
" might furniſh them with money at ten *per cent.*) and further, that he
" ſhould lay an impoſition upon the city of two hundred thouſand crowns,
" to begin the war with; the expence of which, he ſaid, would amount to
" four hundred thouſand crowns a month." At laſt he turned to the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, and told him, with a ſtern countenance, " That he
" hoped, for the firſt month, he ſhould be able to do without the aſſiſt-
" ance of the Clergy, as he intended to ſearch to the bottom of every
" private man's purſe; but for the other months, as long as the war
" endured, he muſt raiſe money upon the church; and that in ſo doing,
" he ſhould not act at all againſt his conſcience, nor ſtand upon any leave
" or authority from *Rome*, as the heads of the Clergy themſelves had put
" him upon the preſent undertaking; and therefore it was but reaſonable
" they ſhould contribute to the expence. In ſhort, that he was reſolved
" every one ſhould bear his proportion, the Nobility and the King's re-

1585. " venues having been already ſufficiently exhauſted." After this, he kept ſilence for ſome time, in expectation of their anſwer; but when he found they began to raiſe difficulties and objections, he ſaid, in an angry manner, " It had been better therefore to have truſted me, and to have " enjoyed the benefits of peace, than to pretend to dictate war from a " ſhop or a choir: I am much afraid, that whilſt we endeavour to de- " ſtroy the meeting, we ſhall bring the maſs into great danger. But deeds " are more neceſſary here than words." Upon which he immediately retired into his apartment, leaving them all in great confuſion and pain for their purſes, which he had threatned in ſo reſolute a manner.

But even this did not abate the fury of the people, who were continually ſtirred up by the ſermons of their preachers. The *Guiſes* alſo, being at a diſtance, murmured and ſaid, that the war would never be begun to recover thoſe places that were poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots*. The King therefore, that he might not be obliged to pull down what he had already built up, and be reduced to thoſe difficulties again which he had now overcome, began to think of aſſembling an army, and ſending it into *Guyenne*. But he was exceedingly mortified at the thoughts of being forced to chuſe commanders for that expedition, at the pleaſure of the League: conſidering, that he muſt truſt his forces in the hands of others, and that if it ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, all the merit and honour of it would be attributed to the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*, who, without doubt, would aſpire to be Generals of thoſe armies themſelves. However, as he was a Prince that was very ready at finding out expedients to extricate himſelf out of the greateſt difficulties, after he had conſidered the matter for many days, in every light, he ſent *Guy* Sieur *De Lanſac* to the Duke of *Guiſe*, to know his intention as to the perſons that were to command the armies: who, after long conſultation, reſolved, that his brother the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould command the army that was to march into *Guyenne* againſt the King of *Navarre*, whilſt he reſerved to himſelf the charge of guarding the confines, and preventing the paſſage of the Proteſtant forces of *Germany*; eſteeming that to be the more difficult enterprize, and knowing that it highly concerned him to be near the court, to take proper meaſures upon ſuch occaſions as often happen contrary to expectation.

The King, having received this anſwer, determined that the Marſhal *De Matignon*, on whoſe fidelity he could thoroughly depend, ſhould command in *Guyenne* as Lieutenant of that province, under the Duke of *Mayenne*: that the Marſhal *De Biron* ſhould go with the forces that were to begin the war in *Xaintoigne*: and that the Duke *De Joyeuſe* ſhould march with an army into *Gaſcony*, provinces ſo near, that the Duke of *Mayenne* would be ſurrounded on every ſide by thoſe armies.

And

And as the death of Monſieur *D'Angouleſme*, natural brother to the King, Grand Prior of *France*, and Governor of *Provence*, happened about that time, he conferred that government upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and reſolved to ſend an army thither with him againſt the *Hugonots*; deſigning, by thoſe means, not only to have many armies on foot, commanded by his confidants and favourites, but alſo to retard the Duke of *Mayenne's* progreſs, by making him want money, ammunition, and proviſions, that the honour of whatſoever was ſucceſsfully executed in thoſe parts might redound to ſuch as were moſt in his favour. But not to give occaſion for new murmurs and complaints, he ordered the Duke of *Mayenne's* army to be got in readineſs to march the firſt of all: and yet, to delay the proceedings of it, he firſt ſent three Ambaſſadors, one after another, to the King of *Navarre*, to endeavour his converſion, namely, the Cardinal *De Lenoncourt*, an old dependant on his family, the Sieur *De Poigny*, Knight of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Preſident *Brulart*, who ſet out but a few days before the march of the Duke of *Mayenne's* army. Upon which the Ducheſs of *Uſez*, a Lady of great wit, took occaſion to tell the King, in a pleaſant manner, "That the King of *Navarre* was "reduced to the laſt extremity, and that ſhe was ſure he would now be "converted, for fear of dying impenitent, as the miniſter of juſtice was "gone after the ghoſtly father to put the ſentence in execution." 1585.

The Ambaſſadors were commiſſioned to excuſe the breach of the edict of peace, with many ſpecious reaſons, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return into the boſom of the Catholick church, to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of thoſe places that were held by his party into the King's hands, to come and live near his perſon, that he might take away all pretences for the preſent war: all which was done only with a deſign to amuſe the *Guiſes*, and to delay their undertakings. But the King of *Navarre*, being more firmly reſolved than ever not to return to priſon, as he called the court, whilſt the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain* had more forces and dependants than he had: and finding that, though he was in a very weak condition, it was yet neceſſary not to ſhew any ſigns of fear, and to ſeem determined to defend himſelf, after he had returned the King ſincere thanks for the care that he had of his ſalvation, modeſtly complained of the breach of the edict, at a time when he had the greateſt reaſon to think his arms would rather have been turned againſt the ſeditious abettors of the League, than againſt him, who had always moſt religiouſly obſerved the King's commands and the articles of the peace. After which, he reproached the heads of the League, in the bittereſt terms, with perverſeneſs and ambition, in endeavouring to raiſe a diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown whilſt the King was alive: and particularly upbraided the Duke of *Guiſe* with meanneſs of ſpirit, in not accepting his

1585. challenge, when he might have put an end to the differences and enmities betwixt them hand to hand, without troubling the King and disturbing the whole kingdom; and concluded with saying, "That as he would "at any time submit himself to a lawful council, and the instructions "which should be given him by sincere and learned men: so it did not "consist either with his honour or conscience to be brought to mass by "compulsion, hoping that God would protect his innocence, as he mi-"raculously had done in former times."

At the departure of the Ambassadors, the army advanced that was to enter *Guyenne*, and the war began to grow hot in all parts. For the heads of the League, being impatient to see the destruction of the *Hugonots*, and especially of the Princes of *Bourbon*, caused spiritual arms to be joined with temporal, endeavouring, by that means, to hasten their utter suppression. Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth died this year, who being of a gentle disposition, and averse to violent proceedings, had never consented either to the open protection of the League, or the condemning of the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*. But being succeeded by *Felice Peretti*, who was first a monk of the *Franciscan* order, then Cardinal of *Montalto*, and at last exalted to the Pontificate with the name of *Sixtus* the fifth, a man of a furious and violent temper, the Cardinal *De Pellevé*, Father *Matthei*, and other agents of the League, never ceased to sollicit and persuade him to take the confederates openly into his protection, and to excommunicate the Princes of *Bourbon*. With which instigations he readily complied, to gratify his own disposition, as he had been an inquisitor a great part of his time, and was grown, by custom, an inveterate enemy to those that differed in opinion from the church of *Rome*. Wherefore, in a consistory that was held this year on the 9th of *September*, he declared the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* to be relapsed hereticks, and as such excommunicated and rendered incapable of any succession, especially of that to the kingdom of *France*, and deprived them of those states which they then possessed, absolving their vassals from their oaths, and excommunicating those that should obey them for the time to come. As this declaration occasioned great joy in the heads of the League, who flattered themselves, that it had effectually excluded those Princes from the throne, so it deeply affected the King, without whose privity it had not only been proposed in the consistory, and subscribed by many Cardinals, but posted up and made publick. But the greater part of the *French* nation was very much disgusted at this sudden and unexpected declaration, when they called to mind what had happened in the reign of *Charles* IX, upon the monitory that was issued against the Queen of *Navarre*, being apprehensive that the privileges of the *Gallican* church would be violated and trampled under foot, which made them very impatient

patient to ſee what meaſures the King would take upon this occaſion. 1585.
But his Majeſty being obliged to conform to the temper of the times, leſt he ſhould increaſe the ſuſpicion, which was already conceived of him, that he favoured the *Hugonots*, and give freſh occaſions and pretences of complaint to the Lords of *Guiſe*, reſolved to take little notice of the matter: though the whole Parliament waited upon him, and earneſtly deſired not only to have the Bull torn in pieces, but thoſe puniſhed who had ſollicited and procured it. To which requeſt the King made anſwer, "That he "would conſider of the matter:" ſo that it paſſed over in ſilence, and the Bull was neither accepted nor publiſhed in the parliament; though it was induſtriouſly ſpread through moſt parts of the kingdom, by the adherents of the League and the Catholick preachers.

The King of *Navarre*, being informed of the Pope's declaration, not only procured his appeal to be poſted up in *Rome* itſelf, as it was upon the 6th of *November* in the night; but wrote to all the ſtates of the kingdom of *France*, complaining to every one of them in particular of the injury which he conceived had been done him, and exhorting them not to ſuffer the right of the ſucceſſion to the crown of *France* to be decided in a conſiſtory at *Rome*. Many volumes were written in favour of this Bull, and many againſt it, by the beſt pens in *Europe*. But it would be too long to inſert their reſpective arguments in ſo compendious a narrative as this hiſtory: eſpecially, as the report of theſe ſpiritual weapons was drowned, in the ſpace of a few days, in the louder thunder of temporal arms.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK VIII.

ARGUMENT.

The war againſt the Hugonots in Guyenne. The defeat of the Prince of Condé. The ſlow progreſs of the Duke of Mayenne, General of the King's army. The defence made by the King of Navarre. The Marſhal De Biron advances into Xaintoigne with another army. The ſiege of Maran. The King ſends out two other armies; one, under the Duke of Joyeuſe, into Auvergne; the other, under the Duke of Eſpernon, into Provence. He goes in perſon to Lions. The Proteſtant Princes of Germany raiſe a powerful army to ſuccour the Hugonots. They ſend an embaſſy to the King of France, which increaſes the diſcontents in that kingdom, and enflames the war. The King reſolves to try once more if he can prevail upon the King of Navarre to turn Catholick and come to court. He ſends the Queen Mother

ther into Poictou to treat with him: at which the heads of the League are highly offended, and make loud complaints. The Pariſians make a handle of it to form a private union, and provide themſelves ſecretly with arms and other neceſſaries. Their deſign to ſurpriſe Boulogne in Picardy: which is diſcovered, and the town ſaved. They conſpire to ſeize upon the King himſelf, but dare not attempt it. The King, being informed of it, takes proper care of himſelf. They apply for aſſiſtance, in that undertaking, to the Duke of Mayenne, at his return to Paris; but he refuſes to be concerned in it, and leaves the city. In the mean time the Duke of Guiſe carries on the war in Burgundy and Champagne; takes Auſonne and Roucroix, and beſieges Sedan. The Queen Mother has a conference with the King of Navarre, but to no purpoſe: upon which ſhe returns to Paris. The King, ſeeing the obſtinacy of that Prince, takes a ſolemn oath that he will not tolerate the Hugonots any longer. He joins with the Catholick League to oppoſe the German army, and ſends the Duke of Joyeuſe into Poictou, againſt the King of Navarre. The Duke, coming ſuddenly upon him, cuts off two two regiments of the Hugonot infantry. The Duke of Guiſe draws his army together, in order to advance againſt the Germans in Lorrain. The King hires a body of Swiſs, and raiſes a powerful army for the ſame purpoſe. The Count of Soiſſons and the Prince of Conti go over to the King of Navarre's party. The Duke of Lorrain, in conjunction with the Duke of Guiſe, oppoſes the entrance of the Germans into his country. They meet at Pont St. Vincent, but there is no engagement. The Germans continue their march into France. The Duke of Guiſe follows them: and the King, with his army, comes forward to hinder them from joining the King of Navarre, who advances in the mean time to meet the Duke of Joyeuſe, and paſſes the river Drongne. The armies face each other at Coutras. A general engagement enſues. The Duke of Joyeuſe loſes the battle and is killed. On the other ſide, the Duke of Guiſe fights the Germans at Vimorri and Auneau, and makes a great ſlaughter of them. The King, purſuing the victory, comes up cloſe to the enemy's army. The Swiſs ſurrender to him, and the remainder of the Germans diſband and run away: they are purſued and defeated in many places. The Duke of Guiſe, in revenge, lays waſte the county of Montbeliart. The Sieur de la Valette and Colonel Alphonſo Corſo rout the Hugonots in Dauphinè.

GREAT were the hopes which the Lords of *Guiſe* had conceived, that the Princes of *Bourbon*, who had ſo many engines employed againſt them, and were ſo cloſely beſet on every ſide, would at laſt ſink under the weight of the League; and that, the *Hugonot* party being utterly ſuppreſſed, the Catholick religion only would be eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and they ſhould rule again at court as they uſed to do. 1585.

But

1585. But no leſs was the firmneſs with which the King of *Navarre* ſtood upon his defence, ſupported by the unanimity of the other Lords of his party. His fortune, which had hitherto been hard and diſtreſsful, now began to take a more favourable turn, and even to gather ſtrength from the perſecution of his enemies, ſeeming at laſt inclined to concur with the greatneſs of his mind, to bring his deſigns to a happy concluſion. For his generous reſolution, in challenging the head of the League to a duel, and of offering to put an end to the calamities of the publick, at the peril of his own perſon, had gained him the favour and applauſe of the whole kingdom. And the excommunication from *Rome*, though it had, in ſome degree, confirmed and approved the League, which had never been openly received into protection by Pope *Gregory*; and though it had occaſioned ſcruples in the minds of many, had yet, on the other hand, raiſed a ſpirit of reſentment in the parliaments, and in ſeveral of the long robe, and, which was of ſtill greater conſequence, had offended and alienated not a few of the Prelates. The firſt, as jealous of any encroachment upon the majeſty of the crown, the ſucceſſion to which, they inſiſted, ought to be decided by the aſſembly of the States-General of the kingdom, and not to depend upon the arbitrement of the court of *Rome:* the others, as defenders of thoſe privileges which belong, as they pretend, to the *Gallican* church, and had been conſtantly maintained and preſerved by the care and vigilance of their predeceſſors. So that many now inclined to favour the Princes of *Bourbon*, and to have a better opinion of their cauſe, who formerly held it in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. To theſe was added the weight of the King's minions, who being hated by the League, and profeſſed enemies to the Lords of *Guiſe*, were abſolutely neceſſitated not only to take part with the King of *Navarre*, and to defend him from all danger by their council and aſſiſtance, to the utmoſt of their power, but to uſe all means likewiſe to ſtrengthen and ſupport him. Nor did he himſelf neglect to juſtify his cauſe, in writing to the ſeveral orders, or to make any ſort of preparations for his defence: but with indefatigable pains and application, drew forces together from all parts, fortified his ſtrong places, ſtored them plentifully with victuals, provided artillery, furniſhed himſelf with ammunition, raiſed money by all poſſible means, ſollicited the Nobility, armed and exerciſed the infantry, and, without giving himſelf any reſt, had his eye continually intent upon diſpoſing every thing in a proper manner, to receive the ſhock of ſo formidable a power.

The Duke of *Mayenne* marched towards the river *Loire*, with an army conſiſting of five hundred Gens d'armes, fifteen hundred Reiters, four hundred light horſe, and five thouſand foot. The Marſhal *De Biron* alſo moved towards thoſe parts, but by a different rout, with his forces,

which were appointed to act in the country round about *Rochelle*. And *Claude* Sieur *De la Chastre*, with the troops raised in *Berry* and *Sologne*, came along the banks of the *Loire* to join the Duke of *Mayenne*. But *Emanuel* Duke *De Mercœur*, Governor of *Bretagne*, was advanced before them all, with eight hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot of that province, and had already entered into those parts that were held by the *Hugonots* in *Poictou*. 1585.

On the other side, the King of *Navarre*, after he had consulted with the Prince of *Condé* and the Marshal *D'Anville*, at *St. Paul de Cadejous*, having collected those forces that followed him into one body, had made a proper disposition to defend *Guyenne*, where the weight of the blow was likely to fall, and had sent the Prince of *Condé* into *Xaintoigne*, that by means of his adherents in that country, he might fortify as many places as the time would admit, and take as many others as he could, in order to make the more vigorous resistance, and to give the greater hindrance to the progress of the enemy. With the Prince of *Condé* were the Duke *De la Tremouille*, who, being of a fickle disposition, was lately come over to the religion and party of the *Hugonots:* the Lord of *Rohan*, a Nobleman of great eminence in *Bretagne*, and a near relation to the King of *Navarre*; the Count *De la Rochefoucault*, the Sieur *De Clermont* of *Amboise*, Monsieur *De St. Gelais*, who had the post of Quarter Master General, and many other Lords and Gentlemen of those parts; with whom he was hardly gone from *St. John D'Angeli* to visit the places in *Poictou*, when he received intelligence, that the Duke *De Mercœur* had already passed *Fontenay*, and was on his march towards him, plundering and laying waste all the country. Wherefore, being desirous to face his enemies at the first onset, and to make a bold and prosperous beginning of the war, he immediately advanced towards the enemy, guided by the outcry and flight of the peasants. But the Duke *De Mercœur*, being advised from many places of the Prince's coming, and knowing himself too weak to venture any further into the enemy's country, which was all up in arms against him, resolved to retire to *Fontenay*, a place belonging to the Catholicks, and there wait in security till the arrival of the King's armies, which were marching that way. But he was disappointed in that design: for they that commanded in *Fontenay* being ill affected to the League, excused themselves from admitting him into the town, by saying they had no orders from the King so to do, and shut the gates upon him at his arrival there; so that he was obliged to quarter his men in the suburbs, called *Les Loges*, with great danger and inconvenience, and received no other relief from the townsmen but a very small quantity of provisions. Not many hours after, the Prince came up, with a resolution to fight, and ready to fall upon the enemy. Upon which a furious skirmish

1585. immediately began, the *Catholicks* having the advantage in their ſituation, and the *Hugonots* in number. But the attack having laſted till night, often vigorouſly renewed by the *Hugonots*, and no leſs bravely ſuſtained by the *Catholicks*, and the Duke *De Mercœur* conſidering, that, as he could not depend upon thoſe within the town, he was in great danger of being defeated the next day, determined to retire and ſave himſelf in time. For which purpoſe he raiſed his camp in the dead of the night, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, and marched towards the *Loire*, with ſo much expedition, that he would not allow his men time ſo much as to eat that day, but continued his march, in order to recover ſome place of ſecurity. But as he was purſued by the Prince with his cavalry, he was obliged to leave many of his ſoldiers behind him to the mercy of the enemy, and not only to relinquiſh all the booty they had taken, but even moſt of his own carriages.

After the retreat of the Duke *De Mercœur*, as the Prince was returning to thoſe places that were of his party, he had advice that a number of Catholick Gentlemen, who as yet knew nothing of his ſucceſs, had aſſembled, and were coming up to join the Duke. Upon which, without further delay, or giving them time to be informed of it, he marched towards them with the utmoſt expedition, and came upon them ſo ſuddenly, that not being able to make much reſiſtance, ſome of them were killed upon the ſpot, and others taken priſoners, who afterwards obtained their liberty, on a promiſe not to bear arms againſt the Princes for a certain time. The Prince, being animated with this proſperous beginning, determined to make an attempt upon the iſles and caſtles near *Rochelle*, and to reduce all that quarter to his devotion, that he might have a larger extent of country to ſupport the war. In which he ſo well ſucceeded, that having every where routed and made great ſlaughter of thoſe that came to oppoſe him, he made himſelf maſter of all the forts and paſſes thereabouts, and boldly reſolved to beſiege *Broüage*, in which was the Sieur *De St. Luc*, one of the League, with a conſiderable number of foot, and ſome Gentlemen of the country. The *Rochellers* joined in this enterpriſe, out of regard to the advantage and reputation that would accrue to them from it, and ſent a great many ſhips to beſiege that fortreſs by ſea, whilſt the Prince took poſſeſſion of the only paſs that led to it by land, and having ſhut up the garriſon within the compaſs of their walls, laid very cloſe ſiege to it on that ſide.

But whilſt he was wholly intent upon this undertaking, and neglected no opportunity of incommoding and diſtreſſing the town, there happened another important event which made him alter his reſolution, and called him to a different quarter. For the Sieur *De la Rochemorte*, Captain *Du Hallot*, and Captain *Le Freſne*, who ſecretly adhered to the King of *Navarre*,

varre, and were enemies to the Count *De Briſac*, Governor of *Angiers*, having gained admiſſion, as friends, into the caſtle of that city, which is one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in all *France*, ſuddenly killed the Governor of it, with what few ſoldiers were in the garriſon, and made themſelves maſters of it without much difficulty. But whilſt they were uſing their endeavours to cauſe a revolt in the town alſo, they were beſieged by the people, who took arms, and cut off all communication with the caſtle, by a trench drawn round it. Upon which they began to write to their friends in all parts, and demanded immediate relief from the Prince of *Condé*, who was much nearer to them than the King of *Navarre*. *Angiers* is a city on the north ſide of the *Loire*, in a fertile and pleaſant country, very well peopled, famous for the ſtudy of the civil and canon law, and commodiouſly ſituated to open a paſſage into all the provinces of *Gallia Celtica*, which ſurrounds it on every ſide in a large circle. The Prince, therefore, thinking this a very fair opportunity, not only of making himſelf maſter of one of the principal cities in the kingdom, but of removing the war into the parts beyond the *Loire* (a thing that was always deſired by the *Hugonots*, and looked upon as very advantageous for them) determined with himſelf to march immediately to their relief, that he might, if poſſible, get poſſeſſion of the town by means of the caſtle, before it was more ſtraightly ſhut up and diſtreſſed by the Catholicks. And indeed it was a very great and noble deſign, but attended with infinite difficulties. For to endeavour to croſs ſo broad a river, without having any paſs in his hands that could be maintained, to penetrate into the heart of thoſe provinces which were univerſally attached to the Catholick party, and to put himſelf betwixt two powerful armies that were marching into thoſe parts to meet him, conſidering his forces, ſeemed rather a raſh than a generous attempt. And it would be both imprudent and dangerous to quit the ſiege of *Broüage*, which was reduced to great extremities, and almoſt ſure to fall into his hands, to venture upon ſo doubtful and hazardous an undertaking, eſpecially as there were but ſixteen ſoldiers in the caſtle of *Angiers*, beſides the captains, and it was very uncertain whether they could hold out till relief came. Yet, as he was in hopes that the city would revolt, and the affairs of his party were in ſuch a ſituation, as made it neceſſary to run all riſques, and to expoſe himſelf to any danger, provided he could bring that about; he reſolved to purſue the courſe of his fortune, which ſeemed to aſſure him of a happy concluſion, from the ſucceſs of his firſt attempts. For which purpoſe he left Monſieur *De St. Meſmes* with the infantry and artillery at *Broüage*, and having given orders that the fleet ſhould continue to block it up by ſea, he went on the 8th of *October* with eight hundred 1585.

1585. Gentlemen, and fourteen hundred harquebuſiers on horſeback, to relieve the caſtle of *Angiers*.

He was no leſs ſucceſsful in the beginning of this enterprize than he had been in the reſt, though it was eſteemed a very raſh one by ſoldiers of great experience. For notwithſtanding he had neither any paſs upon the river, nor boats ready to croſs it, yet he happily got over, and without much difficulty, at *Roſiers*, by the help of ſome barks that were carrying wine over the river, and accidentally lay on the ſame ſide of it that he was on. After he had paſſed the river, he met the Sieur *De Clermont*, with about ſeven hundred horſe, who had gone before into the territory of *Maine*, and the parts adjacent, to draw their friends together; but being afterwards informed of the affair at *Angiers*, he had marched with all haſte to aſſiſt the Prince in that deſign; or, if he did not find him there, to paſs the river, and join him at the ſiege that was carrying on before *Broüage*. Their forces being thus joined, to their mutual joy, the Sieur *De St. Gelais* marched before with two troops of horſe, to reconnoitre the country, and to provide victuals for the army: and upon the 20th of *October*, they came to *Beaufort*, a place not far from *Angiers*, where they intended to reſt themſelves the day following, that they might come with more vigour to an attempt of ſo great importance.

But the caſtle was re-taken by the Catholicks two days before. For the townſmen having at firſt made Captain *Du Hallot* priſoner, who had gone out to a parley, and to perſuade them to come over to his party, and having killed Captain *Le Freſne* the next day, whilſt he was treating with ſome of their deputies at the bridge of the caſtle, concerning the preſent affairs, had run together in a tumultuous manner to beſiege the place; where the Count of *Briſac*, Governor of the city, being arrived from one part, and *Henry de Joyeuſe*, Count *De Bouchage*, Governor of the province, from another, and not many days after, the Duke of *Joyeuſe* himſelf, who came up with a body of gentlemen to the aſſiſtance of his brother: and Monſieur *De la Rochemorte* being at laſt killed with two harquebuſs balls, one of which took off his tongue, and the other went through his throat, the ſixteen ſoldiers being left without any officer to command them, and not agreeing very well among themſelves, had capitulated upon certain conditions, on which they delivered up the caſtle into the Governor's hands on *Sunday* the 18th of *October*.

But the Prince of *Condé*, who imagined that the caſtle ſtill held out for his party, having divided his forces into ſeveral ſquadrons, advanced, on the 21ſt in the morning, about break of day, towards *Angiers*; not by the great road which leads directly to the town-gate, but by one that led out of the country to the trenches which the Catholicks had made to beſiege the caſtle. The citizens having notice from all parts of the Prince's

Prince's coming, and ſeeing themſelves already maſters of the fortreſs, retired into the ſuburbs of the town, and there threw up breaſt-works and barricadoes, and ſtood upon their defence, to receive the attack of the enemy with more ſecurity. At their firſt coming, they preſently perceived that the caſtle was no longer in poſſeſſion of their friends; for inſtead of ſhewing any ſigns of joy at the arrival of thoſe ſuccours which had been ſent for, thoſe that were within it made a very hot diſcharge of their artillery, upon the firſt troops of the army which were come within the reach of their cannon, under the conduct of the Sieur *De St. Gelais*; and though the commanders knew by this, that the caſtle was already given up, yet in the firſt heat of their fury, they fell with great bravery upon that part of the ſuburbs which was neareſt to them, and fought ſtoutly for many hours, with much bloodſhed on both ſides. This was naturally to be expected from their firſt attack; but as their ſpirits began to cool, and the Prince, with the other Lords and Commanders, perceived, that by continuing the ſkirmiſh, they ſhould only throw away their men, their time, and their pains, to no purpoſe, and that it was neceſſary to take other meaſures, they thought fit to retreat, a good while before ſunſet, and marched away to refreſh their forces in a neighbouring village. When they arrived there, their courage began to fail, and they were ſeized with a dreadful panic and great dejection of mind, as well they might be, when they conſidered the circumſtances they were in; which obliged them to enter into a conſultation, concerning the courſe that it was beſt for every man to take in order to ſave himſelf. But as thoſe difficulties now appeared impoſſible to be overcome, which the hope and deſire of getting the caſtle of *Angiers* into their poſſeſſion had repreſented as trifling and inſignificant, and as they had no time to throw away, leſt they ſhould give the Catholicks an opportunity of falling upon them, they drew off, without coming to any ſettled reſolution, and leaving themſelves in a manner to fortune, began to march towards the river *Loire*, which they muſt be obliged to paſs if they had any regard to their ſafety. 1585.

But the country had already begun to riſe at the ringing of the alarm bells; and they were informed, that the people had taken great care to convey away all boats from the river ſide: that Monſieur *De la Chaſtre* was marching along the bank to meet them: that the Duke of *Mayenne* had paſſed over at *Orleans* with all his army, and was advancing towards them with the utmoſt expedition: that on the other ſide, the Marſhal *De Biron* was coming up with his forces: that the Count *De Bouchage*, who had ſallied out of *Angiers*, was aſſembling the gentry and common people, and cauſed trees to be cut down to embarraſs the roads, which he had every where broke up: and that the Duke *De Joyeuſe* was at their backs with a very great army: So that they were neceſſitated to take

a courſe

1585. a courſe very contrary to their firſt intention; for they divided their forces into three ſquadrons, one commanded by *St. Gelais*, another by the Prince, and the third by the Lord of *Rohan*, to try if they could poſſibly eſcape the enemy, and by turning from the river, and marching through bye-roads, find a paſſage betwixt the armies into the moſt woody parts of that province, from whence they might take a circuit, and make a ſudden incurſion into the upper parts of *Beauſſe*, where perhaps the favour of fortune, and their unexpected arrival, might open a way for them, and give them an opportunity of paſſing the river in ſome place or other. In this manner they marched all that night, and all the next day, the Commanders being no leſs careful than the ſoldiers terrified. But the event ſhewed how hard that reſolution was to be effected. For the whole province being raiſed upon them, they had no time to reſt, nor means to refreſh themſelves, nor any way to get through thoſe ſtrange and intricate paſſes. Beſides, the cry and concourſe of the country people, and the ringing of the alarm-bell where-ever they came, gave the Catholicks ſufficient notice of the place where they were, and guided the armies to trace and ſurround them, as hunters do wild beaſts in the woods. Wherefore the Lord of *Rohan*, who was nearer than the reſt to his own country (as the confines of *Bretagne* were not far off) told the Prince it was his opinion, that to continue ſtill together would be the means of loſing all their men, and therefore adviſed him to divide his forces into many ſmall troops to elude the enemy, who would be called ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, by the tumult of the people; and by hiding themſelves in the moſt private places, to try if they could ſave part of the army, which could not poſſibly eſcape ſo imminent a danger, if it continued united. But the Prince being in doubt what to do, as his courage would not ſuffer him to take that reſolution, Monſieur *De Rohan* ſaid he would not periſh for another man's obſtinacy and want of experience, and immediately left him, with all his men; after which he divided his ſoldiers and gentlemen into little parties, of ten or fifteen each, who threw away their arms and hid themſelves, and at laſt, after many days march, with infinite danger and difficulty, through woods, and valleys, and bye-roads, he got into *Bretagne*, and ſoon after to *Rochelle*. The Prince likewiſe, after he had marched another day with his forces in one body, ſeeing he could neither make any reſiſtance, nor keep them together any longer, took the ſame courſe, and diſbanded all his men, leaving every one to his own endeavours, and the protection of heaven, whilſt he himſelf, with the Lords *D'Avantigny* and *De la Tremouille*, and about eight or ten more in company, took the road that chance preſented. This diviſion of the army into ſo many ſmall parties, cauſed the Catholicks to miſs their prey; for being called to ſeveral places by the tumults and

and uproar of the peaſants, they could not follow the track of the Prince and his commanders. And it happened, that though they ſurrounded ſome little parties of private ſoldiers, they did not take any perſon of note: ſo that the Prince croſſed the country of *Maine* undiſcovered as a traveller, and being come to the extreme part of *Lower Normandy*, went to the ſea ſide, and there by chance finding ſome veſſels laden with merchandiſe, he embarked near *Avranches*, and paſſed firſt into the Iſle of *Guernſey*, and afterwards into *England*, where he was received with great honour by the Queen, and not many months after convoyed by ſome men of war to *Rochelle*. The Sieur *De St. Gelais* having got into the foreſt of *Orleans*, and from thence, through dark and intricate roads, to a place near *Gien*, paſſed the *Loire* in ſome little boats that belonged to the mills there, and leaving his horſes to the enemy, hired others, and at laſt arrived, in the diſguiſe of a traveller, at a place that adhered to his party. The Sieurs *De la Tifardiere*, *D'Aubigny*, and others, concealed themſelves in the houſes of their friends and relations, which ſome of them had in one place, and ſome in another. Several changed their cloaths, and made their eſcape on foot; many alſo fell into the hands of the Catholicks, and were cruelly maſſacred by the country people. Such was the iſſue of the Prince of *Condé's* enterprize, in which all his army was ſcattered and diſperſed without ever coming to any engagement, to the infinite prejudice and diminution of the *Hugonot* forces, in a time of ſo great neceſſity. 1585.

Whilſt the Prince and his army met with ſuch adverſe fortune, the Sieur *De St. Meſmes*, who had been left at the ſiege of *Broüage*, was forced at the ſame time to retire, with very little better ſucceſs. For upon the approach of the Marſhal *De Matignon* with a powerful army to relieve it, he ſeeing himſelf left with the infantry alone, and them frighted and diſcouraged at the news of the Prince's misfortune, thought it the beſt way to retreat, and not obſtinately to hazard the remainder of the army, which was ſo neceſſary for the defence of their own towns. But the report of the Prince's defeat being ſpread in the camp occaſioned ſo general a terror, not only amongſt the common ſoldiers, but alſo amongſt the officers and gentlemen, that every man determined to diſband and provide for his own ſafety: ſo that *St. Luc* ſallying out of *Broüage*, and purſuing thoſe that were every where running away, made a great ſlaughter of them in many parts. Upon which the commanders, being out of all hopes of ever rallying their forces, got away as well they could, to provide for the ſecurity of their ſtrong places. The ſame did *Henry de la Tour*, Viſcount *De Turenne*: for having already made a hopeful progreſs in the country about *Limoges*, and ſtruck a terror into the people of thoſe parts, when he heard the news of the Prince's defeat, he thought it a ſafer way to

1585. to retire, than to ſtand alone againſt the ſtrength of ſo many armies, that were marching thither to deſtroy thoſe of his party.

But the Sieur *Les Diguieres*, chief of the *Hugonots* in *Dauphiné*, having raiſed both horſe and foot, had begun a ſharp war upon Monſieur *De Maugiron*, Lieutenant of that province, and upon Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*; by which all the country was raiſed, and the conduct and addreſs of the commander making amends for the inequality of their forces, the affairs of the *Hugonots* were in a very good condition there; as they had taken many towns and caſtles, which though not very ſtrong, were yet very convenient, and drawn together a great number of old ſoldiers, that had been uſed to wars and tumults, by the hope of plunder and free-quarters.

In the mean time the heads of the League, taking freſh hopes and courage from the Prince of *Condé's* ill ſucceſs, and the defeat of his army, were exceeding earneſt with the King to ſhorten the term of ſix months, prefixed by the late edict for the baniſhment of the *Hugonots*; urging, that as they had declared they would oppoſe his will by force of arms, they ought not any longer to be tolerated, but that their total extirpation was to be endeavoured as ſoon as poſſible. And though the King knew this would conduce but little to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, yet he reſolved to gratify them, and publiſhed a new edict for that purpoſe; in which he reduced the term of ſix months, that had been granted them, to the ſpace of fifteen days only. After that time was expired, the other provinces being pretty quiet, and very few *Hugonots* left in them, the war was proſecuted not only in *Poictou* and *Guyenne*, but in the province of *Dauphiné*. Another requeſt made to the King, by a great number of Prelates, at the ſuggeſtion of the League, was, that he would cauſe the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be publiſhed and obſerved. But this did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs: for as he was not willing to oblige or engage himſelf any further in the League than he already had done, he anſwered, that the demand was unſeaſonable; and excuſed himſelf from complying with it, on account of the troubles that ſurrounded him on every ſide, referring a concern of ſo great importance to a more peaceable time, when he might maturely deliberate upon it.

1586. With this face of things, all tending to the diſtractions of an obſtinate war, began the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix, full of deep machinations, though, contrary to the general expectation, the war was not carried on with much vigour. The Duke of *Mayenne* had come with his army, towards the end of the laſt year, to *Chaſteauneuf*, in the confines of *Guyenne*, where he was met by the Marſhal *De Matignon*, Lieutenant of that Province, to concert proper meaſures for carrying on the war: which laſt being privy to the King's intentions, and the manner in which he

he was deſirous it ſhould be conducted, repreſented, that little could be done at preſent, on account of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon (as it was then the middle of the winter) the condition of the country, labouring not only under extreme dearth and want of victuals, but alſo under the viſitation of the plague, which had been ſpreading for many months, and committed great ravages in different places. And conſidering that the chief towns were ſo well garriſoned and fortified by the King of *Navarre*, that it was in vain to attempt them whilſt the air was ſo infected, the weather ſo ſevere, and proviſions ſo ſcarce, he adviſed the Duke to attack the weaker places, and the more open parts of the province, and to reduce thoſe to obedience that were not defended by any conſiderable fortreſſes, and yet were rich and fertile, and from which the *Hugonots*, only by common contributions, drew ſufficient ſupplies to ſupport themſelves. The Duke of *Mayenne*, though for his own honour, and the credit and advancement of the League, he was deſirous to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome great undertaking, did not ſuffer himſelf, however, to be ſo far tranſported by ambition or vain hopes, as to think of impoſſibilities, but eaſily concurred in the ſame opinion, being afraid of loſing his reputation, if he ſhould attempt any principal fortreſs, and not be able to carry it; which he had the more reaſon to apprehend, as, beſides the impediments that had been laid before him by *Matignon*, he had but a very ſmall train of artillery, which conſiſted only of four pieces of cannon, and two culverines, with hardly any ammunition. For which reaſons, they paſſed by *St. John d'Angeli*, and other places of the like nature (where nevertheleſs the *Hugenots* were in great fear and diſtreſs) and reſolved, by joint conſent, though with different views, to divide the army betwixt them, and to employ themſelves in reducing the weaker places, whilſt the rigour of the winter laſted, and then to reunite their forces, and go upon ſuch undertakings as time and opportunity ſhould point out. 1586.

In purſuance of this reſolution, the Marſhal returned to *Bourdeaux*, the metropolis of that province, with part of the army, and having taken ſome time to refreſh his men, and put them in good order, in which he proceeded, however, very leiſurely, he inveſted *Caſtels*, a place of ſmall conſideration, and ſpent all the reſt of the winter in that ſiege, with various ſucceſs. During which time the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the greater part of the forces, attacked the weakeſt places, took *Montignac*, *Beaulieu*, *Gaignac*, and other places of little conſequence, and which only ſerved to keep the reputation of his army alive. But in the beginning of the ſpring, when they advanced to join their forces together, there happened very boiſterous winds and heavy rains for many days, which much increaſed the hardſhips of lying in the field at that time of the year. The dearth likewiſe and contagion, began to rage with greater violence in

1586. thoſe parts, and the army was viſited with ſuch an infection, that not only the principal Lords and Commanders fell ſick, but great numbers of the common ſoldiers died every day. Yet he bore all theſe difficulties with wonderful patience, and at laſt overcame them, and joined *Matignon* in the beginning of *April*.

At his arrival, firſt *Caſtels*, and then *St. Baſil*, and after ſome difficulty, the fort of *Montſegur*, ſurrendered to him. And they would very likely have made a further progreſs, and undertaken ſomething of more importance, if the ſickneſs, which invaded the camp, had not at laſt ſeized upon the General. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, being taken dangerouſly ill of a fever, was obliged to leave the army, and retire to *Bourdeaux*: ſo that the chief management of all affairs being left to the Marſhal, the military operations went on but ſlowly. For the King's intention, though ſecret, was, that the Clergy ſhould be ſo wearied out with continual contributions, in the courſe of a long war, the Nobility ſo harraſſed and fatigued, and the common people ſo oppreſſed, with the rapine and extortions of the ſoldiery, and the multiplication of other grievances, that they ſhould all concur with greater eagerneſs than ever to ſue for a peace, which they had cauſed to be broken at the inſtigation of the heads of the League. So that when tranquillity was reſtored, and the machinations of his enemies defeated, he might be at liberty to proſecute his own deſigns.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* having at laſt, though late, got the better of his diſtemper, and returned to the camp, bravely ſtormed *Caſtillon*, a place of ſome moment, that was held by the Baron *De Salignac*; and then *Puy Normand*, another town of no leſs importance. After which, as he knew his army was much weakened by their late ſufferings, and many other accidents, that he had but a very ſmall quantity of ammunition and other ſtores that were neceſſary in ſieges; and, which concerned him moſt nearly, that he was not furniſhed with money from court to pay his ſoldiers, who had long arrears due to them, he diſpatched the Sieur *De Seſſaval* to inform the King of the ſituation of his affairs, and to demand freſh ſupplies of men and money; foreſeeing, that if there was not ſome alteration in the preſent meaſures, his army muſt be obliged to diſband of itſelf in a few months, to his great diſgrace. For the King of *Navarre* being aware, that he had not ſtrength enough to keep the field againſt him, had prudently fortified all his towns, and furniſhed them with all manner of neceſſaries, reſerving only two thouſand Harquebuſiers, and three hundred light horſe, with a few gentlemen of that province, who followed his fortune. With this handful of forces, which yet were all veterans, well diſciplined, ready upon every occaſion, and not embaraſſed with baggage or artillery, he ſcoured the whole country, ſometimes making ſudden excurſions into one part, and ſometimes into another,

providing every thing that was neceſſary, relieving all places that were in diſtreſs, and never giving the enemy any opportunity of coming to an engagement with him. For by his knowledge of the roads, and the unwearied patience of his ſoldiers, he appeared and vaniſhed like lightning, being at a great diſtance the next morning from thoſe parts where he had been ſeen the night before; by which conduct, and almoſt incredible expedition, he ſupported a war againſt an army, very powerful indeed in numbers, but languiſhing under a continual ſickneſs, that had infected the camp. And as he had a General to deal with that was very prudent and cautious in his reſolutions, and proceeded always with the greateſt circumſpection, he took every opportunity of furniſhing and relieving the principal places, ſurprized many troops that ſtraggled from the main body, intercepted their convoys, and kept the whole army in continual motion and alarm. So that the Duke of *Mayenne* began to perceive, as his forces continually diminiſhed, and he wanted money and ammunition, that he ſhould come off with diſhonour from a war in which he had never been able to engage the enemy, and be obliged to throw away his army, not in aſſaulting weak towns (for they were already taken) but ſtrong places, excellently fortified, and provided with every thing, in which, if he ſhould happily ſucceed, he ſhould ſtill be expoſed to the ſudden and vigorous attack of the King of *Navarre*, who, though he was ſurrounded with innumerable difficulties, never neglected to take the advantage of any opportunity that occurred. 1586.

Whilſt the war was carried on in this new manner in *Guyenne*, the Prince of *Condé*, having got together a good body of forces in the parts about *Rochelle*, had taken and ſacked the caſtle of *Dompierre*, made himſelf maſter of *Scubiſe* and *Mornac*, and kept the whole country in awe. But the Sieur *De St. Luc*, marching out of *Broüage*, with nearly the ſame number of men, in order to reduce him, they met near the iſle of *Oleron*, where they fought a whole day with various ſucceſs, though with ſome interruptions, and with almoſt equal loſs on each ſide. For though the *Catholicks* loſt Colonel *Tierceline's* regiment, and about five hundred Harquebuſiers; yet on the *Hugonots* ſide, almoſt all the Lords and chief Commanders were either killed or wounded, particularly *Rieux* and *Suilly*, ſons of the late *Andelot*, who both died within a few days after. Nor did their elder brother, *Guy* Sieur *De la Val*, long ſurvive them: for though he was in the flower of his age, yet being overcome with continual action and fatigue, he died of a burning fever, as did alſo Monſieur *De Roban*, of the ſame diſeaſe, at *Rochelle*.

But the hurry and diſtractions of the war did not entirely divert the Prince of *Condé's* attention from other objects. For being deſirous to attach the Duke *De la Tremouille* to himſelf, by the ſtricteſt ties of affinity,

1586. as he was lately come over to his party, and likewiſe to make an addition to his own fortune, and to have children to inherit it, he about that time took to wife *Charlotte Catherine*, the Duke's ſiſter, who, beſides her remarkable beauty, had alſo a very conſiderable dowry, as coheir in the inheritance of the ancient and once moſt flouriſhing houſe of *La Tremouille*. Yet neither the pleaſures of matrimony, nor the charms of his bride, at all abated the warlike diſpoſition of the Prince; who, being full of courage, and deſpiſing all dangers, eagerly took every opportunity of fighting, and would not give way to the forces of the enemy, notwithſtanding the ſlenderneſs of his own.

Such was the ſtate of the war when the Marſhal *De Biron* arrived in *Xaintoigne* with another army, who, being deſirous to perform ſome exploit, not ſo much to prejudice the *Hugonots*, as out of emulation to the Duke of *Mayenne*, reſolved to lay ſiege to *Maran*, a place very convenient to block up *Rochelle* by land, and to cut off the commerce of the inhabitants with the adjacent iſles and cities; at which the *Rochellers*, and all the *Hugonot* party, were not a little alarmed. Wherefore the King of *Navarre*, ſeeing the Duke of *Mayenne's* forces very much diminiſhed, and their firſt ardour abated, left the Viſcount *De Turenne* in *Guyenne* to proſecute the war in the ſame manner that he had done, and went ſuddenly with three hundred horſe to *Rochelle*, being apprehenſive, that the fire and impetuoſity of the Prince would lead him into ſome fatal error in thoſe parts. For, being ſenſible of his own weakneſs, he reſolved himſelf, and gave a ſtrict charge to all his commanders, to proceed with caution and expedition, and endeavour to ſecure all the ſtrong paſſes, in order to ſpin out the war, and not give the enemy any new occaſion of advantage. But theſe orders not being over and above agreeable to the Prince's temper, who, ſince, the death of Monſieur *De Rohan*, was become the chief commander in *Xaintoigne*, it was the King of *Navarre's* intention in going thither, to enforce the obſervance of them by his preſence, and to take the management and conducting of the war into his own hands. But when he came to *Rochelle*, and found the citizens in great conſternation, on account of the Marſhal *De Biron's* deſign to beſiege *Maran*, he ſtaid no longer there, than juſt to be informed of the preſent ſtate of affairs. For as he knew his aſſiſtance was very neceſſary, becauſe the *Rochellers* durſt not part with any of their garriſon to reinforce that of *Maran*, he went thither himſelf, and the ſame day ſurveyed the ſituation of it on every ſide; after which, he immediately began to throw up ditches, and to raiſe redoubts and cavaliers round about it, with the utmoſt diligence and expedition: at which he aſſiſted in perſon, and preſſed them forward with ſo much vigour, that he put the town in a tolerable poſture of defence

fence in ſome hours, though it was thought it would have taken as many days to have done it. 1586.

Maran, is a large town, of great importance, upon the coaſt of the bay of *Biſcay*, ſituated in a low fenny place, and, like a peninſula, ſo encompaſſed almoſt on every ſide by marſhy grounds, that there is no acceſs to it but through very few and very narrow paſſes. Theſe the King of *Navarre* had ſhut up with trenches, and raiſed a fort at the entrance of each, furniſhed with many ſmall pieces of artillery, and defended by a competent number of ſoldiers to hinder the enemy's approach, having cauſed many planks, ſtuck full of large nails, to be ſunk in the ſhalloweſt parts of the fen, and invented other inſtruments to annoy thoſe that ſhould be bold enough to enter it, in order to paſs over to the dry land.

On the other ſide, the Marſhal *De Biron*, having drawn his forces together, and reviewed them at *Niort* about the middle of *June*, marched towards *Maran*; where he was ſoon convinced of the courage and reſolution of the garriſon, by the firſt ſally that they made. For, as they truſted to the advantage of their ſituation, they boldly iſſued out to ſkirmiſh, and fell ſo furiouſly upon his firſt troops, that he himſelf was obliged to engage in the action, and was wounded, though but ſlightly, in the left hand. Upon which he reſolved to proceed with more caution for the future, and raiſed other forts againſt thoſe of the beſieged, as the nature of the ground would admit of, beginning to deſpair of reducing the place by any other means than a long, and tedious blockade.

In the mean time, the court was wholly taken up in raiſing new armies, and making other preparations for war. For the King, not being able to bear that the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain* alone ſhould acquire ſuch an increaſe of ſtrength, reputation, and adherents, was reſolved to give the command of other armies to his favourites and confidants, and to keep up their credit, by ſending them upon new expeditions, and conferring new governments upon them, which he knew would all tend to his own advantage, and throw an addition of ſtrength into his ſcale, to ballance the power and authority of the *Guiſes*. By this manner of proceeding he thought he ſhould likewiſe obtain another end, which was, to tire out the Catholick party, by the intolerable expence of maintaining ſo many different armies, and reduce them all to think of peace again, which was ſo neceſſary for the accompliſhment of his deſigns. For this purpoſe, beſides twelve hundred thouſand crowns, which he had raiſed by tenths on the Clergy, he ſollicited at the court of *Rome* for leave to alienate an hundred thouſand crowns *per annum* of the church revenues: and the people were ſo oppreſſed, in almoſt every province, by the inſolence of the ſoldiers, that though they lived at a diſtance from any place that was poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots*, they nevertheleſs experienced all the miſeries and

1586. and calamities of war. Two different armies were aſſembling, one under the command of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, to march into *Auvergne*, and from thence into *Languedoc*, to recover the places which were held by the *Hugonots* in thoſe parts: the other, under the conduct of Duke of *Eſpernon*, to go into *Provence*, and take poſſeſſion of that government, which the King, ſince the death of the Grand Prior, had conferred upon him. The raiſing of theſe armies, to the prejudice, and diminution, and manifeſt diſpleaſure of the *Guiſes*, kept all the Nobility and military men of the kingdom in employment; for every one being deſirous to ſecure the favour and protection of the King's minions, who diſpoſed of all offices and honours at their pleaſure, they all flocked to their colours, and by the number of their attendants, and the ſplendor of their equipages, endeavoured to gain the affections of one or other of theſe Lords, who, by the King's ſecret directions, omitted no means to allure them by their liberality, and promiſes of rewards to follow their fortunes. So that not only ſuch as were neuter came in from all parts to ſerve them, but ſuch alſo as had reſolved to adhere to the Duke of *Mayenne*; and the other commanders in *Guyenne*, contrary to their firſt intentions, determined to fight under the banners of thoſe that had the moſt power. Beſides, as both theſe armies were to march towards *Lions*, he reſolved to go thither himſelf, not only to add reputation to his favourites by his preſence, but to moderate their conduct, and direct the courſe of the war as he pleaſed; ſo that, by the influence of his own perſon, he drew after him a great number of perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, and the expences were multiplied without end. By which, with the invention of freſh taxes and impoſitions, and the creation of new magiſtrates and offices, the people in general were grievouſly burdened and oppreſſed: the King ſtill continuing firm to his own opinion, that the more they felt the miſeries and oppreſſions of the war, the ſooner they would all concur to petition for a peace; which would make the authors of thoſe diſcords become odious and deteſtable, and cauſe the practices of the League, once ſo much favoured and abetted, to be looked upon with abhorrence and abomination by all men. And as the proſecution of theſe fine-ſpun deſigns, ſerved likewiſe to gratify his natural propenſity to profuſion and magnificence, it was not poſſible, by any ſort of means, to diſſuade him from the reſolution that he had taken.

But whilſt the King and the courtiers were altogether intent in making theſe preparations, a moſt powerful army was going to be raiſed in *Germany*, in favour of the *Hugonots*. For the King of *Navarre*, having long foreſeen that the King would ſoon be reduced to come to an agreement with the League, to his prejudice, and having learnt, by former experience, that all the hopes of his party conſiſted in the aid which the Proteſtant

teſtant Princes of *Germany* uſed to lend the *Hugonots*, had ſent the Sieur *De Pardillian* (a man of great addreſs, and, by frequent journies thither, well acquainted with their ſeveral cuſtoms and diſpoſitions) with a commiſſion to treat particularly with every Prince and every free ſtate; to repreſent to them the danger their common religion was in; to expatiate upon the hatred of the Lords of *Guiſe* to the Proteſtant party, and to exhort them to continue their aſſiſtance to the *Hugonots*, againſt the perſecutions of their enemies. Which negociation being prudently managed by *Pardillian*, had not only engaged the affections of thoſe Princes in favour of the *Hugonots*, but very much raiſed the King of *Navarre's* hopes, who having taken theſe previous meaſures at the beginning of the war, afterwards ſent the Sieur *De Clervant* into *Germany*, to bring the fruits of that ſeed to maturity, which had been before ſo opportunely ſown by *Pardillian*. And that both the Princes and people of thoſe parts (who are very great honourers of that religion which they hold to be the true one, and of a flexible diſpoſition, and eaſy to be prevailed upon by entreaties and the force of reaſon) might be the more eaſily moved to conſent to it, *Theodore Beza*, one of the moſt eloquent preachers amongſt the *Hugonots*, went, for the ſame purpoſe, from *Geneva* into *Germany* and the *Swiſs* cantons, where, by his preaching and authority, he excited every one of the Proteſtant ſtates to embark in this enterpriſe, in favour of thoſe that were of the ſame religion, or one that differed very little from it. The Queen of *England* likewiſe entered heartily into it, and abetted them with all her might. For ſhe kept *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* in priſon, who was couſin to the Lords of *Guiſe*, and obſtinately attached to their faction, being deſirous to have the League and the houſe of *Lorrain* utterly ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt ſo thoroughly employed at home, that ſhe might be at full liberty to diſpoſe of that Princeſs, and to rule the affairs of *England* and *Scotland* as ſhe thought proper. Upon which accounts, ſhe not only aſſiſted the King of *Navarre* with her authority, which was very great in *Germany*, but had alſo remitted a large ſum of money, to be employed in raiſing ſoldiers there. To the negociation of *Clervant*, the exhortations of *Beza*, and the money of *England*, the Duke of *Bouillon* alſo added his aſſiſtance, who was in poſſeſſion of *Sedan*, a very ſtrong place, and other towns and caſtles upon the confines of *Germany* and *France* that were of the *Hugonot* religion, and being of the King of *Navarre's* party, was a very proper perſon to expedite and promote the raiſing of the *German* forces. For the Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Wittemberg*, the Proteſtant cantons of the *Swiſs*, and the King of *Denmark*, all concurring with him; and the Count *De Montbeliart* (whoſe ſtates lay upon the confines of *Burgundy*) exerting himſelf in the affair above all the reſt, there began to be raiſed the moſt

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powerful

1586. powerful army that had ever come out of *Germany*, to the ſuccour of the *Hugonots*. But as theſe Princes were ſenſible the King of *France* had given them no offence at all, nor any reaſon to enter his kingdom in a hoſtile manner, they reſolved, before the march of the army, which was not to be till the next ſpring, to ſend a numerous and ſplendid embaſſy this year to the court of *France*, to complain, in the names of them all, of the breach of the peace, and the violation of the faith that had been given to the *Hugonots*, with whom they were intereſted and united in point of religion; and to demand of the King a ceſſation of arms, and a confirmation of thoſe edicts, that had been granted at ſeveral times to his ſubjects, for the liberty of conſcience. So that if the King complied with their demands, the *Hugonots* would be relieved without having recourſe to arms; and if he did not, they ſhould have a fair pretence for the war, and might reaſonably take an occaſion to raiſe the forces that they intended.

This reſolution of the *Germans* very much perplexed the King of *France*, who was not only diſpleaſed that others ſhould preſume to concern themſelves in the affairs of his kingdom, but alſo terrified with the apprehenſion of foreign armies, which always uſed to raiſe dangerous commotions, depopulate his kingdom, ruin his ſubjects, throw all things, both human and divine, into diſorder and confuſion, and bring the crown into extreme danger. But as he was a Prince that truſted much to his own policy, and was always ſanguine, though often diſappointed in his hopes of ſucceſs, from ſchemes that were, as he thought, very deep laid and refined, he began to think with himſelf, that he might draw ſome good from this evil, and make uſe of the *German* army to bring his own deſigns to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion. For, ſeeing the King of *Navarre* was ſo weakened, that, though he ſtill made a brave reſiſtance, he was yet reduced to the laſt extremity; and he himſelf growing every day more and more out of hopes of having any iſſue, as he judged himſelf unable to get children, from a continual and incurable gonorrhœa, and infinite other proofs, he thought it the beſt way to endeavour, by all means to unite himſelf ſtrictly and ſincerely with the King of *Navarre*, as the lawful ſucceſſor to the crown, to place him near his own perſon at court, to admit him into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, and by his means, to employ that foreign army for the utter ſuppreſſion and, extirpation of the *Guiſes*, and the faction of the League; which being unexpectedly attacked, both by his own forces and thoſe of the *German* Princes, would not be able to make any reſiſtance, but muſt be totally diſſipated and extinguiſhed.

Amongſt others of leſs conſequence, there were two things which ſeemed principally to obſtruct this deſign: one was, the King of *Navarre's*

varre's religion, as he was reſolved, for the quiet of his own conſcience, and to prevent the ſcandal that ſuch a ſtep muſt neceſſarily occaſion, not to reconcile himſelf to him, except he would firſt return into the boſom of the church. The other was, the behaviour of his ſiſter Queen *Margaret*, wife to the King of *Navarre*, who, having given herſelf wholly up to a diſſolute and licentious manner of living, had fled from her huſband for fear of his reſentment. But being apprehended, by his order, and by a commiſſion from the King her brother, ſhe was ſent, as a priſoner, to the caſtle of *Carlat* in *Auvergne*, and from thence, a while after, removed to *Uſſon* in the ſame province, under the cuſtody of the Marquis *De Canillac*, who, as it was reported, falling in love with his priſoner, had ſet her at liberty. But as ſhe led a life of pleaſure, and ſtill followed the ſame courſes, at a ſeat of her own in *Auvergne*, it was a very great obſtacle to any reconciliation betwixt her huſband and her brother. To overcome theſe important difficulties, he communicated his deſign to the Queen Mother, who had been long uſed to give a finiſhing hand to affairs of the higheſt conſequence, and to find means to remove the greateſt difficulties. After ſome conſultation, they at laſt agreed, that there was no longer any reſpect due to Queen *Margaret*; and that as ſhe had rendered herſelf unworthy of being acknowledged by them, either as a ſiſter or a daughter, they would have her divorced (eſpecially as the diſpenſation, obtained from the Pope at the time of her marriage, was defective, and furniſhed them with a ſufficient handle to break it) and afterwards to give *Chriſtina*, daughter to the Duke of *Lorrain*, by *Claudia* the King's ſiſter, in marriage to the King of *Navarre:* which Lady had been brought up like a daughter by the Queen Mother, and was of a moſt engaging behaviour, and now marriageable. As to the King of *Navarre's* religion, they reſolved to uſe all their endeavours to ſoften him, and prevail upon him to turn Catholick, by repreſenting the great advantage that would accrue to him from it, and the importance of ſecuring to himſelf the ſucceſſion to the crown, which was now brought in queſtion; and by offering him all other ſuch ſecurity and ſatisfaction as ſhould be thought moſt likely to gain him over, and attach him firmly to their intereſts. But as there was no other perſon whom he could truſt, or that he thought able to conduct ſo arduous and important a negociation, the King intreated the Queen his mother, that ſhe would ſubmit to the trouble of going into *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*, to confer with the King of *Navarre*, and employ her good offices upon that occaſion, as ſhe ever had done upon all others, to re-eſtabliſh the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. 1586.

The Queen, though now far advanced in years, and grievouſly afflicted with the gout, willingly undertook the affair: and the Abbe *Gio-*

1586. *vanni Baptiſta Guadagni* was immediately diſpatched to the Marſhal *De Biron*, to order a ceſſation of arms on that ſide, and to appoint a meeting betwixt the Queen and the King of *Navarre*. Upon which, the Marſhal, following the bent of his old inclinations, and being near the King of *Navarre*, at the ſiege which he had newly laid to *Maran*, inſtantly put the King's commands in execution, and it was agreed betwixt them, that *Maran* ſhould be a neutral place, and open to both parties: that the Governor ſhould be appointed by the King of *Navarre*: that the garriſon ſhould protect the *Catholicks* as well as the *Hugonots*: that the Marſhal ſhould retire with his forces beyond the river *Charante*; and that the King of *Navarre*, after he had taken care of *Rochelle*, ſhould go to meet the Queen Mother in *Poictou*.

The Lords of *Guiſe*, and all thoſe that were zealous for the League, were greatly alarmed at this treaty: ſo that, on one hand, the Pope's Nuncio made heavy remonſtrances againſt it to the King himſelf: and on the other, the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was at his government in *Champagne*, cauſed his agents to complain of it to the Queen Mother; and the people of *Paris* began to murmur, and ſaid publickly, that the cauſe of religion was betrayed, that the *Hugonots* were openly protected, that the courſe of the war was interrupted, at a time when it was likely to have been ſoon and happily ended; that the King now plainly ſhewed that he was alienated from the Catholick party, and endeavoured by all means to cheriſh and ſupport hereſy. For though the King's intentions were yet kept ſecret, the very name of peace had raiſed jealouſies and apprehenſions in the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was exceedingly quick-ſighted, and given the common people occaſion to talk variouſly of it. The King, however, anſwered the Nuncio, in terms full of reſentment, "That the "backwardneſs which the Clergy ſhewed, in contributing their ſhare "toward the vaſt expences of the war, and the difficulty that his Holi-"neſs had made, in giving him leave to alienate a hundred thouſand "crowns *per annum* of the church revenues, had obliged him to turn "his thoughts to peace; and that he conceived he did nothing that his "conſcience could reproach him with, or contrary to the duty of a "Chriſtian Prince, whilſt he endeavoured to reſtore tranquillity to his "ſubjects, who were already almoſt undone by the calamities of war: "that it was a fine thing indeed, to ſtand at a diſtance, and pretend to "regulate the governments of others by meſſages and letters: but that "a tender and affectionate father ought to enquire more narrowly into "the ſtate of his family, and have a greater regard for its evident wel-"fare, than to confide implicitly in the reports and miſrepreſentations of "ſtrangers." To this the Nuncio replied, "That the true method to "re-eſtabliſh peace in his dominions, was to pluck up hereſy by the

" very roots: that the ſalvation of his ſoul was to be preferred to all tem- 1586.
" poral conſiderations; that the ultimate end and deſign of a war with
" the *Hugenots*, was to reſtore tranquillity in his kingdom, which, on
" account of the weakneſs of the excommunicated Princes, could be no
" very difficult matter to effect, if he would perſevere in it: that the
" Prelates of *France* had never yet refuſed to bear a proportionable ſhare
" of the expence, nor would they for the time to come: and finally,
" that he had great reaſon to hope the court of *Rome* would grant the
" licence which his Majeſty had requeſted." Upon which the King began to grow ſomething cooler, and repreſented to him the imminent danger and terrible conſequences of ſuch an inundation of foreigners, as was going to be poured into the kingdom: to prevent which, it was abſolutely neceſſary to diſſemble in many reſpects; but that he deſired him to aſſure his Holineſs, he would never conſent to any terms that ſhould prejudice the Catholick religion, or the honour and welfare of the holy church.

The ſame things, in ſubſtance, were repreſented to the Duke of *Guiſe* by the Queen Mother: but he more particularly was deſired to conſider, that as this was done only with a deſign to delay and prevent the coming of the *Germans*, it would certainly redound to the ſervice of the League in general, and to his own private advantage; for, as his eſtates were ſituated upon the confines of the kingdom, and on that ſide by which they propoſed to enter it, they would be more expoſed than any others to the havock of their incurſions: that he very well knew the weakneſs of the King's forces, his want of money, and, on the contrary, the great ſtrength of the army which was raiſing in *Germany*; and therefore it would be highly imprudent in him to diſturb or interrupt the courſe of ſuch meaſures as they were then purſuing, in which they had employed their utmoſt addreſs, and which all ultimately tended to the ſame end.

They found themſelves obliged, likewiſe, to inſtil the ſame things, by means of their emiſſaries, into the people of *Paris*, who already began to grow very tumultuous and ungovernable: and it was neceſſary to affirm them in ſo ſolemn a manner, in order to gain credit to them, that when thoſe that favoured the *Hugenots* (who were many in ſecret) had heard theſe things repeated in many different places, and had carried them to the King of *Navarre*, he began to grow exceedingly miſtruſtful and ſuſpicious, to the great prejudice of the treaty undertaken by the Queen Mother; who being gone to *Chenonceaux* (a delightful ſeat, formerly built by Madam *Valentine*, and at that time in the Queen's poſſeſſion) waited there till the return of the Abbe *Guadagni* and the Sieur *De Rambouillet*, who were gone to the King of *Navarre*, to fix upon a place for an interview betwixt her and that Prince. About which there

1586. aroſe ſo many difficulties, from the vehement ſuſpicions he had conceived that they were endeavouring to circumvent him, that he refuſed to go beyond thoſe places which were held by his party, and without being attended by ſuch forces as were neceſſary for the guard and ſecurity of his own perſon. On the other hand, it was both very unfit and very unſafe for the Queen to put herſelf into the power of the *Hugonots*: and the affair was of ſuch a nature, that it could not be treated or reſolved upon in a few hours, or in the field. But there came ſo many letters and meſſages from the King, and he was ſo ſollicitous to have the interview brought about, that, though the King of *Navarre*, now very much animated by the near approach of the *German* Ambaſſadors, and the hope of foreign aſſiſtance, was in a manner indifferent about meeting the Queen, or did not care to do it, except both his perſon and reputation could be perfectly ſecure, and for thoſe reaſons would not conſent to come out of the confines of the country poſſeſſed by his party; yet ſhe at laſt reſolved to comply with him, and to go into the furtheſt parts of *Poictou*, bordering upon *Xaintoigne*. And having ordered the Marſhal *De Biron* to draw off his army, ſhe agreed to come as far as *St. Bris*, a place very near the King of *Navarre's* garriſons, and encompaſſed with the forces of the *Hugonots*.

In the mean while the King, in order to give time for this meeting, and to defer the audience of the *German* Ambaſſadors till he knew the iſſue of the treaty, ſet out upon his journey towards *Lions*, as he had determined, leaving orders, that the Ambaſſadors ſhould be received and entertained with great honour and reſpect till his return to *Paris*.

Upon the King's departure, the Dukes of *Eſpernon* and *Joyeuſe* likewiſe began to move at the ſame time with their forces, but they marched different ways, and with different intentions: for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, being nearly intereſted in the accompliſhment of the King's deſigns, jealous of the League, an enemy to the *Guiſes*, and inclined to favour and ſupport the King of *Navarre*, proceeded in ſuch a manner in *Provence*, as ſhewed that he only deſired to reunite it, and reduce it wholly to obedience, but neither to abet the deſigns of the League, nor to perſecute the party of the *Hugonots*. But the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, elated with ſanguine hopes, and ſpurred on by the emulation of *Eſpernon*, had almoſt forgot the intereſts of the King, who was the only author of his ſudden greatneſs and advancement; and being allied to the houſe of *Lorrain* by his marriage with the King's ſiſter-in-law, he began in ſome meaſure to ſecond the deſigns of the *Guiſes*, and out of an eager deſire of glory, was impatient to act with vigour againſt the *Hugonots*. For which reaſons, after he had left the baths in *Bourbonnois*, where he had ſtaid a few days on account of ſome indiſpoſition that he laboured under, he obliged the Lord

Lord of *Chaſtillon* to raiſe the ſiege of *Compierre*, which fortreſs he had inveſted with ſome forces drawn together in *Languedoc*, took *Malaiſes* by ſtorm, together with *La Pierre*, *Marveges*, and *Salvagnac*, places of importance in that province. After which he penetrated further into *Languedoc*, and being of a vain and oſtentatious diſpoſition, he was deſirous of gratifying his pride, by making a full diſplay of his power and good fortune before the face of his own father. For which purpoſe he reviewed his whole army within ſight of the city of *Tholouſe*, in which his father commanded as the King's Lieutenant, and where he himſelf had been brought up when he was a child. But the Duke of *Eſpernon*, with a larger army, and his forces in better order, accompanied by the Sieur *De la Valette* his brother, who was appointed his Lieutenant in *Provence*, entered that country, to oblige the Parliament to acknowledge him as Governor of it, juſt at the very time when *Les Diguieres*, who came thither out of *Dauphiné*, had routed Monſieur *De Vins*, the chief adherent of the League in thoſe parts, with a very great ſlaughter, and had reduced the affairs of the Catholicks to a low condition there. This conjuncture was not unfavourable to *Eſpernon*. For the followers of the League had already begun to enter into conſultations, how to exclude him from that government, and Monſieur *De Vins* had laboured to prevail upon ſome places to refuſe him admiſſion. But as he arrived at a time when they were not yet recovered from the terror occaſioned by the late defeat, though *Les Diguieres* was obliged to retire again into *Dauphiné*, yet *Vins* had neither ſtrength nor opportunity to make any open oppoſition to him. So that the Duke, having taken *Seine*, commonly called *La grand Tour*, and many other places of leſs note, in a few weeks reduced the whole province to ſubmit to his government, where he left his brother with the command of the army, and returned with great haſte to court, from whence, the intereſt that he had in governing the King, and preſiding in his councils, would not admit him to be long abſent. 1586.

In this interval the *German* Ambaſſadors arrived at *Paris*, amongſt whom, beſides ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were the Counts of *Montbeliart* and *Iſembourg*, two Noblemen in very great eſteem, on account of their power and high extraction, and who warmly promoted the raiſing of the *German* forces. And though they were entertained at the King's expence, and treated with all poſſible reſpect, yet they ſeemed ill ſatisfied at his being ſo far off, and with the delays that were made uſe of to prevent their treating with him, imputing that to *French* pride, which in reality was occaſioned by motives of a more private nature. So that the two Counts, thinking it would be a diſparagement to them to wait any longer for him there, returned home, full of ſecret reſentment, and

1586. and of conſequence much more inclined to favour the *Hugonots* than ever, leaving the management of the affair to the other Ambaſſadors. The King having received the news of their departure, by ſeveral couriers diſpatched one after another, and the diſcontent which the others openly ſhewed, proceeded towards *Paris* by ſhort journies, ſtill expecting to hear that the Queen Mother had overcome all difficulties, and at laſt agreed with the King of *Navarre*. But all pretences for delay being now exhauſted, and the affair of the interview proceeding but very ſlowly, he was neceſſitated to ſtay at *St. Germains*, and give audience to the Ambaſſadors, as he did, with a countenance ſo full of perplexity and irreſolution, that it plainly ſhewed how much he was inwardly agitated and diſturbed; though he ſoon put on another face, and appeared more reſolute and determined. For the Ambaſſador from Prince *Caſimir*, having ſpoken in the name of all the reſt, and in ſuch unguarded terms, as ſeemed not only full of tacit menaces, but open contempt, his Majeſty, who was a Prince of exquiſite ſenſibility, was ſo outrageouſly provoked at their inſolent manner of treating him, that, contrary to his uſual cuſtom and firſt deſign, he anſwered the Ambaſſadors himſelf, with ſo much ſharpneſs and reſentment, that they were not a little confounded at that time, and the next day diſmiſſed, without any other audience or farther ceremony, to their great diſſatisfaction.

The ſubſtance of the Ambaſſador's diſcourſe conſiſted chiefly of a long complaint, "That the King, to gratify the unjuſt deſire and perverſe ambition of the Pope, and of certain Princes and communities of his kingdom, had broken his word with thoſe that profeſſed the reformed religion, and taken away that liberty of conſcience which he had formerly granted and eſtabliſhed by ſo many decrees: that therefore the Princes of *Germany*, who were intereſted and united in the ſame religion, intreated him to put an end to the diſtractions of war, and to grant both temporal and ſpiritual peace to his ſubjects, by which he would eſcape the wrath of God, juſtly due to all ſuch as break their word, and would alſo induce them to keep up their ancient friendſhip with the crown of *France*: notwithſtanding which, they were ſtrictly obliged to provide for the ſafety of thoſe, who (without any fault of their own) were ſo oppreſſed, that they were forced to implore the aid of thoſe Princes that agreed with them in the confeſſion of the ſame faith." To which the King made anſwer in ſhort, "That, as he had been called and choſen "by God to the juſt poſſeſſion of his crown, he had alſo authority, in- "dependent upon any one, to eſtabliſh laws, publiſh decrees, grant to- "lerations, and make ſuitable proviſions, according to the quality of the "times and the occaſions of his ſubjects, and therefore might alſo revoke, "change, alter, and retract them at his pleaſure, as it ſeemed beſt to his

"Divine

" Divine wiſdom to inſpire him. Wherefore he gave the lie to any 1586.
" perſon whatſoever, that accuſed him of breaking his word, if for the
" intereſt of his ſubjects and the good of his kingdom, he had revoked a
" liberty, which had been granted conditionally, and but for a time; and
" that as he had hitherto reigned freely, ſo he would do for the future,
" wondering, that any one ſhould preſume to interpoſe or concern them-
" ſelves about his perſonal authority, and the government of his people.
" That this was his laſt reſolution, and there was no occaſion for them
" to ſtay any longer in expectation of hearing further from him." After which, the Ambaſſadors, deſiring to have that anſwer in writing, he angrily refuſed it, and having given orders that they ſhould be conducted to lodge at *Poiſſy*, he went the next day, which was the 9th of *September*, to the city of *Paris*.

At his arrival there, notwithſtanding the reſolute anſwer that he had given to the Proteſtant Princes, which was already every where publiſhed, and notwithſtanding the war againſt the *Hugonots*, now carried on in ſo many parts, he found the common people more than ever incenſed againſt his perſon and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed againſt in the pulpits, and privately ſlandered in ſecret meetings. For as it was already ſpread abroad by the preachers and heads of the League, and rivetted in the minds of the *Pariſians*, that his Majeſty favoured the King of *Navarre* and the *Hugonot* party, and endeavoured, in a clandeſtine manner, at the ſollicitation of his minions, to introduce him to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and to eſtabliſh them in the free exerciſe of their religion: the hatred conceived upon this occaſion was afterwards much increaſed by the number of taxes, and other grievances, and by the honours and emoluments that were continually heaped upon the Duke of *Eſpernon* and the other favourites, who were not only highly ſuſpected, but exceedingly hated by far the greater part of the citizens. So that, beſides the inſtigations of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who kept the Sieur *De Menéville* conſtantly in *Paris* for that purpoſe, the principal citizens being ſufficiently enflamed of themſelves againſt the perſon and actions of the King, had entered into a conſpiracy in favour of the League, and formed a council of ſuch as were moſt intereſted, conſiſting of ſixteen perſons, according to the number of wards, or *quarters* of the city, as they call them, who were to have the management and direction of that affair, and to model the common people. *La Chapelle Martel*, *John le Clerc*, the Sieur *De Buſſy*, Preſident *Nully*, and *Charles Hotteman*, were the heads and principals of this council from the beginning; and all the trades, or *companies*, were engaged in it by means of certain of their members choſen by theſe men, one out of every company, who being admitted into the council, made their reports, and received their ſeveral inſtructions how to act, in whatſoever

1586. whatſoever was reſolved upon by the *ſixteen*, not only for the defence of the city, but the ſervice of the League, and to oppoſe the deſigns of the King and his favourites. The firſt meetings of this council were in the the college of *Fortet*, commonly called, *The cradle of the League*; but they afterwards aſſembled in the convent of the *Dominicans* or *Jacobines*: and at laſt, for fear of being ſuſpected and diſcovered, did not meet any more together in any certain determinate place, but ſometimes at one private houſe, and ſometimes at another, with the utmoſt ſecreſy.

All theſe things, however, were made known to the King by *Nicholas Poulain*, who, as we have ſaid before, being moved either by the hope of a reward, or by remorſe of conſcience, acquainted the King with every particular, by means of Monſieur *D'O*, and the High Chancellor. For as he was a chief inſtrument in the union of the *Pariſians*, he knew the moſt ſecret deſigns that were contrived in thoſe meetings. In the mean time thoſe of the League, who did not yet know that their cabals were diſcovered, being encouraged and buoyed up by the promiſes of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, had in a manner ſecured the whole city, and not only ſecretly enliſted numbers that were fit to bear arms, and made ample proviſions to accoutre them, but had alſo entered into a correſpondence with ſeveral other principal cities of the kingdom, in order to make them revolt, and join with them in the ſame conſpiracy, in which cuſtom and long practices had ſo thoroughly confirmed them, that they now began to think of ſeizing upon ſtrong towns and fortreſſes, and carried their audaciouſneſs ſo far as even to conſpire againſt the King's own perſon, that they might afterwards be able to order the affairs of the kingdom at their own pleaſure, and as the League ſhould think fit.

It happened one day, when this council was held in the *Jeſuit's* college, that a propoſal was made by the confederates, at the inſtance of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to ſurpriſe *Boulogne*, a fortreſs in *Picardy*, upon the coaſt of the *Engliſh* channel, then under the government of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and held in his name by the Sieur *De Berné*, in quality of Lieutenant Governor. Thoſe that propoſed this undertaking, repreſented, that his Catholick Majeſty was going to ſend out a very powerful fleet to invade *England*, and had conſented, that his forces ſhould firſt land in *France* for the ſervice of the League, in caſe they could be provided with a large, convenient, and well fortified harbour, where they might enter with ſecurity; that there was no place more proper than *Boulogne*, which was one of the ports that lies neareſt to *Paris*, right over againſt *England*, and very commodiouſly ſituated to receive ſupplies from *Flanders*, where the Duke of *Parma* was raiſing a very great army to join the forces of the fleet. They ſhewed, that the enterpriſe was not difficult; for as the

the Provoſt *Vetus*, who was a faithful adherent of the League, uſed every three months to take a circuit, and viſit thoſe parts, with a guard of fifty men, he might ſurpriſe one of the gates of the town at his entry, and maintain it, till he could be ſupported by the Duke of *Aumale*, with his provincial forces: at whoſe arrival, the few ſoldiers that were there in garriſon would ſoon be cut off, and they might eaſily make themſelves maſters of the place: which, being of great conſequence, was alſo much coveted by the Duke of *Aumale* himſelf, who had never been able to get the government of *Picardy* abſolutely into his hands, and was continually endeavouring, by all ways and means, even the boldeſt and moſt deſperate, to obtain it. This attempt upon *Boulogne* ſeemed of the utmoſt importance to the confederates, who were in hopes, that all the *Spaniſh* forces would ſuddenly and unexpectedly be employed in favour of their deſigns. Nor was it leſs favourable to the ends of the Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, who conſidered the great advantage which the fleet would receive by being in poſſeſſion of ſo ſtrong a place, and ſo large and commodious an harbour, as well in proſecution of the deſcent upon *England*, as if it ſhould be employed in the affairs of *France*. So that, as it anſwered both theſe purpoſes, it was unanimouſly agreed in the council, that it ſhould be attempted. In conſequence of which, after they had acquainted the Provoſt with their deſign, who moſt readily entered into it, proper notice and inſtructions were ſent to the Duke of *Aumale*, who, on account of his firm attachment to the League, and his deſire to make himſelf abſolute Governor of *Picardy*, prepared for the execution of it with equal alacrity: But the Lieutenant *Poulain* took no leſs care to acquaint the King with the particulars of the whole affair, by means of the High Chancellor. So that Monſieur *De Berné*, having had ſufficient notice to prepare himſelf, artfully contrived to receive the Provoſt in ſuch a manner, in the entry of the gate, betwixt the draw-bridge and the port-cullis, that he was taken priſoner, with the greater part of his men: and the Duke of *Aumale*, who appeared ſoon after under the walls, was obliged to retire, by a hot fire from the artillery. 1586.

Yet, notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of this undertaking, the confederates did not at all ſuſpect that the King was informed of their ſecret conſultations, but imputing the unſucceſsful event of it to ill fortune, and the uſual vigilance of the Sieur *De Berné*, they perſiſted in their conſpiracy with ſo much reſolution, that they now began to conſult of taking the King himſelf, as he returned with a ſlender guard, according to his cuſtom, from *Bois de Vincennes*, whither he ſometimes retired to the exerciſe of his devotions, or, as his enemies ſaid, to the practice of his debauches. This was to be done at his entrance into *St. Anthony's* gate, the fartheſt part of all the city from the *Louvre*, about which the court, and all the

1586. reſt of his guards, were lodged. But they themſelves had not courage enough to put this in execution, as none of the chiefs, or confederate Princes were there: and the King having intelligence of it, as uſual, began to take better care of himſelf, and never went through the city, nor to any of the adjacent places, without being attended by the Captains of his guards, with a conſiderable number of gentlemen that he moſt confided in, not ſuffering his body guard of five and forty, particularly appointed for that ſervice, to ſtir far from his perſon.

In the mean time, as he was perfectly acquainted with all theſe machinations, he often determined to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the authors, and at the ſame time to take revenge for the contempt which the preachers expreſſed of his perſon in their publick harangues, and the conſpiracies of theſe ringleaders of the people, who had excited the moſt loyal and important city in his kingdom to rebel againſt him. But many conſiderations diſſuaded him from this reſolution: eſpecially the treaty that was on foot with the King of *Navarre*, the event of which he was very deſirous to ſee, before he embroiled himſelf any further with the League: the near approach of the foreign army; to oppoſe the incurſions of which, if he did not come to an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, he muſt be neceſſitated to employ the forces of the League, and to keep united with the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, inſtead of unſeaſonably proceeding to an open war with them, by chaſtiſing the *Pariſians*; eſpecially as the number of people was ſo great in that city alone, that it would require long preparations to reduce them, not to mention the abſence of the Queen Mother, without whoſe advice he never took any reſolution in things of ſo great conſequence, and ſuch as concerneed the very being of the ſtate. Theſe motives, weighty indeed of themſelves, conſidering the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, were not a little ſtrengthened by the perſuaſions of Monſieur *De Villequier*, Governor of *Paris*, who either out of a natural propenſity, which men have to excuſe and defend thoſe that are under their command; or out of a real belief that they did not immediately conſpire againſt the King, but only againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and for the good of the Catholick party; or elſe out of picque that, though he was Governor, others ſhould pretend to know more of the ſecret affairs of that people than he did himſelf, and in a manner tax him with negligence, took great pains to diſcredit theſe informations, and to make the King eaſy, by aſſuring him, that the people were not at all diſaffected to his perſon, nor engaged in any plot or conſpiracy againſt him; and endeavoured to prevail upon him, by various arguments, to diſſemble his reſentment, and bear with ſome indiſcretions in his ſubjects, who were jealous of their religion. In which opinion the Secretary *Villeroy* likewiſe concurred; being deter-

determined, by all poſſible means, to prevent the further greatneſs and advancement of the Duke of *Eſpernon*. 1586.

But the King, by diſſembling his knowledge of this conſpiracy, increaſed the boldneſs and temerity of the conſpirators to ſuch a degree, that at the return of the Duke of *Mayenne* to *Paris* (who, ſeeing his army deſtroyed by ſickneſs and fatigue in *Guyenne*, and not having been able to obtain either a freſh reinforcement of ſoldiers, or ſupplies of money, was come back to court after the taking of *Chaſtillon*) the heads of the *Pariſians* ſoon agreed to apply to him, in hopes of bringing their deſigns to bear, under the conduct and protection of his authority. For this purpoſe, *Prevoſt*, Curate of *St. Severine's*, the Preacher *Vinceſtre*, the Sieurs *Hotteman*, *Buſſy*, *La Chapelle Martel*, and the Preſident *Buſſy*, went ſecretly in the night to him, and acquainted him with the ſtrength of their forces, the union of the citizens, the quantity of arms that they had in readineſs, and their intention not only to reduce the city into the power of the League, but alſo to ſeize upon the King's perſon, and put his minions to death, who had wickedly counſelled him to favour the *Hugonots*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was of a temper very different from his brothers, and for that reaſon had not before this time been fully informed of theſe ſecret practices, that were carrying on by the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardidal; and as he was naturally averſe to ſuch raſh and precipitate meaſures, he ſtood a while in ſuſpence, and deſired they would give him leave to conſider of it till the night following. At which time, when the ſame deputies of the union came to him again, to know his final reſolution, he deſired them to give him a more particular account of their deſigns, of their ſtrength, and of the reſources to which they chiefly truſted, as he did not care to embark in any undertaking of that nature which was not ſure to ſucceed. This the deputies immediately complied with, and informed him, that, in the firſt place, they intended to make themſelves maſters of all the principal places in the city, and had laid their deſign in this manner: That, to get poſſeſſion of the *Baſtile*, they would go in the night to the houſe of the Chevalier *Du Guet*, (as they call the Captain of the ordinary night-watch in *Paris*) who lived in *St. Catherine's*, a very remote place, and cauſe him to be told by one of the archers that uſually waited upon him, and was privy to the plot, that the King's ſervice immediately required his attendance; upon which, as he opened the door to come out, a hundred armed men ſhould enter, and not only ſecure his perſon, but oblige him to open the gate of the *Baſtile*: that at the ſame time, ſome of the ſerjeants and officers of juſtice, with whom they were in confederacy, ſhould cauſe the * *Chaſtelet* to be opened, under a pre-

* A court of juſtice in *Paris*, where there is alſo a priſon.

1586. tence of bringing certain priſoners thither, as they often uſed to do; upon which a body of armed men ſhould ruſh in, and make themſelves maſters of it. That the gate of the arſenal, where there was no guard kept, was to be opened by the two founders of ordnance who lived there, and, being privy to their deſigns, had promiſed to let them in whenever they pleaſed. When this was done, they would go immediately to the houſes of the High Chancellor, of the Firſt Preſident of the Parliament, of *La Gueſſe* the Attorney General, and the reſt of the King's Counſellors, who being ſurpriſed in their beds, might eaſily be cut to pieces, and without any reſiſtance. After this, they would barricado all the ſtreets with barrels full of earth and dirt, and with chains, bars, and ſuch things, ſo that no-body ſhould be able to traverſe the city, or gather the ſoldiers together, as the people of every ward would ſtand upon their defence; whilſt eight thouſand choſen men, under the command of ſome experienced leader, or of the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, if he pleaſed, ſhould beſet the *Louvre*, where there were none but the ordinary guards, and the retinue of the courtiers; ſo that it would be eaſy to enter it by force, or to oblige thoſe that were there to ſurrender by famine, as there was but a very ſmall quantity of proviſions in it: which being done, all the King's minions and other Counſellors ſhould be cut to pieces, and the King himſelf put into a monaſtery, till the Princes of the League had ſettled the form of government for the future; in conſequence of which the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould immediately march with freſh forces into *Guyenne*, and his Catholick Majeſty would ſend a powerful army over the *Pyrenees*, to ſuppreſs the King of *Navarre* and all the *Hugonot* party.

At theſe propoſals the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was a cool, circumſpect man, was in much greater ſuſpence than before, both on account of the enormity of the fact, and becauſe he thought it very hazardous to build upon no better foundation than the favour of the multitude, which for the moſt part is very deceitful and precarious. He therefore adviſed the deputies to conſider more maturely of the orderly diſpoſition of the enterprize, and told them, he would think further of it himſelf, and provide commanders, and other means neceſſary for the execution, if he ſhould reſolve to be concerned in it. And it is certain, whether it proceeded from doubt and irreſolution, or that he might have more leiſure to digeſt an affair of ſo great conſequence, he pretended to be indiſpoſed, and neither ſtirred abroad, nor admitted any one to viſit him.

In the mean time *Poulain*, who was privy to all theſe proceedings, did not fail to go early the next morning to acquaint the High Chancellor with the whole deſign. But as he found him going out of his houſe ſooner than ordinary to Council, and ſeeing a great deal of company with him, he reſolved to defer the diſcovery till the afternoon. It happened that,

he

he being very much in debt, ſome of his creditors, who had taken out writs againſt him, met with him that morning, and cauſed him to be carried priſoner to the *Chaſtelet*; where, when he was ſhut up, he let the High Chancellor know, by a private note, of the misfortune that had befallen him, and that he wanted to communicate ſome things to him of the laſt importance. Upon which the Chancellor ordered him to be brought bound before him, and took him into his cloſet, under a pretence of examining into the occaſion of his impriſonment, where he was fully informed of every thing that had been propoſed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of all the deſigns of the *Pariſians*, and the attempts they intended to make. But in order to blind thoſe that were preſent, when he came out to them again, he ſeemed to be very angry with him, and threatned that he would make him ſell his commiſſion, to ſatisfy his creditors: after which, he ſent him, ſtill bound, to Secretary *Villeroy*, who took down his whole information in writing; and, to prevent any of the union from having the leaſt ſuſpicion of the matter, he, with a ſtern countenance, and in an angry tone, commanded him to be carried back to priſon; from whence he was releaſed a few days after, by a ſecurity which the King himſelf privately cauſed to be given for him. But his Majeſty, being now thoroughly informed of the conſpiracy of the *Pariſians* (though Monſieur *De Villequier* ſtill continued to aſſure him, and inſiſt upon it, that theſe were only lies invented by *Poulain*, whoſe information he endeavoured to diſcredit, by repreſenting him as a man that was reduced to deſpair by his evil courſe of life, and now wanted to make ſome advantage of this calumny) commanded nevertheleſs that the Chevalier *Du Guet* ſhould remove to lodge in the *Baſtile*; that the founders of the ordnance ſhould be ſent out of the arſenal; that the Provoſt *Rapin* ſhould be put into it with his archers for a guard; that the guards at the avenues of the *Louvre* ſhould be ſtrengthened, and that a body of the Duke of *Eſpernon's* troops ſhould be drawn within a mile of the town, which, in caſe of neceſſity, might be brought in, through the garden of the *Tuilleries*, at a back gate that opens into the fields. 1586.

The managers of the union were not a little aſtoniſhed, when they found all their ſecrets were diſcovered, but they knew not upon whom to lay the fault; nor could they miſtruſt *Poulain*, the circumſtances of whoſe impriſonment had ſufficiently ſecured him from any ſuſpicion of giving the court intelligence of their deſigns. But the Duke of *Mayenne* was more vexed and uneaſy about it than any of the reſt; for though he had never abſolutely engaged in the conſpiracy of the *Pariſians*, yet he ſaw himſelf involved in their guilt, and in a manner wholly in the King's power, by whom he might eaſily have been taken, if it had not been for thoſe conſiderations which obliged him to proceed with caution and mode-

1586. moderation, and to make uſe of the higheſt diſſimulation, in order to accompliſh his deſigns. Wherefore, if he pretended to be indiſpoſed before, that he might have more time and convenience to conſider things maturely, before he came to any reſolution, he was now abſolutely neceſſitated to do ſo, for fear of being either impriſoned, or put to death by the King, if he went to the *Louvre*. But after many days, when it was ſeen that the King made no further preparations, and was ſatisfied with having ſecured himſelf, the Duke of *Mayenne* took courage, and reſolved to leave the city and retire to his government of *Burgundy*. For which purpoſe he went to court, and pretending that his ill ſtate of health made it neceſſary for him to go into the country, he aſked his Majeſty's leave; who, notwithſtanding all his diſſimulation, could not forbear ſaying to him, "What, my Lord Duke, will you abandon your League?" Upon which the Duke, ſeeming not to underſtand him, and ſaying that he did not know what his Majeſty meant, immediately took his leave and departed; the King, being no leſs rejoiced to ſee him go, and leave the *Pariſians* without a head, and without any ſettled reſolution, than he himſelf was to get out of that danger, and to have eſcaped out of the King's hands, without the loſs either of his life or reputation.

The Duke of *Guiſe* was much offended, that the *Pariſians* had applied to his brother to be their chief in this undertaking; not only becauſe he was more willing, and thought himſelf better qualified to conduct it, as he was deſirous to give the beginning and firſt motion to every thing, and to direct the courſe of all enterpriſes, but becauſe he knew the Duke of *Mayenne's* diſpoſition and manner of proceeding were not altogether ſuitable to his deſigns. But the *Pariſians* excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, they ſuſpected their intentions had been already diſcovered: upon which, their apprehenſion that the King might anticipate them, determined them to communicate the affair to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that they might proceed to execution immediately; being alſo of opinion, that it was ſufficient if they had recourſe to either of the brothers, and that it was better to apply to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was upon the ſpot, than to him, who was at a diſtance, and engaged in other affairs. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, not being able to endure the thoughts of ſitting idle, at a time when every body elſe was in action; and for fear his reputation ſhould wither and decay, had, upon a very trifling pretence, and without any orders, carried the war into the Duke of *Bouillon's* territories; who being poſſeſſed of *Sedan* and *Jamets*, two towns of great ſtrength and importance, and ſome other places of leſs note, upon the confines of *Lorrain* and *Champagne*, by that means kept open a paſſage for the *German* army, which was now upon the march to enter *France*, in favour of the *Hugonots*: wherefore the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was very ſollicitous to drive the

Duke

Duke of *Boüillon* from thence, and to ſhut up that paſſage, firſt made a heavy complaint, that the garriſons of thoſe towns that were dependent upon *Sedan* (where there were vaſt numbers of *Hugonots* gathered together) greatly annoyed the villages which bordered upon *Champagne*; and then ſuddenly aſſaulted and took *Donzi*, a place in thoſe parts very commodious for blocking up the principal city, as he preſently would have done, if he had not been diverted by another enterpriſe. 1586.

The Governor of *Auſonne*, one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the duchy of *Burgundy*, refuſed to give it up to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom it had been formally aſſigned, being encouraged ſo to do, by the diſtance he was at, and by his being ſo long engaged with the army in *Guyenne*. And though the Maſter of the horſe, or *Grand Eſcuyer*, as he is uſually called, who was Lieutenant of that province, and a man altogether dependent upon the King, ſeemed very deſirous to force the place, yet he artfully found means to defer it, and pretended that he could not poſſibly reduce him to his duty. The Duke of *Guiſe*, therefore, who could not ſubmit to any oppoſition to his authority, in the provinces that were governed by his family, and particularly in *Burgundy*, that bordered ſo cloſe upon *Champagne*, and lay upon the confines of the kingdom: and being zealous to advance his brother's reputation as well as his own, laid aſide his deſign upon *Sedan*, and made a ſudden march into *Burgundy* with all the forces of the League; where, without any inſtructions from the King, he unexpectedly laid ſiege to *Auſonne*: which being well garriſoned, the beſieged behaved in ſo courageous a manner, that in their firſt ſally they entirely routed Colonel *St. Paul's* regiment of foot, in which there were ſix Captains and three hundred ſoldiers killed: and in the enſuing aſſaults, which were made with great fury upon the walls of the town, the aſſailants were often repulſed with conſiderable loſs. But as they were not only battered by a continual fire from three and twenty pieces of cannon, but very much annoyed with mines, ſcaladoes, and redoubled aſſaults, and expected no relief from any place, becauſe ſome few foot and horſe that had been raiſed in *Montbeliart* (which ſtate borders upon *Burgundy*) and in *Geneva* by Monſieur *De Clervant*, were defeated by Monſieur *De Roſné*, Quarter-maſter-general to the Duke of *Guiſe*, they at laſt capitulated to ſurrender, and having leave from the Duke to retire to *Sedan* and *Jamets*, they delivered up the place to the Duke on the 17th of *Auguſt*, who having made the Baron *De Seneſçay* Governor of it, returned immediately to his government of *Champagne*, and from thence went to *Soiſſons*; where, in an aſſembly of the principal Lords of the League, it was reſolved, that the war with the Duke of *Boüillon* ſhould be continued. Wherefore, as he was always reſolute in his determinations, and exceeding quick in executing them, having ſoon put his army in order, he

1586. he attacked *Roucroix*, a place fortified in the modern way, and bravely defended by the Sieur *De Montmore*. But the beſieged, ſeeing the number of aſſaults, and the variety of attempts that were continually made by the Duke of *Guiſe* (in which he ſhewed the moſt conſummate military ſkill as well as valour) and having no hopes of relief, were at laſt obliged to give it up. In this garriſon there was one *Perſeval* and two other Captains, who, having been corrupted with money and promiſes by the Duke, made a pretence of retiring with the reſt to *Sedan* and *Jamets*, but privately aſſured him they would deliver up a gate of each of thoſe cities to him, when it ſhould be their turn to have the guard of them. Upon which hopes, though with forces much inferior to what were neceſſary for the beſieging a place of ſo great moment, he went to encamp before *Mouçon*, a town near *Sedan*, and reſolved, under a ſhew of diſtreſſing it, to wait there for the performance of thoſe promiſes.

Whilſt the Duke of *Guiſe* was thus employed in *Champagne*, the Queen Mother (after the place for an interview with the King of *Navarre* had been fixed upon) was come to *Cognac*, attended by *Lewis Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers* (who had now left the League, and put himſelf wholly under her protection) by the Marſhal *De Retz*, the Sieurs *D'Abin* and *Rambouillet*, by the Abbe *Guadagni*, Secretary *Pinart*, Monſieur *De Lanſac*, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, either for their rank or abilities.

On the other hand, the King of *Navarre* was come to *Jarnac* with the Viſcount *De Turenne*, the Sieur *De la Force* and *Mont-guidon*, the Baron *De Salignac*, and many other Lords of his party: but with ſuch a number of forces (having eight hundred horſe and almoſt two thouſand foot along with him) that, at the firſt notice of them, the Queen was in very great fear, as there were ſome who ſuſpected and ſpread a report abroad, that he was come with a deſign to take her, and carry her away by force to *Rochelle*. But after it was known that the King of *Navarre* came in that manner only for his own ſecurity, becauſe he was ſenſible of his preſent weakneſs, and, from the uſage that he had received at other times, was afraid of being trepanned again; and when ſhe began to reflect upon the ſincerity of his diſpoſition, and the abſurdity of ſuch a proceeding, ſhe laid aſide all apprehenſions, and they at laſt met, on the 18th of *October*, at *St. Bris*, a town equally diſtant from the places whence they came; there being on the Queen's part, beſides her uſual attendants, only the Captain of her guard with fifty horſe; and on the King of *Navarre's*, Captain *Lomelle* with the ſame number. The gates were guarded by two companies of foot, one of each party; and in the field, the horſe of both ſides were drawn up in two ſeparate troops: the King of *Navarre's* being commanded by the Count *De la Val* and Monſieur

ſieur *De la Noüe*; and the Queen Mother's by the Sieur *De Malicorne* and other Gentlemen of the country. 1586.

Their converſation in publick chiefly conſiſted in complaints on both ſides; the Queen lamenting, that the King of *Navarre's* obſtinate reſolution to continue in the *Hugonot* religion, and to keep at ſuch a diſtance from court, reduced the King to a neceſſity of making war upon him. And on the other ſide, the King of *Navarre* complained, that whilſt he lived in ſtrict obedience to the King's commands, and moſt punctually obſerved his edicts, *he* had broke the peace, only to gratify the Lords of *Guiſe* and other enemies to the publick tranquillity. But when they entered into a more ſecret conference, ſhe acquainted him with the terms which the King of *France* propoſed to him, concerning a divorce from Queen *Margaret*, and a marriage with the Princeſs of *Lorrain*, who was then with her, a Lady of noble endowments, of great modeſty and diſcretion, and of an age now marriageable. This match, ſhe told him, ſhould be ſucceeded by a declaration, in which he ſhould be acknowledged *firſt Prince of the blood, and lawful ſucceſſor to the crown:* and repreſented to him, that it would neceſſarily diſunite the Duke of *Lorrain*, father to the Princeſs, from the League and from the Lords of *Guiſe*, who would become quiet of their own accord, when they had loſt ſo principal a ſupport; or, if they did not freely ſubmit to the King's pleaſure, they might eaſily be ſuppreſſed, and deſtroyed by the aſſiſtance of the *German* army, which was upon the point of entering the confines of the kingdom. That in order to obtain ſo great an advantage, there was nothing elſe required of the King of *Navarre*, but to conform to the Catholick religion and return to court: that as to the excommunication from *Rome*, and the Pope's declaring him incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, as ſoon as ever he became a Catholick, the inveteracy of the *Guiſes* would ceaſe, the League would be diſſolved, and a revocation of it might be obtained without any difficulty. For the facilitating of which, the King, who at firſt was diſpleaſed that *Fabio Mirto*, a *Neapolitan*, Archbiſhop of *Nazareth*, had been declared Nuncio for *France*, in the room of *Girolamo Ragazzoni*, Biſhop of *Bergamo*, a *Venetian*, and had refuſed to admit him, was ſince prevailed upon to do it. And, beſides Monſieur *De St. Goart*, Marquis of *Piſani*, his ordinary Ambaſſador to the Pope, he had alſo appointed the Duke of *Luxembourg* his Ambaſſador extraordinary to his Holineſs, both men of ſuch prudence and abilities, that they would eaſily find a way to remove any obſtacles they ſhould meet with at that court.

This indeed was the wiſeſt reſolution, and the moſt likely to deſtroy the Lords of *Guiſe* and the League, to reſtore the ancient majeſty and authority of the King's perſon, and to re-eſtabliſh a laſting peace in his kingdom: and the King of *Navarre* was of that opinion himſelf, for

1586. which reaſon he deſired only two days to conſider of it. But it was decreed, that things ſhould proceed in another manner, and that a way ſhould be made to the exaltation of that Prince, not by peace and accommodation, but by the havock and deſolation of war. For on one ſide, he had ſuch a dread of being enſnared and taken again, from the bitter remembrance of St. *Bartholomew's* day: and on the other, there appeared ſo little hopes of his ſucceeding to the crown, when he conſidered that both the King and Queen were as yet young, and an infinite number of accidents might happen in the courſe of time to prevent it, that theſe motives, together with the ſhame of abandoning the *Hugonot* party, to which he owed his preſent eſtabliſhment, and of changing his religion ſo often (to his eternal infamy) that his own conſcience muſt condemn him as guilty not only of extreme levity and inconſtancy, but even of downright atheiſm, for making his faith ſubſervient merely to intereſts of ſtate, at laſt determined him not to conſent to the Queen's propoſals, but to try if he could not obtain the ſame end by other means.

With this reſolution he returned to a ſecond conference, at the ſame place; where, after a repetition of the former complaints on both ſides, in order to conceal the real deſign of the treaty, they withdrew to a more private converſation; in which he ſhewed her, "That the foreign forces "might be altogether as well united with the King's, and join with his "to deſtroy the League and ſuppreſs the houſe of *Lorrain*, without his "being obliged to change his religion or come to court: that his Ma"jeſty, from the experience of former times, was no ſtranger to the in"genuity of his nature, and well knew how deſirous he was, not only "to obey him himſelf, but alſo to cauſe him to be obeyed by thoſe ſtub"born rebels, againſt whom he was ready to employ not only the *Ger*"*man* army, but all his own forces, friends, and adherents, and to ſpend "the very laſt drop of his blood: that he was willing to give the King "all poſſible aſſurance, and hoped that in a ſhort time his actions would "ſpeak for themſelves, and convince him of his loyalty and ſincerity: "that it was unneceſſary, therefore, at preſent, to treat of changing his "religion, which was a thing of ſo great moment, that it required very "mature deliberation, much inſtruction, the aſſembling a council, and "many other particulars, to ſatisfy his conſcience, and juſtify ſuch a re"ſolution: that it was alſo unreaſonable to inſiſt upon his coming to "court, where he could not be ſure he ſhould live in ſafety, till the "*Guiſes* were utterly ſuppreſſed, whoſe power would never ſuffer him to "enjoy any peace of mind, till he ſaw them deprived of means to conti"nue their perſecutions. And with what heart, with what confidence, "could he return to live in *Paris*, where the power of the League was "ſo great, and the minds of the people ſo inflamed, except the incen-

"diaries

" diaries and ſtirrers up of theſe popular conſpiracies were taken off? 1586.
" That therefore the King ought to be ſatisfied with his doing all that
" the nature of things and the preſent ſituation of affairs would allow of,
" and aſſure himſelf (as he might do with great reaſon) that both their
" enemies and intereſts being the ſame, he would exert all his power
" againſt them with his uſual frankneſs and ſincerity, and proceed with
" ſuch vigour as the exigency of the times required."

To theſe objections the Queen replied, " That as his converſion could
" not be attended with any ill conſequences, ſo likewiſe there were ſuf-
" ficient reaſons to juſtify it: for if the King ſhould join with him,
" whilſt he continued in diſobedience to the Catholick church and
" openly excommunicated, beſides the infamy which he would draw
" upon himſelf, by entering into ſuch a confederacy as had been always,
" not only held in abhorrence, and never once thought of, much leſs
" conſented to by any other of the moſt Chriſtian Kings before him, but
" was alſo directly contrary to the vow and oath ſolemnly taken by him
" at his coronation, he would likewiſe give a ſanction to the complaints,
" and juſtify the practices of the League: and, which was worthy of
" the greateſt conſideration, he would provoke all other Catholick Princes
" in the world to riſe and take up arms againſt him by ſuch a manner of
" proceeding. That upon ſuch an alliance, the revolt of the city of
" *Paris* would immediately enſue, which was already in an uproar, only
" at hearing that there was a treaty on foot betwixt them; that many
" other of the principal cities would be induced to rebel by ſuch an ex-
" ample, and that all the Catholick Nobility, and by far the greater part
" of the kingdom, would be totally alienated from him: that this was the
" ſure way to ſecure the King of *Spain's* aſſiſtance to the League, who, in
" ſuch caſe, would not fail to pour thoſe forces into *France* with which
" he was preparing to invade *England*. That at the firſt news of it, the
" Pope, who was of a fiery and impetuous diſpoſition, would immedi-
" ately proceed to excommunications and interdictions, and raiſe power-
" ful ſupplies in favour of the League, by exciting all the *Italian* Princes
" to unite with him in defence of the Catholick religion. That the
" Duke of *Lorrain* would not be prevailed upon to give him his daughter,
" whilſt he was out of the pale of the church; nor would the States-
" General ever endure the thoughts of having him declared the lawful
" ſucceſſor to the crown, whilſt he maintained the doctrines of the *Hu-*
" *gonots*. In ſhort, that his perſeverance in thoſe opinions would be
" attended with all manner of obſtacles and impediments, and, on the
" contrary, his converſion would wonderfully facilitate the accompliſh-
" ment of all his hopes, which would then be neither doubtful nor pre-
" carious, but well-grounded and ſure to be crowned with ſucceſs."

1586. But the King of *Navarre* excuſed himſelf from complying with the Queen's propoſals, ſometimes, by repreſenting the indecency of changing his religion; ſometimes, by ſaying, his conſcience would not ſuffer him to do it; and ſometimes, by his apprehenſions of being drawn into the net again, from which he had once happily eſcaped. But whilſt he excuſed himſelf on theſe different accounts, it plainly appeared that the weight of the Queen's arguments had made no ſmall impreſſion upon him, and that he began to waver in his reſolution. So that a farther time was demanded and granted him to conſider of them, and another conference appointed, at the end of two or three days. At which, to bring the affair to a ſpeedier concluſion, the Duke of *Nevers*, on the Queen's ſide, and the Viſcount *De Turenne*, on the King of *Navarre's*, were allowed to be preſent. But they, contrary to the expectation of the principals, rather increaſed the difficulties, than forwarded any agreement. For the Duke of *Nevers*, according to his cuſtom, being deſirous to make an oſtentatious diſplay of his knowledge and eloquence, raiſed ſtill greater ſcruples in the mind of the King of *Navarre*, who was before not a little ſuſpicious of the *Italian* policy. And though the Viſcount, who was a man of great wiſdom and ſagacity, and no leſs perſonal bravery, ſeemed very much inclined to favour the Queen's opinions, yet it was commonly thought, that, for fear of being abandoned, together with the Duke of *Montmorancy* (as the Marſhal *D'Anville* was called after the death of his brother) and of being diſappointed in the vaſt expectations he had conceived of power and command in the *Hugonot* party, he neither deſired peace, nor the King of *Navarre's* converſion, and that he therefore ſecretly diſſuaded him from it. So that even in this third conference nothing could be concluded upon: for, whilſt theſe negociations were carrying on, the King of *Navarre* had warning given him, from ſeveral hands, to beware of the artifices of the King and Queen, who, at the ſame time that they were treating with him, aſſured the Pope's Nuncio, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the people of *Paris*, that what they were about was in favour of the League, and that the event would convince them, that this treaty was only to bring about a deſign, that would plainly appear in time, for the good of religion. By which advice his ſuſpicions were ſo increaſed, that he would not, by any means, be prevailed upon to confide too much either in the known inconſtancy of the King, or the artifices of the Queen, but firmly reſolved to follow the fortune of the *Hugonots*, and not to truſt the court; neither would he come any more to the conference himſelf, though he ſent the Viſcount *De Turenne* thither, who ſtill continued to treat with the Queen, but with ſo much caution and reſerve, that they could not come to any determination.

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With theſe negotiations began the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſeven, upon the firſt day of which, the King, celebrating the ceremonies of the knights of the Holy Ghoſt, ſolemnly ſwore not to tolerate the exerciſe of any other religion but the *Roman* Catholick. As this oath ſeemed raſh and inconſiderate, ſo it was blamed, both at that time and often afterwards, as abſurd and contradictory to his own deſigns. For to treat of an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and at the ſame time to vow the extirpation of the *Hugonots*, were two things that were abſolutely inconſiſtent with each other. But when thoſe that were at that time in the dark, and yet ſo free in cenſuring it, came to be acquainted with his Majeſty's reaſons, and the propoſals that had ſecretly been made to the King of *Navarre*, they began to alter their opinion. For Monſieur *De Ramboüillet* had come poſt from *Poictou*, and arrived at court on the 27th of the laſt *December*, with diſpatches from the Queen, and a full account of all that had paſſed with the King of *Navarre*; by which his Majeſty was aſſured, that it was impoſſible to conclude any thing with that Prince, as he was obſtinately determined not to change his religion, and would not join in any confederacy, except he could be left free in matters of faith. So that, in order to deprive him of that hope, and to force him to a converſion, and being reſolved, or rather obliged (if he would not conform) to join with the League to oppoſe the *German* army, the King found it neceſſary to make this proteſtation, by which he entirely ſilenced all the calumnies and complaints of the heads of the League, and in a great meaſure appeaſed the rage of the *Pariſians* for a time, who, according to the nature of the populace, were ſhaken with every little blaſt of wind, and changed their opinions and affections upon the moſt trivial and inconſiderable event. So that he was afterwards at liberty to exert himſelf in ſecurity, and to raiſe an army to oppoſe the *Germans*, without being interrupted or moleſted by the *Pariſians:* though the ancient incendiaries omitted no endeavours to inflame them afreſh from time to time. 1587.

From the manner of the King's proceeding, it was eaſy to diſcover his real inclination. For whenever the courſe of affairs obliged him to concur with any meaſures in favour of the *Hugonots*, he did it with much reſerve and ambiguity, and after long conſideration: But when he was called upon to favour or ſupport the Catholick party, he complied with ſo much alacrity and reſolution, that it plainly appeared to be his natural inclination, whilſt his concurrence with the other ſide ſeemed only the effect of neceſſity and compulſion.

It was not long before the news of his Majeſty's proteſtation came to the King of *Navarre's* ears: upon which he complained, "That ſuch a "manner of proceeding was contrary to the tenour of the treaty than on "foot."

1587. "foot." But the Duke of *Nevers* anſwered him, very juſtly, "That if "he called to mind all the late treaties, he would not find that the King "had ever offered to embrace or tolerate the *Hugonot* religion, but that, "on the contrary, he had tried all poſſible means to make him forſake "it, and conform to the Catholick, in which his Majeſty was ſo fully "determined to live and die, that no accident, how unfortunate ſoever "it might be, would ever alter his reſolution." It is certain, that the Queen, after ſhe had given the King an account of the King of *Navarre's* laſt reſolution, by Monſieur *De Ramboüillet*, received a commiſſion to drop all farther mention of the confederacy propoſed betwixt them, in the future courſe of the treaty, and only to endeavour to procure a truce for ſome months, in order to gain time, and make preparations againſt the *German* army. But neither did this take effect: for though the Viſcount *De Turenne* came often to the Queen, and the Duke of *Nevers* and the Marſhal *De Biron* went as often to the King of *Navarre*; yet they concluded upon nothing but a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſo few days, that the King did not care to ratify it; and the King of *Navarre*, being unwilling to retard the coming of the *Germans*, broke off the treaty, and went away to *Rochelle*. The Queen alſo returned with incredible expedition to *Paris*, conſidering her age and the ſeaſon of the year; where all the late negotiation was reported and diſcuſſed. After which it was reſolved, chiefly by the advice of Monſieur *De Villeroy*, that the King ſhould immediately unite himſelf with the heads of the League, and oppoſe the *German* army with their joint forces, that ſo the King of *Navarre* might not be able to join it, ſince they ſaw he could not poſſibly be prevailed upon by any terms to come to an agreement with the King, and that the firmneſs of his reſolution could not be ſhaken by any propoſals, how advantagious ſoever. So that it only remained to purſue the ſame courſe that had been taken by his predeceſſors, and to wait till ſome other opportunity ſhould point out new meaſures; and in the mean time, to make the beſt oppoſition they could to the progreſs of the *Hugonot* army, that the kingdom might not be left a prey to the fury of ſtrangers, that his royal Majeſty might not be utterly deſpiſed and trampled upon, and for fear of being plundered, diſarmed, and hated, or at leaſt diſtruſted by both factions.

Monſieur *De Villeroy* repreſented to him, that indolence and the diſuſe of arms had diminiſhed his glory and reputation; that the exceſſive increaſe of taxes and impoſitions had made him odious; that it behoved him to take up the exerciſe of arms again, to put himſelf at the head of a gallant army, and to ſhew his wonted valour and greatneſs of mind, by which he might not only gain an abſolute victory, and put an end to the calamities of war, but recover his former Majeſty, diſperſe the combined powers of his ſubjects by the ſplendour of his greatneſs, as the ſun diſpels

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the miſts, and ſtrike a terror into thoſe that thought to have compelled him to ſubmit to their will and pleaſure: that this was the ſure way to diſſipate and deſtroy the forces of the League. For when he ſhould once command his own armies, the Nobility and ſoldiery would much more cheerfully follow his ſtandard than the enſigns of the Lords of *Guiſe*; and that every one would rather chuſe to drink from the fountain, than out of the brook, if they had an opportunity. He alſo alledged that, by his Declaration in favour of the Catholicks (which his actions would ſhew to be ſincere) he would have nothing to fear from the forces of the Pope or the King of *Spain*, ſince neither of them would ever dare to ſtir againſt him, when the pretence of the Catholick religion being in danger was taken away, as it was already ſufficiently known, that his Holineſs, forced by the evidence of truth and reaſon, had anſwered Cardinal *Pellevè*, when he ſollicited his aſſiſtance in favour of the League, "That he could not tell "with what face to take up arms againſt a lawful, catholick, and religious "Prince, unleſs they could firſt make it plainly appear, that he favoured "the eſtabliſhment of the *Hugonots*." And that the King of *Spain*, not having courage to declare himſelf openly, had gathered his forces together under a pretence of making war upon *England*, waiting for an opportunity of turning them againſt him, if religion ſhould furniſh him with a proper excuſe, and not otherwiſe. He likewiſe aſſerted, that all other ſchemes were but thin-ſpun politicks, idle inventions, new-fangled projects, not only difficult, but impoſſible to be carried into execution, and, in ſhort, nothing but dreams and chimeras; that this alone was the high road to victory and ſucceſs; after which, he might give breath and repoſe to the common people, alleviate their burdens, redreſs their grievances, and regain the good-will and affection of all his ſubjects. Finally, he laid it down as a maxim, as he often had done before, that his Majeſty could not by any other means ſo effectually deſtroy the League, as by plain dealing and ſincerity, in imitation of other Kings his glorious predeceſſors: for by taking away the foundation of complaints and pretences, the whole fabrick of all their plots and machinations would fall to ruin of itſelf. 1587.

Theſe reaſons, or rather evident neceſſity, made the King reſolve to unite with the League, and to oppoſe the *German* army. For which purpoſe, he immediately diſpatched his Phyſician, Monſieur *De Miron*, to the Duke of *Guiſe*, to let him know that he had endeavoured, in a late interview betwixt the Queen his mother and the King of *Navarre*, to protract the time, and procure a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to divert the entrance of the *Germans*, and make them dwindle away by delays, as had often been ſucceſsfully done before at various times, without hazarding the ruin of the whole kingdom; but having found the King of *Navarre's* terms very hard to be ſubmitted to, and the time of the *Germans* coming,

ſtill

1587. ſtill drawing on, he was determined to oppoſe them by force: that he would ſend the Sieur *De Sancy* to the *Swiſs* Cantons to raiſe a powerful body of forces there: that he was preparing an army, to be ſent, under the command of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, againſt the King of *Navarre*, that he being kept at bay, might not be able to paſs the *Loire*, and go to join the *Germans*: that he ſhould likewiſe have another ſoon ready, to march whereſoever occaſion ſhould require: But as the *Germans* muſt firſt come into *Lorrain*, and then into *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, which provinces were governed by him, and the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, it was alſo neceſſary that they ſhould take arms, and aſſemble all their friends and dependants, to make up a body of troops able to wait upon the *Hugonot* army and harraſs them at their entrance.

Monſieur *De Miron* found the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Mouçon*, near *Sedan*, endeavouring to diſtreſs and annoy that place, by making now-and-then a faint attack upon it, with what forces he had, in expectation that *Perſeval* and the others, that went with him out of *Roucroix*, and had been corrupted by his money and promiſes, as we have ſaid before, would give him ſome opportunity of ſurprizing either *Jamets*, or perhaps *Sedan* itſelf, as one of them was in one city, and the other two in the other. *Miron*, therefore, delivered what the King had given him in charge, together with the Queen Mother's exhortations and gracious letters from them, in which they expreſſed a full confidence in him. And as it was their mutual intereſt to oppoſe the enemy, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent him back again immediately, deſiring him to aſſure his Majeſty, that he was ready to obey his commands; that he would draw together all his friends and dependants upon his family, and not fail to exert his utmoſt endeavours to ſerve him, as he had at all times been uſed to do in the exigencies of the crown, hoping his Majeſty was at laſt ſufficiently convinced of the ſtubbornneſs of the *Hugonots*, and would now take effectual meaſures to purge his kingdom of the deadly poiſon of hereſy.

But after this liberty of raiſing an army to oppoſe the *Germans* was granted to the Duke of *Guiſe* (which, however, he would have taken of himſelf) the King was ſtill in infinite perplexity, when he conſidered how he ſhould be able, both to hold the King of *Navarre* in play, and to make head againſt ſo powerful an army as was ready to invade his kingdom. For as, when his ſubjects were unanimous in their opinion, and firmly united with him for the ſame purpoſe, the *French* nation was ſo formidable, that it had little occaſion to fear the power of any foreign enemy in its own territories; ſo now, not only having vaſt numbers of *Hugonots* in every province, but (which ſtill raiſed greater difficulties) the forces and intentions of the Catholicks being divided by different ends, the event of things became very doubtful and uncertain by thoſe diſſenſions.

Beſides, the thoughts of the Duke of *Guiſe's* gaining a victory, occaſioned no leſs diſquietude in the King's breaſt, than the apprehenſions of the King of *Navarre* and the *Germans* ſucceeding; as he could not promiſe himſelf, what turn ſoever affairs took, any thing but infinite diſtractions, and greater troubles than he had ever met with in times paſt; which affected him to ſuch a degree, as he was a Prince of quick apprehenſion and foreſight, and ſaw all future difficulties and dangers as it were at one view, that he not only wholly laid aſide his uſual entertainments and diverſions, but ſpent whole nights in deep thought and conſideration, and often went from his own apartment, in the moſt ſilent hours, to the Queen Mother's, where they held long conſultations; to which, ſometimes the Marſhal *De Retz*, ſometimes the Abbé *Del Bene* were admitted, as perſons that were more confided in than any others. For though the Duke of *Eſpernon* was exceedingly beloved by the King, and entirely maſter of his affections, yet he was an open enemy to the *Guiſes:* And, on the other hand, *Villeroy*, who was in high eſteem for his wiſdom and experience in matters of government, was not thought a proper man to be made privy to theſe affairs, in conſideration of his enmity to the Duke of *Eſpernon*; and all other perſons of the greateſt credit, nearly depended upon one of theſe two. Nor did the King much like or eſteem the Duke of *Nevers*, though he pretended the contrary, becauſe he expected to be conſulted like an oracle, and thought his ſuperior wiſdom gave him a right to rule and direct in every thing. Upon which accounts, theſe four only were concerned in all the ſecret conſultations; though the Ducheſs Dowager of *Uzez* (a lady of great merit and underſtanding, and who, as it was thought, had alſo in her younger days been very acceptable to the King) was admitted to ſome of their councils, but not the moſt ſecret. To theſe, the Sieur *De Ramboüillet* was often joined, who being a man of great ſagacity, powerful eloquence, and extenſive literature, began to riſe in credit with the King and Queen Mother; but he was not yet admitted into an entire confidence, and therefore they did not communicate all their ſecrets to him. Thus all the preſent difficulties and future dangers being thoroughly diſcuſſed amongſt theſe, and the opinions of the other cabinet Counſellors aſked in ſome particulars, the King at laſt came to this determination: That the Duke *De Joyeuſe* ſhould march againſt the King of *Navarre*, with a moderate number of forces; but that *John* Sieur *De Lavardine*, of whoſe loyalty and beſt endeavours to ſerve him, the King was well aſſured, ſhould go with him as his Lieutenant and moderator, that the King of *Navarre* might be held at bay, but not ſuppreſſed; it being ſufficient to keep him ſo employed, that he could not get away to join the *German* army. That the charge of preventing the entrance, and oppoſing the firſt efforts of the foreign army, ſhould be committed to

1587.

1587. the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Lords of his family, being certain that the Duke, out of his natural ardour, for the defence of his own territories, and the increaſing of his reputation, a thing very neceſſary for the heads of popular factions, would omit no opportunity that offered of coming to an engagement with the *Germans*; an event that could not fail of affording him equal ſatisfaction and advantage, which ſide ſoever got the better, as both the conquerors and conquered muſt of neceſſity be very much damaged and diminiſhed: or rather it was highly probable, that the Duke of *Guiſe's* army, being much inferior to the other, would be entirely cut off in one or more engagements, in conſequence of which the League muſt naturally fall aſunder and be deſtroyed. But that, in order to prevent the conquerors from having a free paſſage to make further incurſions, and indulge themſelves in the deſolation of the kingdom, the King ſhould raiſe a powerful army of *Swiſs* infantry, and aſſemble all the Nobility he could, that he might be ready to oppoſe all dangers, and give law both to the victors and the vanquiſhed. A conceit, which, for its plauſibility, had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the King's mind, that he was often heard to ſay, as he walked alone, DE INIMICIS MEIS, VINDICABO INIMICOS MEOS; "I will avenge my enemies upon my enemies."

With this reſolution, he immediately diſpatched Monſieur *De Sancy* to raiſe eight thouſand foot in the *Swiſs* Cantons, whilſt the army was preparing with which the Duke *De Joyeuſe* was to march into *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*; where the King of *Navarre*, not loſing a moment of time after the Queen Mother's departure, had obliged *Chiſay* to capitulate, taken *Saſſay* by aſſault, ſtormed *St. Meſſans* and *Fontenay*, ſurprized *Maulеon*, and having made himſelf maſter of all thoſe parts, gathered all the forces he could together, called in his dependants and adherents, raiſed new companies of foot, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to aſſemble a competent army, to go and receive the *Germans*. To effect which, as it was neceſſary to return to *Rochelle* to furniſh himſelf with money and ammunition, he left two regiments of foot, under the command of the Colonels *De Bory* and *Charboniere*, to keep poſſeſſion of the places that he had taken.

But the report of the King of *Navarre's* ſucceſſes, and the complaints of the Catholicks, who ſaid publickly, that the country near him had been left without an army, purpoſely to give him an opportunity of augmenting his forces, obliged the King to haſten the departure of the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, who, with a vaſt number of the Nobility (whoſe affections he had wonderfully conciliated to himſelf, by his affability and magnificent manner of living) and with betwixt ſeven and eight thouſand light horſe and foot, was almoſt ready to begin his march. But before he went, the King having privately ſent for Monſieur *De Lavardine*, Lieutenant-General

General of that army (a man, on account of his ancient dependence, not ill affected to the King of *Navarre's* party) informed him of his intentions, and how neceſſary it was to proceed with ſuch moderation in that war, that the *Hugonots* might be kept employed, without coming to extremities, as it would be very imprudent to engage or hazard the Catholick forces, at that critical juncture, in ſuch a manner as might prejudice the deſigns that were then carrying on. After which he gave him inſtructions more at large, and promiſed him great things, if he behaved according to the orders that he had received. But *Lavardine*, being either not ſufficiently informed, or perhaps not able, for want of capacity, to penetrate into the King's deſign, which was, that affairs ſhould be kept in an equal balance, or biaſſed by ſome intereſted dependence on the King of *Navarre*, was afterwards imprudently, in a great meaſure, the inſtrument of ruining that army, and in a manner not perceived by the Duke of *Joyeuſe*. For he, being full of generous ardour, and elated with the great appearance of Nobility that ſerved under him, ſuddenly paſſed the *Loire*, and came ſo unexpectedly into the quarters poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots*, that the regiments of *De Bory* and *Charboniere*, which had over-run the whole country, were not able to make their retreat, but being both ſurrounded in the town of *St. Eloy*, though they made a gallant reſiſtance for many hours, they were at laſt overpowered, and cut to pieces without mercy, to the very laſt man. The Sieur *De Bory* was taken priſoner, and *Charboniere* made his eſcape in good time to *St. Meſſant*; which town, being beſieged juſt in the ardour of their victory, and furiouſly battered, was obliged to ſurrender in a few days, to the great misfortune of the inhabitants, as it was miſerably ſacked by the Catholick ſoldiers: the Abbey of *Maillezais* and *Thonne-Charentè* underwent the ſame fate. 1587.

But as Monſieur *De Lavardine* was not able to rule the Duke of *Joyeuſe* (who being ambitious of glory, not averſe to the deſigns of the League, and, as he ſaid himſelf, deſirous that the preachers of *Paris* might have occaſion to magnify his exploits and celebrate his name, aſpired by ſuch enterpriſes to confirm that greatneſs to which fortune had raiſed him) he began to attempt that by policy, as he thought, which he could not otherwiſe bring to paſs: and by relaxing the diſcipline of his men, and giving them frequent opportunities of going out to ſpoil and plunder, was the occaſion that many deſerted, who wanted to return home and ſave what they had got. And the camp being viſited by ſickneſs and diſeaſes, occaſioned, in ſome meaſure, by fatigue, but much more by bad regimen, the army was ſtrangely diminiſhed in a ſhort time: which plainly appearing from the muſter-rolls, the commanders, and *Lavardine* amongſt the firſt, began to adviſe the Duke not to proceed any further, till he had recruited his infantry, without which it was im-

1587. poſſible for him either to take any towns, or to carry on the war at any rate, in ſo fenny and incloſed a country as that of *Xaintoigne*. This counſel, together with the news that was daily brought from court of the Duke of *Eſpernon's* greatneſs and authority, which ſtung the Duke of *Joyeuſe* to the quick, made him reſolve to take poſt and go to court in perſon, not only to keep up his intereſt with the King, but to ſollicit a reinforcement of infantry. But at his arrival there, he met with no leſs cauſe of mortification than he had done in his abſence; for the wife of his brother *Henry*, Count *De Bouchage*, was lately dead, who being ſiſter to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, had kept up a friendſhip betwixt them, at leaſt in appearance, though it was almoſt totally extinguiſhed in their hearts, by mutual envy and emulation. In conſequence of which, the Count, either out of extreme ſorrow for the death of a wife, whom he loved moſt tenderly, or out of a ſatiety of worldly things, or elſe, as it was reported, becauſe he had ſo promiſed his Lady in her life-time, took the habit of a Capuchin, and cauſed himſelf to be called Friar *Ange de Joyeuſe*, to the infinite concern of his brother. But there was ſtill freſh matter for chagrin; as there was a marriage concluded at that time betwixt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and the Counteſs of *Candale*, heir to that moſt noble and wealthy family: which wedding the King did not honour indeed with ſo much vain pomp and ceremony, as he had done that of the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, but with preſents of ineſtimable value, and the accumulation of freſh honours and riches, of which the Duke of *Eſpernon* was a very careful manager. Theſe were matters of a ſerious nature, and they were much aggravated by the banter of the young courtiers upon an affair of lighter concern: for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, being enamoured of Mademoiſelle *De Stavay*, one of the Queen's maids of honour, and the Duke *De Joyeuſe* of Mademoiſelle *De Vitry*, a Lady of the ſame court, to whom they uſed to make very rich preſents: they ſaid, that the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, at his return, found he had alſo loſt the heart of Mademoiſelle *De Vitry*, who being either ſeduced by the Duke of *Eſpernon's* preſents, or the hopes of marrying Monſieur *De St. Goart*, one of his dependants, had, with an inconſtancy not uncommon in that ſex, entirely withdrawn her affections from him, and transferred them to the Duke of *Eſpernon:* with which, either out of the ardent paſſion that he had for her, or out of envy and emulation to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, he was extremely affected. The concurrence of ſo many croſs events made a very deep impreſſion upon the Duke of *Joyeuſe*; eſpecially when he perceived that he was falling out of the King's favour, who had publickly told him, "That the court looked upon him as a poltroon, and "he was afraid he would not be able to wipe off that blemiſh." Upon which he returned to the army with what few forces were granted him.

And,

And, as it uſually happens, his preſent diſguſt operating more powerfully upon him than the remembrance of paſt favours, he reſolved with himſelf to go over entirely to the League, to gratify the hatred which he bore to his rival, and immediately to give battle to the King of *Navarre*, hoping, if he got the day, to confirm his own fortune, and to make himſelf no leſs popular than the Duke of *Guiſe* amongſt the Catholick party. 1587.

But it was in vain for him to pretend to ſoar to ſuch a height at one flight, as the Lords of *Guiſe* had attained to by little and little, by long patience, and the labour of ſo many years. On the contrary, by endeavouring to force things forward in a precipitate manner, he thereby only haſtened his own ruin, to which he was running on with a headlong and unbridled career. Whilſt on the other ſide the King of *Navarre*, proceeding with more circumſpection, was intent upon aſſembling forces from all parts, that he might be able to move towards the *Loire* and meet the *Germans*. With him were joined the Prince of *Condé*, the Viſcount *De Turenne*, the Duke *De la Tremouille*, the Count *De Montgomery*, the Marquis *De Galerand*, the Baron *De Salignac*, and a handſome body of horſe and foot under ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, and old experienced officers. So that though his army was not very numerous, yet it was compoſed of reſolute and valiant ſoldiers. In the mean time he endeavoured, by means of their common friends, to prevail upon *Francis* Prince of *Conti*, and *Charles* Count of *Soiſſons*, brothers to the Prince of *Condé*, to come over to his party, though they had, till then, conſtantly perſevered in the Catholick faith, and continued near the King's perſon at court; repreſenting to them, that religion was no longer in queſtion, but that the preſent war was for the defence of their family, and the inheritance and ſucceſſion of the crown, to which not only he himſelf was called, but the whole houſe of *Bourbon*, in their natural order: and therefore it was highly neceſſary for them all to unite in that common cauſe for their own intereſts, and that they might be able to make the ſtronger reſiſtance againſt ſuch as were endeavouring to ruin and exclude them: that they ought in this caſe to take example by their enemies, amongſt whom the Duke of *Mercœur* and his brothers, though they were brothers-in-law to the King, and had received ſo much honour and ſo many favours from him, yet becauſe they were of the houſe of *Lorrain*, kept united with the Duke of *Guiſe* and the reſt of their family, and oppoſed their own ſiſter and brother-in-law: that if it was lawful for them to do ſo, for the execution of new and unjuſt deſigns, ſurely it was much more ſo for the houſe of *Bourbon* to unite, for the defence of their moſt juſt and ancient prerogatives, and to which they were indiſputably entitled by the laws and univerſal conſent of the *French* nation. That they had no occaſion

1587. caſion to fear they ſhould ſuffer any violence in their conſciences: for he that endeavoured to ſecure the liberty of others, would never deprive thoſe of it that were ſo near to himſelf; but that they ought to imitate the example of ſo many Catholick Lords and Gentlemen, who followed the fortune of his party. Theſe Princes, therefore, being moved by the weight of the King of *Navarre's* arguments, and becauſe they ſaw themſelves kept under and taken but little notice of at court, reſolved to go over to his party, the Prince of *Conti* determining to join the army of the Reiters as ſoon as they ſhould enter *France*, and the Count *De Grillons* to go to the *Hugonot* camp in *Xaintoigne*. And to facilitate the means of doing this, the King of *Navarre* ordered the Sieurs *De Colombiere* and *St. Mary du Mont*, who had raiſed ſome forces for him in *Normandy*, to eſcort him to the banks of the *Loire*, whither he had ſent the Viſcount *De Turenne* with eight hundred horſe to meet him: in which expedition they ſucceeded ſo well, and made ſo ſpeedy a march, that the Count and the *Norman* forces paſſed cloſe by the Duke *De Joyeuſe's* army, without receiving any damage at all, and joined the King of *Navarre*, to his great joy; for being highly incenſed at the inhumanity which had been ſhewn to his two regiments that were cut to pieces in *Poictou*, he was fully reſolved to take revenge, and ſtill kept advancing, though with the utmoſt circumſpection; whilſt the Duke *De Joyeuſe* came forwards to meet him, in ſo careleſs and negligent a manner, as ſhewed that he thought himſelf ſure of the victory.

In the mean time the *German* army was juſt ready to march towards *Lorrain*. For when the Ambaſſadors of the Proteſtant Princes returned to their maſters with ſo ſharp an anſwer from the King of *France*, the King of *Denmark*, *Chriſtian* Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, Prince *Caſimir*, the Proteſtant cantons of *Switzerland*, and other Princes of the ſame religion, at the importunity of the King of *Navarre's* agents, but much more at the exhortations of *Theodore Beza*, gave poſitive orders for the raiſing of that army. Towards which, beſides the money publickly collected in the Proteſtant churches, and depoſited in the hands of Prince *Caſimir*, there were alſo ſixty thouſand ducats contributed by the Queen of *England*. With this money, and with the conſent and endeavours of all the Proteſtant Lords in *Germany*, it was eaſy to raiſe an army in that populous and warlike nation: ſo that in the beginning of *July* there aſſembled in *Alſatia*, under the conduct of Prince *Caſimir*, upon whom that command had been conferred by the reſt, twelve thouſand Reiters, four thouſand *German* foot, ſixteen thouſand *Swiſs*, beſides four thouſand more that were gone into *Dauphiné*. *Fabian* Baron *D'Onaw*, a native of *Pruſſia*, commanded the whole army, as Prince *Caſimir's* Lieutenant-General: he was born of a private family,

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but had riſen to high eſteem by the favour of the King of *Denmark* and the Count Palatine, and was accounted a bold, reſolute man, but one that had neither prudence nor experience equal to an employment of ſo great importance. Soon after, that is, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, *William de la Mark*, Duke *De Boüillon*, came to join them with two thouſand three hundred *French* horſe, and, by commiſſion from the King of *Navarre*, was to have been General of that army. And though at his arrival he diſplayed the white enſign (which is never done but by the commander in chief) yet he only retained the name, and left the command wholly to the Baron *D'Onaw*, on account of his age and nation, and out of reſpect to Prince *Caſimir*. With the Duke *De Boüillon* were *Robert* Count *De la Mark*, his brother, the Sieurs *De Guitry*, *De Montleüet*, *De la Nocle*, and many other of the *French* Nobleſſe, who were joined by the Sieurs *De Muy*, *De Cormons*, and ſeveral of their adherents, that came to them from *Geneva* with two hundred horſe and eight hundred foot. The army was likewiſe daily increaſed by numbers that repaired to it out of *Dauphiné*, and the other confines of *France*: ſo that before it moved out of *Alſatia*, it amounted to forty thouſand effective men. 1587.

But before this army marched, the Emperor *Rodolphus* the ſecond publiſhed an edict, and ſent it to the Baron *D'Onaw*; the ſubſtance of which was, "That, as he had raiſed an army to invade the kingdom of *France*, "without his licence and the letters patent of the Empire, if he did not "immediately diſband it and deſiſt from the enterpriſe, he would put "both him and all his followers under the bann of the Empire." To theſe menaces the Baron *D'Onaw* anſwered, in writing, "That as his "deſign was neither againſt the Empire nor the kingdom of *France*, but "for the relief of the oppreſſed confederates of the Proteſtant Princes: "and as the *German* nation had ever been at liberty to enter into the "pay of whomſoever they pleaſed, provided it was not againſt the Em-"peror nor his juriſdictions, he neither thought himſelf obliged to deſiſt, "nor to diſband the army; but that, without any prejudice to the Em-"peror's authority, he ſhould perſevere in the undertaking he had begun "upon by commiſſion from his Princes." To which the Emperor, making no reply, nor proceeding to any freſh prohibition, about the middle of *Auguſt* the army was ready to begin its march. And, that things might be regularly conducted under the Duke *De Boüillon* and the Baron *D'Onaw*, the Count *De la Mark* was appointed to lead the van; the command of the *German* cavalry was given to the Baron *De Bouck*, an experienced ſoldier of that nation; that of the *Swiſs* infantry to *Claude Anthony* Sieur *De Clervant*; that of the *French* foot to *De Muy*; the Sieur *De Guitry* a *Frenchman*, and *Lodovic Ronf* a *German*, being Marſhals of the field.

The

1587. The Duke of *Lorrain*, who had ever ſtood neuter in all the other wars, and had now declared himſelf in favour of the League, and of the Lords of his family, arrived firſt at the frontiers, in order to make head againſt ſo powerful an army, but was in very great terror when he found that he had not forces, by any means ſufficient to do it. Upon which he immediately diſpatched the moſt preſſing meſſages and letters, to ſollicit the Duke of *Guiſe*, and all the reſt of his friends and confederates, that, as they had drawn him into that danger, they would come ſpeedily to deliver him out of it. He had raiſed two thouſand Reiters in the territories of the Catholick Princes of *Germany*, under the command of the Baron of *Swartzenbourg:* eight hundred horſe, part *Albanians* or *Croats*, and part *Italians*, and four thouſand foot in his own ſtate; to which the Prince of *Parma*, Governor of the Low Countries, in conſequence of the league with his Catholick Majeſty, had added eight hundred *Bourguignon* horſe, under the command of the Marquis *D'Havré*, and two thouſand *Walloon* foot, under the Marquis *De Varambon*. But as it was neceſſary to put a garriſon into *Nancy*, the principal city in *Lorrain*, and many other ſmaller towns, he had neither ſtrength enough to hinder the paſſage of the *Germans*, nor to defend his own country from their incurſions, which obliged the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was juſtly looked upon as the very life and ſoul of his party, and upon whom the hopes of the League were wholly founded, to draw together his friends and forces from all parts, and advance to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Lorrain*.

Nor was the King of *France* leſs active in making preparations than the reſt. But, being reſolved to face the enemy, and make himſelf ſole arbiter of affairs, he aſſembled all his forces. For, beſides eight thouſand *Swiſs* foot, that had been enliſted under the publick colours of the Catholick cantons, he alſo raiſed fourteen thouſand *French* foot, and ſummoned all the military people and Nobility to attend him, being determined to command his army himſelf. In which he met with no other impediment or oppoſition but the unrulineſs of the *Pariſians:* for the preachers and the council of ſixteen never ceaſed to ſtir up the people, and to raiſe tumults in the city upon every occaſion, inſomuch that the authority of the King and his magiſtrates was openly deſpiſed and trampled upon, and there appeared very great danger of a rebellion, which they ſo ardently wiſhed for and endeavoured to excite. His Majeſty, however, in his circumſtances durſt not attempt to chaſtiſe the authors of thoſe tumults, for fear of cauſing an abſolute revolt at ſo perilous a juncture, and depriving himſelf of that city which had always been the baſis and foundation of his party. This encouraged them to multiply their conſpiracies with greater boldneſs, and would certainly have produced the event that was aimed at by the heads of the League, if, on one hand, the imminent

dread of the *German* army, and, on the other, the proteſtation made by the King againſt the *Hugonots*, and the readineſs with which he took up arms for their common defence, had not reſtrained the people: who, out of fear, and ſome remains of loyalty, were not then very forward to concur in their violent and ſeditious deſigns. But the King having often appeaſed thoſe cauſeleſs tumults, with great patience and addreſs, and being highly provoked at the ſeditious authors, though he artfully diſſembled it, left the Queen Mother regent in *Paris*, and Monſieur *De Villequier* Governor, and went from thence, about the end of *July*, to *Meaux*, ten leagues diſtant; round which place he had cauſed accommodations to be made for the reception of his army. Here the Duke of *Guiſe* came to him (*Meaux* being a town ſubject to his government) and they met together with a ſhew of exceeding kindneſs and reſpect, but with ſentiments and deſigns very different from their outward appearance. The diviſion both of horſe and foot was made in the Duke of *Guiſe's* preſence: the King having appointed twenty troops of horſe and four regiments of foot for the Duke, reſerving all the reſt for the army, which he was to command himſelf. But almoſt all the horſe were afterwards detained, on one pretence or other, and the Duke of *Guiſe* had only thoſe foot left him, which were brought in by his dependants. For their former ſuſpicions and animoſities being rather increaſed than abated at their conferences, the King was ſo much the more confirmed in his reſolution, to guard himſelf no leſs againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, than againſt the foreign army, and to leave him weak, that he might the more eaſily be cut off, ſince, whether his forces were many or few, he could do no leſs than march againſt the *Germans*, and attack them, either in the Duke of *Lorrain's* territories, or on the confines of his own government. 1587.

At the end of two days the Duke of *Guiſe* departed; and having aſſembled his forces at *St. Florentin*, a place near *Troyes*, he marched directly towards *Lorrain* with ſeven hundred cuiraſſiers, all gentlemen that were dependant upon him, ſix hundred light horſe, ſome of them *Albanians*, ſome *Italians*, and ſome that had been ſent by the Sieur *De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambray*, and with two thouſand *French* foot, commanded by the Sieurs *De Joannes*, *De Gies*, *De Cluſeau*, and *De St. Paul*, his old Colonels. All the Lords of that family were met together at *Nancy*, where the Duke commonly reſides, and there entered into a conſultation concerning the manner of oppoſing the foreign army. The opinions were different, or rather directly oppoſite. For the *French* Lords, of whom the Duke of *Guiſe* was the chief, would have made the Duke of *Lorrain's* territory the ſeat of the war; which being a ſtrait, narrow country, and full of rivers, might afford them an opportunity of gaining ſome great advantage, and of keeping the *Germans* at bay, in a

1587. place where they could not hope to be joined by the King of *Navarre*; and being near their own country, they would diſband and run home, upon every ſlight diſguſt or diſorder that might ariſe. Nor did the vaſt ſuperiority of the foreign army at all diſmay the Duke of *Guiſe*; who being a man of an undaunted reſolution, deſpiſed a multitude of raw, undiſciplined men, that had been raiſed in haſte, and made no doubt of routing them with his handful of veterans. But the Duke of *Lorrain* was of a contrary opinion, who, with the Marquis *Du Saulne*, his principal Miniſter of State, the Count *De Chaligny*, one of the King's brothers-in-law, the Sieurs *D'Oſſonville* and *Baſſompierre*, thought it hard to ſubject his territories to the calamities of a war; and that he had already done too much in declaring for the *French* Lords of his family, and in being at ſo great an expence, and expoſing himſelf to ſo many dangers to gratify them. For which reaſons, he rather choſe not to have the *Germans* obſtructed in their march, but to keep all the principal towns well garriſoned, and to wait upon them with a flying camp, that they might have the leſs opportunity of ravaging the country, and that the impetuoſity of the torrent might pour itſelf into thoſe parts whither it naturally tended. And the more eager he ſaw the Duke of *Guiſe* to put the event upon the hazard of a battle, the more apprehenſive he was of the conſequences. He therefore plainly told them, that as opinions differed, he would not hazard the loſs of his ſtate by playing at ſo great a diſadvantage; but that if the Duke of *Guiſe* and the other *French* Lords were ſo diſpoſed to fight, they would do well to reſerve themſelves till the enemy had entered *France*; that for his part, as the forces of the enemy were ſo powerful, he ſhould content himſelf with endeavouring to preſerve his own, with as little damage as poſſible. With this reſolution all the guards were recalled from the confines, to quarter in ſtrong places, and the Sieur *D'Oſſonville*, General of the Duke of *Lorrain's* forces, took a tour quite through his dominions, cauſing the mills and ovens to be deſtroyed, and the victuals to be carried away from all places, that when the *German* army found ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions, they might paſs on without delay. And becauſe the Duke of *Guiſe's* great ardour gave the Duke of *Lorrain* occaſion to apprehend, that, contrary to his deſire, he would endeavour to come to an engagement, though with ſuch an inferiority of forces, and without any neceſſity, he determined to command the army himſelf, notwithſtanding his great age; and, to honour the Duke of *Guiſe*, gave him the charge of the vanguard.

There were no leſs diſputes in the *German* army: for the Duke *De Boüillon* and the Count *De la Mark* were deſirous to make *Lorrain* the ſeat of the war, not only for the convenience of proviſions, and to garriſon *Sedan* and *Jamets*, which were their own towns and bordered upon that

that ſtate, but alſo to ruin the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe near neighbourhood made them apprehend, that he aſpired to make himſelf maſter of their territories, ſome proofs of which they had already ſeen in the war made upon them by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and ſome time after were more fully convinced of it. On the other hand, Monſieur *De Monglas*, who was lately come to them, as agent from the King of *Navarre*, together with the Sieurs *De Muy*, *De Clervant*, *De l'Auguiere*, and almoſt all the *French*, were very ſollicitous to have them march forwards, that they might enter *France* as ſoon as poſſible, and take the ſhorteſt cut to join the King of *Navarre*, who, they affirmed, was upon his march to come as far as he was able to meet them. There were ſome of the *Germans* that were much pleaſed with the thoughts of a war in *Lorrain*, which lay ſo near their own country, eſpecially as it was not likely to be attended with many difficulties or hardſhips, when there was ſo great a diſparity betwixt the two armies. But the Baron *D'Onaw*, being impatient to execute the orders that he had received from Prince *Caſimir*, reſolved to go directly into *France*, without making any longer ſtay in the ſtate of *Lorrain* than was abſolutely neceſſary; with a deſign, however, to do as much damage there as the ſhortneſs of the time would admit of, and not to throw away the ſeaſon in laying ſiege to any place. With this intention, but with little harmony or conduct amongſt the commanders, none of whom had either authority or experience equal to an undertaking of ſo great importance, the *German* army began to move, and on the 26th of *Auguſt* arrived in the confines of *Lorrain*. 1587.

The guards were already withdrawn, which at firſt had been ſtationed at the principal paſſes of that ſtate, and the forces, having retired into the walled towns, left all the roads open; ſo that the *Germans* began to plunder the country without any reſiſtance, murdering the people, firing the towns, and committing all manner of hoſtilities: though the damage was not ſo conſiderable, as otherwiſe it would have been, if the people had not had ſufficient time to retire to places of ſecurity, and not only to drive away their cattle, but to conceal their goods, and to burn and ſpoil what they could not conveniently carry off. But it was not long before the *Germans* had a taſte of the vigour and ſpirit of the enemy they had to deal with. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, being deſirous to diſcover their ſtrength, and to make a trial of their courage and diſcipline, ſent the Sieur *De Rheſné* and the Baron of *Swartzembourg*, with two hundred Reiters and three hundred *French* horſe, to attack their neareſt quarters. Theſe two commanders being come, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, to the place where the enemy lay, fell ſuddenly upon the Baron *De Bouck's* quarters, and at firſt put his men into great diſorder and confuſion; and though they were driven back, after ſome time, and overpowered by numbers, yet

1587. they brought a pair of colours away with them, which the Duke of *Lorrain* immediate ſent to the King of *France*, as a token that the *German* army was already come into his country, but to their coſt. They ſtill proceeded, however, with the ſame confuſion and careleſſineſs in encamping, in keeping their guards, in decamping, and marching: for ſo great a multitude naturally occaſioned tumult and diſorder, and there was no commander able to govern a body compoſed of ſo many ſeveral nations mixed together, and under a different manner of diſcipline. The Duke *De Boüillon*, a young Nobleman of great courage indeed, but of little or no experience, was not much regarded by the *Germans*. The Baron *D'Onaw*, who commanded them, might rather be reckoned in the number of valiant ſoldiers, than of Generals, who for birth or ability were fit to fill that poſt: and the other inferior officers, being of different nations and diſpoſitions, rather increaſed than remedied that confuſion.

When the Duke of *Guiſe* was informed of theſe things, he was very deſirous of taking ſome opportunity of falling upon them, either as their army was going to encamp or decamp, before time and experience ſhould convince the commanders of their errors and want of diſcipline. But the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſtill perſiſting in his reſolution, would not, upon any conſideration, ſuffer them to come to an engagement in his territories, and the Duke of *Guiſe* was neceſſitated to ſubmit to him, not only on account of his age, but becauſe he was in his own country, and the enemy's forces were ſo much ſuperior: ſo that the Reiters marched on, without any moleſtation or impediment, till they came to *Pont St. Vincent*, a large village, ſituated upon the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which the river *Meuſe* runs under a very ſpacious bridge of ancient architecture. There Monſieur *De Rhoſné* and an hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback, being poſted with three hundred light horſe, the Duke of *Guiſe* came up to view the place, having reſolved to lodge his vanguard in it, to deter the enemy's army from attempting to paſs the river, if poſſible, and to make them a little more cautious of pillaging the country. But at the very time of his arrival, the *German* army was diſcerned from the top of the hill, marching in rank and file directly towards the bridge, over a little plain that extends itſelf from the bottom of the hill. Upon which the Duke of *Guiſe*, that he might the better inform himſelf of the number and order of the enemy, drew up the three hundred light horſe without the town, and placed the hundred Harquebuſiers along the bank of the river; whilſt he himſelf, unarmed as he was, with only the Sieurs *De la Chaſtre*, *De Baſſompierre*, *De Dunes*, and two Gentlemen of his attendants, paſſed over the bridge, with a deſign to get to the top of ſome high place, from whence they might more diſtinctly obſerve the motions, the number, and order of the *Germans*. But he was hardly got

to the other ſide of the river, but he was attacked by two troops of Reiters, who had advanced before the army to reconnoitre the country, and, to get clear of them, was obliged to retire over the bridge again on a good round trot. When the enemies horſe were come to the bank of the river, and ſaw it defended by the Harquebuſiers, and that the Duke of *Guiſe*, with twenty-five gentlemen who had joined him, ſtood firm at the entrance of the bridge, they halted till the van-guard of the army could come up: and in the mean time, one of them (which is a circumſtance worthy of being remembered) coming up to the very brink of the river, lighted from his horſe, and having levelled his carbine, and taken aim very leiſurely, gave fire with great compoſure and unconcern; and though above two hundred ſhot were fired at him during that time, he was not only unhurt, but not in the leaſt daunted; ſo that he mounted again with the ſame gravity, and retreated ſafely on a foot pace to his comrades. 1587.

In this interval the Sieur *De Guitry*, Marſhal of the field, arrived upon the bank of the river, with four hundred more horſe, who with the two firſt troops of Reiters, came directly forward to take poſſeſſion of the bridge. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, finding himſelf much too weak to defend the paſs, and that not only the Duke of *Lorrain's* army was at a great diſtance from him, but alſo his own vanguard, which had been left far behind, he cauſed the Harquebuſiers to retire into the body of Monſieur *De Rhoſné's* cavalry; and having diſpatched the Sieurs *De Baſſompierre* and *La Chaſtre*, with orders to put the army in readineſs to receive him, in caſe he ſhould be diſtreſſed or purſued by the enemy, he began to retreat, ſkirmiſhing himſelf in the laſt ranks that retired, and bravely ſuſtaining the charge of the Reiters, who having paſſed the bridge without any further oppoſition, followed him cloſe at the heels, wheeling and making an inceſſant fire upon him with their piſtols. But when they arrived at the bottom of the hill, which had a ſteep and difficult aſcent, the Duke of *Guiſe's* light horſe, and he himſelf, with his gentlemen, who were exceedingly well mounted, quickly got to the top of it: whereas, on the other ſide, the Reiters, with their heavy *Friezeland* horſes, were much longer about it, and when they came there, were obliged to halt to give their horſes breath. This lucky opportunity he made uſe of to paſs another ſmall river, that was in his front, and, without ſeeming to fly, arrived ſafely at the place where the Marſhals of the field had drawn up the whole army in excellent order: which extending itſelf betwixt two hills, in the form of a half moon, with the cavalry in the flanks of each wing, and the foot placed within the banks and ditches by the ſides of the roads, and amongſt the ſtakes of the vineyards, defended by the cannon planted upon a little mount, made ſo formidable an appearance, that when the *German* commanders came up to front them with the firſt troops of their army, they were

1587. were of opinion, that a battle was not to be hazarded, conſidering the ſtrength of that ſituation, as they could not by any means force the *Lorrain* army to quit it, nor come to an engagement, without too manifeſt and almoſt inſuperable a diſadvantage; ſo that they thought it the beſt way to retire to their main body, and take up their quarters in the villages near the caſtle of *St. Vincent*, into which the Sieur *De la Chaſtre* entered the ſame night with ſix hundred Muſketiers, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. And the Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſaw that, contrary to his inclination, the Duke of *Guiſe*, by his too much eagerneſs to come to a battle, and afterwards to diſengage himſelf from the Reiters, had brought his ſtate into very great danger, endeavoured to avoid the ſame hazard for the future, by removing to the diſtance of a many miles from thence, and left them at full liberty to continue a march which they had begun with burning and plundering all the country, contenting himſelf with quartering his army in the principal towns, that the enemy might not have have an opportunity of taking and ſacking them, and attending only with the greateſt care and circumſpection to the defence of his own territories.

At laſt, upon the eighteenth of *September*, the *Germans* arrived upon the confines of *France*, and took up their firſt quarters at *St. Urbin*, which town, being part of the Duke of *Guiſe's* own patrimony, was burnt down by them, after they had ſtaid there four days to refreſh themſelves, and on account of the extraordinary rains that fell at that time. During this interval, *Francis*, Lord of *Chaſtillon*, came up with an hundred Cuiraſſiers, and eight hundred Harquebuſiers, on horſeback, who with infinite difficulty had marched from the remoteſt parts of *Languedoc*, by the way of *Dauphinè*, and the confines of *Savoy*, as far as *Grizelle*, a town upon the borders of *Lorrain*, to join the foreign army. But when he arrived at *Grizelle*, he was ſuddenly attacked by the Duke's forces, and obliged to retreat into the caſtle of that town; where he would have been in great danger of being taken, if the Count *De la Mark* had not advanced with the van of the army to diſengage him: at whoſe appearance the *Lorrain* forces immediately retired, and he proceeded in his march to join the reſt of the army, as he did the 22d of *September*. On which day the Duke of *Guiſe*, having left the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Bar* (who refuſed to enter the confines of the King of *France*, except he was called upon) quartered, with twelve hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot, at *Joinville*, but two leagues from *St. Urban*.

The *German* army, at their entrance into *France*, was incumbered with a prodigious quantity of baggage, as they marched, according to the cuſtom of their nation, with a great number of carriages, and had with them all the plunder they had got in the territories of *Lorrain*, which they daily

daily increaſed. Nor did they obſerve any better diſcipline or order, though they were now come into an enemy's country, and expoſed to danger on every ſide. On the contrary, preſuming on the ſtrength of their army, which conſiſted of above forty thouſand fighting men, they encamped in a very looſe and open manner, taking little or no care about placing their guards, and when they were upon their march, they were, for the moſt part, either wholly employed in plundering the country, or ſtraggling from their ſquadrons, in a confuſed and diſorderly manner, through the vineyards, to fill their bellies with grapes, of which the *Germans* are immoderately fond, and which grow there in great plenty. And this they did with the greater ſecurity, as they deſpiſed the Duke of *Guiſe* and his handful of men, and did not at all expect to meet with any forces that could ſtand before a number, which was very great indeed, well armed, well mounted, well provided, but extremely ill diſciplined and conducted. The number of commanders occaſioned variety of opinions, concerning the rout which they ſhould take. For ſome thought it would be beſt, on account of the goodneſs of the roads, and the plenty of proviſions that they were ſure to meet with, to paſs through *Champagne* to *Brie*, and penetrate into the iſle of *France*, as far as the city of *Paris*, to ſtrike at the very heart of the Catholick party, and not to throw away their time in matters of ſmall importance, as experience had conſtantly ſhewn, that the *Hugonots* had never had any likelihood of victory, but when they had entered the very bowels of the kingdom, and brought terror and diſtreſs upon the city of *Paris*. But others, who were ſenſible that they had not a General equal to ſuch an undertaking, and therefore, that all their marches would be attended with danger and difficulty, adviſed them to move directly towards the ſources of the *Loire*, in order to paſs it above *La Charitè*, or at ſome other place thereabout, and to proceed immediately to join the King of *Navarre*, without whoſe conduct and authority they deſpaired of ſucceſs in any enterpriſe. The laſt opinion prevailed, and they accordingly croſſed the Provinces of *Burgundy* and *Champagne* about the end of *September*, taking the direct road toward *La Charitè*, with a deſign to paſs the river there, as the Duke of *Deux-ponts* formerly had done at the ſame place. And as the Count *De la Mark* died about that time, of a natural death, the command of the vanguard was given to Monſieur *De Chaſtillon*.

1587.

The Duke of *Guiſe* followed the track of the *Germans*; and though his brother the Duke of *Mayenne* had joined him, with the forces that he brought out of his government of *Burgundy*, and the Marquis *Du Pont* had likewiſe followed him with no contemptible number of gentlemen, ſo that he had in all fifteen hundred horſe, and about three thouſand foot; yet, being ſenſible of his weakneſs, he always encamped in very advanta-

geous

1587. geous ſituations, and kept as near as poſſible to the enemy, that he might not loſe any fair opportunity of coming to an engagement with them, which he watched for with extreme vigilance and impatience. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſtill conſtant to his old maxims, and the Marquis *Du Pont*, being ſo inſtructed by his father, endeavoured, upon all occaſions, to abate his ardour, by repreſenting to him, that the fortune of the whole houſe of *Lorrain* was centered in that little handful of men, and would be inevitably ruined, if he ſhould be inconſiderate enough to attack the enemy with a force ſo prodigiouſly inferior: that he could not do any thing that would give his enemies greater pleaſure, than expoſing the eſtates, and very being of their whole family, not only to havock and deſolation, but to certain ruin and deſtruction by ſo raſh an attempt, the event of which, whatever it might be, would infallibly diſſipate his forces for ever: that to hazard the fruits of all his former labours, all his preſent eſtate, and all his future hopes, upon a throw of the dice, and at ſo manifeſt a diſadvantage, was a concern, that was worthy of long and mature deliberation, and could never be too well conſidered: and with what forces, with what number of horſe and foot would he attack an army of ſixteen thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand *German* foot, flanked with four thouſand of the choiceſt Muſketiers in *France?* that it would be ſufficient, if they could be able to defend the principal cities and walled towns of thoſe provinces that were under their government: that he alone ought not to arrogate to himſelf that command, which only belonged to the King of *France*, and which never had been aſſumed by any other perſons, who upon the like occaſions had been truſted with the care of the frontiers, as they thought it enough to defend the places of conſequence only, leaving the ſtorm to take its courſe towards the place where the main armies then lay, and to be reſiſted by thoſe whom it principally concerned. Theſe conſiderations abated, but did not extinguiſh the ardour of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who having formed vaſter and much deeper deſigns, in this manner ſecretly promoted the accompliſhment of them. For having undertaken the protection of the League, and aſſumed the care of the popular cauſe, and conceiving hopes of ruining his adverſaries, and making himſelf not only ſole arbiter and moderator of the kingdom, but alſo the glorious reſtorer of the *Roman* Catholick religion, he foreſaw that he ſhould loſe his credit and reputation, both within and without the kingdom, if he ſat ſtill and let the King gain a victory over the *Germans*, as that would turn the ſcale, and make him ſuperior that ſhould obtain it. Beſides, as he ſuſpected that the King held a ſecret correſpondence with the *Hugonots*, he was afraid, if the Reiters joined the King of *Navarre*, and the King of *France* lay on the other ſide of him with a powerful army, they would cruſh him betwixt them. Upon which account, he bent all his

his attention to deſtroy, or at leaſt to weaken that army, before they could have time to put their deſign in execution. His ambition likewiſe, and deſire of glory, which was inſatiable and unbounded, would not let him reſt, if he did not ſignalize his valour upon ſo conſpicuous an occaſion. Wherefore, he ſometimes marched before, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes behind the enemy, with unwearied diligence, both in himſelf and his ſoldiers, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to harraſs and incommode them, by reducing them to a neceſſity of quartering cloſe together, by protracting and retarding their march, and trying to diſtreſs them by a ſcarcity of proviſions. 1587.

But the great plenty of wine, fleſh, grapes, and other fruits, with which thoſe provinces abound, did more prejudice to the *Germans*, than all the labour and induſtry of the Duke of *Guiſe*. For exceſs and ſurfeiting, in a climate ſo different from their own, occaſioned ſo many dangerous diſeaſes in the army, that their number daily decreaſed, and their march was not a little delayed. The autumnal rains likewiſe, which were exceſſive in the beginning of *October*, greatly increaſed the mortality; and the roads were ſo broken in that deep and dirty country, that it was exceeding difficult for ſo vaſt a multitude to purſue their march, eſpecially as they were ſo ill diſciplined and conducted.

The ſame rains very much annoyed the Duke of *Guiſe's* army, and ſo much the more, as they were continually in motion, and expoſed to the badneſs of the weather. But, though his ſoldiers were bareſoot, and almoſt naked, and their horſes in a manner jaded and ſpoiled, yet the great confidence they had in their commander, and ſeeing him the firſt to expoſe himſelf to all hardſhips and inconveniencies, made every one undergo them with cheerfulneſs; and as they were all veterans, inured to the toils of war, the diſtempers, which had made ſuch terrible havock in the enemy's camp, did not take any hold of them. In this manner, though not without frequent ſkirmiſhes, the two armies proceeded as far as *Chaſtillon* upon the *Seine*, where the Sieur *De la Chaſtre* having ſhut himſelf up for the defence of the town, which is not ſo ſtrong as populous, as the *Germans* paſſed by there was warm ſkirmiſhing betwixt them for four hours, with ſome loſs on both ſides.

After the *Germans* had paſſed the *Seine* at *Chaſtillon*, they turned to the right hand, and marched towards *La Charitè*, with a deſign to paſs the *Loire*; not in thoſe places that are nearer to the ſources of it, as the King of *Navarre* had directed, and as his agents adviſed them to do, but to endeavour to make themſelves maſters of ſome bridge, over which they might paſs with more conveniency. This reſolution indeed was not owing to any fault in the commanders, but to the tumultuous clamours of the ſoldiers, who would not hear of being led through the narrow, barren,

1587. and mountainous countries, where the river takes its riſe, but wanted to indulge themſelves in their uſual rapines and licentious manner of living, and to range through the more open and fertile parts of *France*, as thoſe are, through which they were to march towards *La Charitè*, and the paſſes near it.

But they were extremely diſappointed in their hopes: For the King of *France* having departed from *Meaux*, and then from *Gien*, which he had made the general rendezvous of his forces, and being come to *Eſtampes*, with eight thouſand *Swiſs*, ten thouſand *French* foot, and four thouſand horſe, the Duke of *Nevers* being appointed Lieutenant General of the army, and the Duke of *Eſpernon* to lead the van, by their advice had prudently advanced to the banks of the *Loire*; and having broken up and ſpoiled all the paſſes, conveyed away all the boats, and furniſhed all the adjacent towns with ſufficient garriſons and proviſions, he encamped along the river ſide, to prevent the enemy from fording over, or otherwiſe paſſing it in any place.

This difficulty exceedingly perplexed the *German* army: For as they had been made to believe, by the *French* commanders, both before they were raiſed, and after they had entered *France*, that the King would connive at their paſſage, that they might join the King of *Navarre*, and that they would have no other enemy to deal with but the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe forces were not much to be dreaded; as ſoon as they ſaw the King in arms, and reſolved to oppoſe them in an hoſtile manner, not only with a very powerful army, but with the utmoſt circumſpection and military policy: and that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was generally ſuppoſed to favour the *Hugenots*, had perſonally attacked ſome troops of horſe that were plundering the country, and not only ſlain many of them, but taken one of their colours, there aroſe ſuch an uproar and confuſion in their camp, that the authority of the commanders was not ſufficient to compoſe it. The *German* cavalry began to demand their pay in a clamorous manner, which had been promiſed them upon their entrance into the kingdom; but no money had yet been ſent from any part to ſatisfy them. The *Swiſs*, when they ſaw others of their countrymen in the King's ſervice, and under the publick banners of the cantons, talked of going over to his army; and the whole camp complained, that though they had been promiſed to have a Prince of the blood for their commander, yet not one of them appeared: ſo that they were continually murmuring, and threatning the *French* commanders for having raſhly brought them thither, and falſely perſuaded them that they held a correſpondence with the King of *France*. During theſe mutinies, the commanders aſſembled in the preſence of the army, and it was without much conſideration reſolved, amidſt that univerſal tumult, to turn back again, and endeavour to get

get into the country of *Beauſe* (the uſual nurſery of the wars) and in the mean time to ſend deputies to demand a ſupply of money from the King of *Navarre*, and a General to conduct them, and to know which way he would have their army march to join him. 1587.

The King of *Navarre* had at that time left the places that were attached to his party, with as many forces as he could gather together, and, after he had muſtered and reviewed them, marched directly towards the *Loire*, in hopes of finding ſome means to join the foreign army. But the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, who, being ſpurred on by ambition and reſentment, had wholly given himſelf up to the intereſts of the League, and had marched from *Saumur* in a precipitate manner, was now come with his whole army to meet the *Hugonots*, with a full reſolution to give them battle, at all events, as ſoon as poſſible. Two little rivers parted the armies from each other, one called the *Iſle*, and the other the *Drogne*; the *Iſle* on the Duke *De Joyeuſe's* ſide, and the *Drogne*, which was much the larger, on the King of *Navarre's*. Betwixt both rivers lay *Roche Chalais*, a town near the *Iſle*; and nearer the *Drogne* lay *Coutras*, a noble ſeat built by *Lautrec*, a commander of great reputation in the *Italian* wars. Both the Generals very juſtly thought, that if they could paſs the river that lay neareſt to them, they ſhould have a manifeſt advantage over the enemy; ſo that the Duke *De Joyeuſe* paſſed the *Iſle* with great expedition, on the 19th of *October* in the evening, and quartered his men at *Roche-Chalais*, with an intention to encamp the night following at *Coutras*, and to meet the King of *Navarre* and fight him, as he paſſed the *Drogne*. For which purpoſe, he had diſpatched Captain *Mercurio Bua* beforehand with the *Albanians*, to take poſt at *Coutras*, and appointed quarter-maſters to mark out a camp there. But the King of *Navarre*, who was at the head of a veteran and well diſciplined army, and deſirous to meet him in the open field, without the advantage of ſituation or rivers, had forded the *Drogne* early in the morning of the ſame day, and ſent the Duke *De la Tremoüille* to take poſſeſſion of *Coutras*, whilſt he himſelf followed the ſame rout with his whole army, drawn up in order of battle. The *Albanian* horſe were ſoon repulſed, as might reaſonably be expected, by a ſuperiority of numbers, and returning the ſame night to *Roche Chalais*, informed the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, who was at ſupper, and indulging himſelf with good cheer, amongſt many of the Nobility, that the King of *Navarre* had paſſed the *Drogne*, and encamped his whole army round the village of *Coutras:* upon which the Duke, immediately turning about to his officers, ſaid ſo loud that he might be heard by every one, "We have now got "the enemy betwixt two rivers, ſo that he cannot poſſibly eſcape us: "Let every man be ready for battle to-morrow by break of day."

1587. The Duke's army amounted to ten thouſand fighting men, amongſt whom there were numbers of the Nobility. But as, in general, their courage was greater than their experience; they looked upon the victory as certain, and made little account of that order and diſcipline which are almoſt always the cauſes of it. There was no commander that had ſufficient authority to reſtrain the unbridled raſhneſs of the young Noblemen, who were above meaſure eager and impatient to come to a battle, firmly imagining they had the enemy faſt betwixt the two rivers. The next morning therefore, which was the 20th of *October*, they began to march, two hours before day, ſtraggling in a diſorderly manner towards the place that was to be the field of battle. There they were drawn up, in as good order as was poſſible, by the Sieur *De Lavardine*, their Lieutenant General, who extended his body of lances a great way along the plain, the wings of which were flanked by two battalions of infantry, and he himſelf, with the light horſe, commanded by the Sieur *De Montigny* and *Mercurio Bua*, was at the head of the army, having planted his artillery at the extremity of the left wing.

But the confuſion that was occaſioned by want of diſcipline in the men, who had marched thither without obſerving any order, and had ſtrayed from their ranks, and broken their ſquadrons: and the way to the place appointed being, to ſay the truth, very narrow, and through woods, made them loſe ſo much time in forming, when they came there, that the King of *Navarre*, hearing the enemy was in motion, had an opportunity of bringing up his artillery, which the haſtineſs of his paſſage had obliged him to leave on the other ſide of the river, otherwiſe he muſt have been forced to engage without it, to his infinite diſadvantage. But having taken that advantage from the tardineſs of the enemy, he drew up his army, which conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, in ſeven diviſions, of which four were Cuiraſſiers, one of light horſe, and two of foot, and cauſed the culverines, and other field peices, to be planted in the front of the army, near the banks of the river, on a place that was ſomewhat higher than the plain: the two ſquadrons, which were in the center, and made the bottom of the half moon, were commanded by himſelf and the Prince of *Condé*, having the Count *De Soiſſons* on their right-hand, and the Viſcount *De Turenne* on their left: the Duke *De la Tremoüille*, and the Sieur *De Vivans*, who was Marſhal of the field, were at the head of the light horſe; and one battalion of foot on the right-hand, was led by the Baron *De Salignac*, the Sieurs *De Caſtelnau* and *Parabiere*, who had a very thick wood, and a ditch ſeven feet wide on their flank: the other on the left by *Lorges*, *Preau*, and *Charboniere*, all old and experienced Colonels of that party, who were covered on the flank by the walls of a park and a rabbet-warren.

warren. The care of the artillery was committed to the Sieur *De Clairmont* and the Marquis of *Galerand*, and the baggage, either purpoſely or by chance, was left in the village of *Coutras*, without any guard, either of horſe or foot. 1587.

The appearance of the two armies was very different: for the Duke *De Joyeuſe's* ſoldiers were all cloathed in rich ſurtouts and gaudy liveries, and decked out with plumes and other pompous ornaments, but they ſeemed in diſorder and confuſion, a manifeſt ſign of inexperience. Whereas the King of *Navarre's* made no other ſhew than that of iron, nor had any other ornaments than their arms, ruſty with the rains, but they were drawn up and compacted in firm and perfect array, ſo that it was eaſy to judge of their weight by their excellent diſcipline and ſoldier-like conduct. The cannon began to play on both ſides, about two hours after ſun riſe, but with very different ſucceſs, whether it was owing to ignorance or deſign: For the King of *Navarre's* made a lane through the Catholick lances, and paſſed from thence into their infantry, and not only killed vaſt numbers of them, but threw the reſt into diſorder. But the Duke's cannoneers pointed their artillery ſo low, that all the balls ſtruck into the ground, and killed no-body, except one gentleman belonging to the Prince of *Condé:* which the Sieur *De Lavardine* perceiving, and well knowing, that if he gave the enemy time to load again, and make another diſcharge upon them, his whole army would be totally routed, as it was already ſo much broken and diſordered by the firſt fire, that his men could hardly be kept in their ranks, he ordered them immediately to charge, and fell ſo furiouſly with his light horſe upon thoſe of the enemy, which fronted him, to the number of about two hundred, that the Sieur *De Montigny* killed the Duke *De la Tremoüille's* horſe under him, and *Mercurio Bua* wounded the Sieur *De Vivans*, Marſhal of the field, in a very dangerous manner, and having defeated the light horſe, came up to the ſquadron of Cuiraſſiers, commanded by the Viſcount *De Turenne*, which they did not charge in the front, but ruſhed fiercely upon the flank, and after they had cut their way quite through them (whatever was the occaſion, for it was afterwards variouſly ſpoken of) rode on a full gallop to the village of *Coutras*, where the enemy's baggage was left. When they arrived there, the *Albanians* were quite out of breath, yet ſo eager upon the booty, which they ſaw before them, that they fell to pillaging immediately; and it was ſo long before they could be rallied again, that they reſolved to retire into ſome place of ſecurity, and entered no more into the battle. But the King of *Navarre*, having briefly exhorted his men to behave themſelves couragiouſly, for their common preſervation, and having placed thirty gentlemen before him with ſhort lances, advanced but ten paces to meet the Catholick cavalry, who having begun their charge too ſoon,

were

1587. were in ſuch diſorder with the length of their career, that their lances had not their uſual effect, and did no ſervice at all: ſo that they were obliged to throw them away, and fight hand to hand, by which the battle became more equal. But as the Duke *De Joyeuſe* had an army of reſolute well diſciplined veterans to deal with, and had drawn his own up in ſo looſe and feeble a manner, that he could not poſſibly make any impreſſion upon them, the Catholick cavalry was utterly routed and defeated in leſs than half an hour, and the Duke himſelf left dead upon the ſpot, in the midſt of an infinite number of Lords and Gentlemen. For though, after he was thrown to the ground, he offered an hundred thouſand crowns to ſave his life, he was ſlain in the fury of the battle, by the diſcharge of three piſtols upon him. Nor had the infantry any better fortune than the cavalry; for being attacked on every ſide by the *Hugonots*, who called vehemently upon each other to remember the ſlaughter at *St. Eloy*, where two of the King of *Navarre's* regiments were cut to pieces without mercy, the revenge of the ſoldiers was not ſatisfied till they had put moſt of them to the ſword; the commanders not being able to reſtrain their fury, nor the King of *Navarre* to prevent it, as he was buſy in purſuing the remains of the cavalry.

The ſlaughter of the conquered, and the purſuit of the conquerors, laſted three hours, after which they became maſters of the field, of the artillery, colours, and baggage, in which, to the great deriſion of ſoldiers inured to a rough and hardy manner of living, they found ſeveral of thoſe ſofter accommodations for eaſe and luxury that were made uſe of at court. There were three thouſand five hundred of the Catholicks ſlain, beſides the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, the Count *De St. Sauveur* his brother, the Sieur *De Breſay*, who carried the General's colours, the Counts *De Suſe*, *D'Aubijoux*, and *Gavelo*, Colonel *Tierceline*, and many others. But the number of priſoners was much greater; for, except *Lavardine*, *Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, who made their eſcape, all the reſt fell into the hands of the enemy. On the King of *Navarre's* ſide there were not quite two hundred killed, amongſt whom there was not any perſon of great diſtinction; and amongſt the wounded there were only the Sieur *De Vivans*, Captain *Favas*, and the Viſcount *De Turenne*, which laſt was but ſlightly hurt. After this great victory, the King of *Navarre's* clemency was no leſs conſpicuous, than his prudence had been before it, in preventing the deſigns of the enemy, his ſkill in drawing up his army, and his bravery during the action. For when he returned to the field of battle, he ſtopped the ſlaughter of the Catholick infantry, and received the priſoners courteouſly, commending thoſe that had behaved themſelves well in the engagement, and lamenting the death of the reſt that had been ſlain in the fury of the battle; and cauſed the Duke of *Joyeuſe's* body to be ho-

nourably put into a leaden coffin, and delivered to thoſe that came to demand it, by whom it was carried to *Paris*, and there interred with great magnificence and ſolemnity. 1587.

This victory, which might juſtly be called the firſt cauſe and foundation of the King of *Navarre's* future good fortune; and was ſo much the more glorious, becauſe it was the firſt that the *Hugonots* had ever obtained in the courſe of ſo many wars, did not much diſpleaſe the King of *France*, not only becauſe he was deſirous that the King of *Navarre* ſhould not be totally ſuppreſſed, leſt the *Guiſe's* faction ſhould grow ſo powerful as to become abſolute commanders of all the forces in the kingdom, but becauſe the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, who had been raiſed altogether by his favour to ſuch a height of honour and greatneſs, had been guilty of the higheſt ingratitude to him, having, out of emulation with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, gone over to the League, and was, if not openly, at leaſt ſecretly united with the Lords of *Guiſe* in their deſigns. Nor did it make him at all uneaſy that the King of *Navarre*, by gaining the victory, and removing the obſtruction that was occaſioned by that army, was able to march forward to join the *Germans*. For he himſelf had taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſes upon the *Loire* with a much ſtronger army, and ſo guarded the banks of the river every where, that he was certain neither of the enemy's armies could get over it: and he hoped not only to drive back the *Germans* with honour, but alſo to make them inſtruments of ruining and ſuppreſſing the houſe of *Guiſe*, and of defeating all the power and machinations of the League.

At this time there was great diſcord and confuſion in the *German* camp. For there was neither money to pay them, nor any Prince of the blood, as had been promiſed, to command them, and their hopes of being able to join the King of *Navarre* now began to diminiſh. The Duke of *Eſpernon* likewiſe, who led the vanguard of the King's army, having often beaten up their quarters, they were thoroughly convinced that the King, contrary to the aſſurances given them by their commanders, had taken arms againſt them, and purſued them with a powerful army after they had turned back from the *Loire*. But the *Swiſs* infantry were more unruly than all the reſt; for ſeeing others of the ſame nation, with the publick enſigns of the cantons, in the King's army, though of a different religion, they were very unwilling to fight againſt their countrymen, and as loath to break their ancient confederacy and friendſhip with the King of *France*, by whoſe conſent, and for the good of whoſe kingdom, they were told they were to fight, when they came from home. And the death of Colonel *Tileman*, who commanded all the *Swiſs*, under the Sieur *De Clervant*, ſtill increaſed the diſorder. For as he died ſuddenly of a malignant fever, joined with the bloody flux, they had no commander left

1587. left that had authority enough to reſtrain the unruline ſs of the ſoldiers; ſo that they tumultuouſly reſolved to ſend deputies to the King of *France*, and endeavour to come to an agreement with him: which being come to the knowledge of the Baron *D'Onaw* and the *French* commanders, they made ſo much the more haſte to march away from the King's army, and to get into the country of *Beauſſe*, where the abundance of proviſions and pillage might make the *Swiſs* forget the tumultuous reſolution they had taken. But this precipitation only added to the former confuſion; for as there was a vaſt number of ſick men in the army, ſome of whom were left behind in their ſeveral quarters, and cruelly murdered by the country people, ſome put into the carriages, which travelled but very ſlowly after thoſe that were in health, and marched forward with ſo much expedition, they were obliged to quarter in a very ſtraggling diſorderly manner, and in different places.

All this was very well known to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who at their return from the *Loire*, wiſely put himſelf betwixt their army and the city of *Paris*, to keep that city firm in his intereſt, and at the ſame time to increaſe the affection that the people bore him, and his own reputation, as if he was the only bulwark that prevented that mighty army of the *Germans* from annoying the city and territories of *Paris*; whereas the King marched after them, though but ſlowly, and ſeemed to have given up all care of the *Pariſians*. In the mean time, he always took care to lie in places of ſecurity and advantage, not far from the enemy's army, but continually kept the roads well ſcoured by Captain *Tomaſo Fratta*, an *Albanian*, and the Sieur *De Vins*, who had the command of the light horſe, and ſending ſcouts abroad for inteiligence, gave him notice every minute of the motions and progreſs of the enemy. The *Germans* were come into the territories of *Montargis*, twenty-eight leagues from *Paris*, and, on the 26th of *October*, quartered themſelves in this manner: the Baron *D'Onaw*, with the better part of the cavalry, lay at *Vilmory*, a very large village; the *Swiſs*, under the walls of *Montargis*, which town was above two leagues from thence; and the reſt of the army ſcattered in ſeveral places about *Vilmory*, but ſome at the diſtance of a league, ſome of two leagues from the head quarters.

The manner of their lying, being reported to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and a draught of it brought to him by Captain *Tomaſo*, whilſt he was at table at *Courtenay*, with the Marquis *Du Pont* and the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Nemours*, *Aumale*, and *Elbeuf*, he ſat thoughtful and ſilent for a while, and then, having ſent for his Trumpet-major, commanded him to ſound *to horſe*, and that every body ſhould be ready to march in an hour's time. Upon which order, the Duke of *Mayenne* aſking him, "Whither he de-
"ſigned to go, and for what purpoſe?" he immediately anſwered, "To
"fight

" fight the enemy:" the Duke of *Mayenne*, who knew the inequality of their forces, could not help ſmiling at that, and ſaid, " He could " bear to be joaked with:" to which the Duke of *Guiſe* replied, with a grave countenance, " That he was in very good earneſt, and that thoſe " who had not the courage to fight, might ſtay in their quarters if they " pleaſed;" and without ſaying any more, put on his armour, and having ſet all things in order, inſtantly took horſe. His authority was ſuch, and his ſoldiers had ſo great confidence in him, that when it was known they were to go directly to attack the Reiters, there was no man diſmayed at the vaſt diſparity of their numbers; but, as if they were going to a certain victory, both horſe and foot, in emulation of each other, ſtrove which ſhould be firſt in order and ready to march. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Marquis *Du Pont*, conſidering the great ſuperiority of the *German* army, and that by coming to an engagement, the whole houſe of *Lorrain*, and the fortune of them all, was ſtaked upon a throw of the dice, and expoſed to infinite hazard, would have diſſuaded the Duke of *Guiſe* from his reſolution, by repreſenting to him, that they could never have imagined that he, who was a prudent and cautious man, would riſque his whole ſtate at ſo deſperate a game. But he ſtill perſiſted in his undertaking, and told them, that they might not think him too raſh, he would communicate his deſign to them, which was, to fall upon the enemy's head quarters about midnight, where he knew they did not keep ſo ſtrict guards as they ought, nor were ſo vigilant as military diſcipline required, being almoſt certain, that in the tumult and uncertainty of the night, the other quarters, not knowing who, nor how ſtrong they were, as the King's army was not far off, would never ſtir to the aſſiſtance of the head quarters, but would rather fortify themſelves in their own, till break of day. But it was moſt probable of all that the *Swiſs* would do ſo, who were at ſuch a diſtance, that they could not poſſibly come up time enough to help them. So that thoſe quarters being ſuddenly attacked, where they ſlept in eaſe and ſecurity, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger, he was certain of a victory, and in that manner to diſorder the whole army. And though he ſhould not ſucceed as he expected, which ſeemed almoſt impoſſible, he ſhould have both time and means ſufficient to retreat with his forces, as he was not incumbered with any baggage or carriages. But as the Duke of *Mayenne* did not ſeem thoroughly ſatisfied, and ſaid, " That indeed it was a " ſcheme likely enough to ſucceed, yet it ought to be well conſidered " and digeſted firſt;" he anſwered, in an angry ſort of a manner, " That " he that could not digeſt it in a quarter of an hour, would never digeſt " it as long as he lived." Upon which all the reſt ſubmitted to the opinion and authority of ſo great a man, and began their march at the ap-

1587.

1587. proach of the evening, with a deſign to be at *Vilmory* about midnight, which was ſeven leagues from them.

The Duke of *Guiſe* marched firſt of all, with thirty Gentlemen and ſixty *Albanian* light horſe. The infantry followed in two diviſions, one of which conſiſted of the regiments of *Ponſenac* and *Chevrieres*, commanded by the Sieur *De Cluſeau*; the other, of the regiments of *Gies* and *De Bourg*, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*. After theſe marched the cavalry; the vanguard, conſiſting of five hundred horſe, was led by the Duke of *Mayenne*; the battle, of four hundred, by the Marquis *Du Pont*, with whom were the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Elbeuf*; and the rear, which conſiſted of four hundred more, was conducted by the Duke of *Aumale* and the Chevalier his brother. In this order they arrived on the plain near *Vilmory* after midnight; and having met with no obſtacle from advanced guards, or parties that ought to have been patrolling there, the Duke of *Guiſe*, putting himſelf at the head of the infantry, led them ſilently into the *Bourg* (which conſiſting of a great many houſes, extends itſelf about half a mile in length) and entered ſo ſoftly, that the ſtreet was full of his ſoldiers, before the *Germans*, who were faſt aſleep, heard any thing at all of the matter. The cavalry was already drawn up in the field, and the Duke of *Mayenne* having the right hand, the Duke of *Aumale* the left, and the Marquis *Du Pont* the command of the center, ſurrounded the whole *Bourg* almoſt on every ſide, to catch them that ſhould fly from the fury of the foot, and endeavour to ſave themſelves in the field.

Things being diſpoſed in this manner, the Duke of *Guiſe* gave the ſignal to Colonel *St. Paul*, who with a furious volley of his muſketry ſet fire to the neareſt houſes, and the Colonel *Cluſeau* did the ſame on his ſide, ſo that in a very ſhort time the flames gave ſufficient light to the place of battle, if it may be called a battle, where the *Germans*, being ſo unexpectedly attacked, were either ſlain by the ſword, or burnt in the fire, or deſtroyed by an inceſſant ſhower of balls from the ſmall arms, without being able to make any reſiſtance. The Baron *D'Onaw* alone, who lay at the fartheſt part of all the town, had time to get on horſeback before the ſtorm of the infantry fell upon him, and ſeeing the main ſtreet which led into the field was all on fire, and in poſſeſſion of the enemy's ſoldiers, he turned upon the right hand, with an hundred horſe that followed him, and galloped through a very narrow ſtreet into the field; where, being encountered by the vanguard, which was led up by the Duke of *Mayenne*, to charge him, as he was a moſt valiant and undaunted ſoldier, he ruſhed furiouſly into the midſt of the enemy, and meeting with the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, gallantly diſcharged a piſtol in his very face, the ball of which ſtriking ſomething low upon the chin of his helmet,

did

did him no harm at all. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, having taken notice that the Baron was without his head-piece, becauſe he had not time to put on all his armour, gave him a ſtroke with his ſword croſs the forehead: notwithſtanding which he paſſed on into the midſt of the ſquadron, and with his other piſtol killed the perſon that carried the Duke's colours. But all the vanguard cloſing upon him, after he had left above eighty of his men dead upon the ſpot, he broke through the whole ſquadron, with only fourteen in his company, and made his eſcape, by the favour of the night, to *Chaſteau Landon*, where another part of his army was quartered. In the mean time the infantry had made an end of deſtroying the reſt of his forces, moſt of whom periſhed in the fire of the town, and with ſo little danger to the conquerors, that only three men were wounded. But there was ſuch a quantity of ſpoil and rich plunder, that never any ſoldiers were more laden with wealth than they. For beſides ſeven pair of colours, two camels that carried the General's baggage, and two braſs kettle drums, which for ſtate waited upon the colours of the chief commander, the ſoldiers took above two thouſand eight hundred horſes, many gold chains, no ſmall ſtore of plate, rich cloaths, and other things of exceeding great value, beſides the money found about thoſe that were dead; and the ſhares of their booty were ſo much the more conſiderable, as the number of ſoldiers was but ſmall. The Duke of *Guiſe*, who had haſted to the aſſiſtance of his brother the Duke of *Mayenne*, whither the uproar and tumult of the fight directed him, found that the enemy was defeated, and the Baron *D'Onaw* fled, with the loſs but of ſeventeen Gentlemen of the Duke of *Mayenne's* own troop, and only four more wounded: and when he ſaw every thing in his own power, that he might not give the other quarters time to fall upon him, nor the *Swiſs* to move that way, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded before break of day, and with his infantry, all mounted on horſeback, returned in the ſame order to his own quarters. The number of the ſlain was never ſo uncertain in any action as in this: for though one ſide endeavoured to exaggerate, and the other to extenuate it, yet it is moſt certain there could not be any true or particular account of it, as the greateſt part of them periſhed in the fire. 1587.

This overthrow much diſmayed the *Germans*, who thought the Duke of *Guiſe's* activity and courage moſt wonderful, and therefore ſtood in exceeding great fear of him. But they were no leſs terrified at the extreme careleſſneſs of the Baron *D'Onaw*, who, by his neglect and want of military diſcipline, had given this opportunity to the vigilance and celerity of the enemy. So that if the diſorders and confuſion were very great amongſt them before, they were afterwards increaſed to ſuch a height, by their dread of the Catholicks and the diſtruſt of their own Ge-

1587. neral, as opened a way to their utter deſtruction. For the *Swiſs* immediately ſent deputies to the King of *France*, who, being introduced by the Duke of *Nevers*, were received by him with a ſtern countenance, and in an angry ſort of a manner: not that he was not very glad to come to an agreement with them, but becauſe he was deſirous to deſer it a while longer, that the *German* army might not be diſperſed till the Duke of *Guiſe's* boldneſs and thirſt of glory had led him to the brink of ruin. The Reiters likewiſe, eſpecially thoſe that had loſt their baggage in the deſeat at *Vilmory*, mutinied, and demanded their pay: and the *French* commanders, diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, could hardly keep their infantry together, which was grievouſly harraſſed and worn out by the exceſſive rains of the autumn. So that every thing on their ſide tended to manifeſt deſtruction.

But it happened luckily, that *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, who had been deſigned, from the beginning, to be their General, arrived at this juncture in the army. For though he came but with few attendants, without any money, and was not of himſelf very well qualified for ſuch a command; yet, as he was a Prince of the blood, and ſon to the ſo much renowned and glorious Prince of *Condé*, his arrival filled the whole army with joy. Upon which, the commanders taking courage, prevailed ſo much upon the *Swiſs*, by their ſollicitations and earneſt intreaties, that they reſolved to follow the camp, and to wait for news from the King of *Navarre*, before they concluded their agreement with the King of *France*. But their ſpirits and hopes were quite raiſed again, by the report of the battle at *Coutras*, and the death of the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, which, having paſſed through the enemy's country, had at laſt reached them: ſo that they began to think that the King of *Navarre*, being now victorious, would certainly find ſome way or other to paſs the *Loire*, and come to join them. Theſe appearances of ſucceſs, however, were more than balanced by the real difficulties that obſtructed their deſigns: for after they had turned back from the *Loire* to march towards *Vendoſme*, the King, having left the banks of that river well guarded, had advanced himſelf to hinder them from paſſing any farther, cauſing the Duke of *Eſpernon* with the vanguard to harraſs and diſtreſs them in their march: and the Duke of *Guiſe* following them cloſe in the rear, continually annoyed them, and kept them in alarm with frequent ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes as they were quartering, ſometimes as they were riſing, and ſometimes in their march. Yet the whole army continued their feaſting and rejoicings for the Prince of *Conti's* arrival; and to refreſh themſelves, and recover their ſtrength and ſpirits, they had taken up their quarters at *Auneau*, in the territory of *Chartres*, a great town, well furniſhed with buildings, and abounding in proviſions. And becauſe the caſtle was tolerably ſtrong, and held by a Governor

Governor and garriſon of the King's, they had blocked up all the avenues that led to it, and embarraſſed them with carriages chained together, with caſks and logs of wood, and other ſuch like lumber, placing out-ſentinels on every ſide. With theſe precautions they thought themſelves ſo ſecure, that they determined to ſtay in thoſe quarters three or four days, not only to repoſe themſelves, but to conſult what courſe they ſhould take, as the commanders had not yet come to any ſettled reſolution. And becauſe *Auneau*, though a large town, could not contain ſo great a number, many of them quartered thereabouts, and in the neighbouring villages, making entertainments and rejoicings every where for the Prince's arrival, and the King of *Navarre's* victory, and drinking enormouſly, according to the cuſtom of the *Germans*. In which they indulged themſelves ſo much the more, as the feaſt of St. *Martin*, and the great plenty of wines that year, encouraged their natural propenſity to debauch and exceſs. 1587.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who watched all opportunities with the utmoſt attention, being informed that the *Germans* intended to ſtay ſome days at *Auneau*, ſecretly diſpatched the Sieur *De Vins* to the Governor of the caſtle, promiſing him very great things, if he would let him have a paſſage ſome night through the caſtle, that he might fall unexpectedly upon the enemy. The Governor was in ſome doubt how to behave in the affair, becauſe all the wealth of the neighbouring towns was lodged in that fortreſs; and as he had taken money from the country people to ſecure them, that no ſoldiers ſhould enter into it who might carry off their effects, he ſeemed unwilling to let in the army. Yet he willingly conſented to let the Duke paſs under the wall, upon a narrow bank that reaches from the raveline of the caſtle-gate to a very broad lake, which ſpreads itſelf over a great part of the fields. But the Sieur *De Vins*, conſidering that it was not adviſeable to put themſelves in the power of a mercenary man, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to be maſters of the caſtle, that, whatever ſhould be the event, the foot might have a ſecure retreat, he brought it about, that the Governor came firſt to confer with Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, Marſhal-General of the field, and then with the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, by whom he was ſo prevailed upon, by preſents and very large promiſes, that he at laſt conſented to receive him into the fortreſs, after he had given his word that the goods of the country people ſhould ſuffer no damage from the ſoldiers. So that on the 11th of *November*, which is the feaſt of St. *Martin*, the Duke of *Guiſe* departed from his quarters at *Dourlans* towards the evening, and made ſo ſpeedy a march, that he arrived with his forces, not much fatigued, at the caſtle of *Auneau*, ſoon after midnight. The back gate of which being opened, he entered, with a hundred muſketeers, in very great ſilence; and the reſt of the

1587. the infantry, to the number of three thouſand, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*, ſtood ready along the bank under the caſtle-wall, to aſſault the town and the barricadoes which the *Germans* had made. Whilſt, at the ſame time the cavalry had encompaſſed the lake, and being divided into three ſquadrons, had taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes towards the field, to drive thoſe back that ſhould endeavour to make their eſcape that way. Colonel *Joannes* was alſo arrived at the ſame place, with ſix hundred muſketiers, mounted behind his horſemen, and had taken poſt in the paſſage to that gate which leads into the fields, juſt over-againſt the caſtle.

It was already break of day, and the Reiters drums began to beat the *reveille*, when the infantry aſſaulted the barricadoes with prodigious fury. And though many ſtill lay buried in wine and ſleep, yet the guards that were awake bravely ſuſtained the aſſault, and the ſucceſs was doubtful for a time, till the Catholick infantry cleared the way by ſetting fire to the carriages and barrels, and removing the impediments that blocked it up. Upon which, the *German* guards not being able to ſupport themſelves any longer, were ſoon cut to pieces, and Colonel *St. Paul* entered the ſtreet on the left hand with the firſt ſquadron, and Colonel *Ponſenac* the ſtreet on the right hand with the ſecond ſquadron, where they fiercely ſet upon thoſe few Reiters, who, not having had time to get on horſeback, came up to meet them on foot with their piſtols in their hands. But the fight was very unequal; for the muſketiers ſhot them at a diſtance, and the pikemen overturned all that came in their way: ſo that the Reiters, having nothing but their ſwords and ſhort piſtols, could never come ſo near as to give the enemy one blow, and in a very little while all turned their backs, thinking to ſave themſelves in the fields. But finding the way ſtopped, and the gate in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and being alſo driven back by *Joannes's* muſketiers, who had ſecured that paſſage, they fell into ſo great terror and confuſion, that they were preſently ſlain by the Duke's infantry without reſiſtance. Some few, who had got over the walls, and were flying croſs the field, were overtaken by the horſe, and either miſerably put to death, or made priſoners. Only the Baron *D'Onaw*, much more fortunate in eſcaping than fighting, having, by the help of a woman, got over the wall toward the marſhy ſide of the lake, ſaved his life, and fled to the *Swiſs's* quarters, which were a little more than a league from thence. The ſlaughter of the *Germans* was very great and terrible, for being encloſed on every ſide (as Colonel *Joannes* was at laſt come in alſo at the field-gate) they ſet up a moſt lamentable cry, and were all put to the ſword without diſtinction. This bloody ſcene continued till the Baron *D'Onaw* got to the *Swiſs*: and the *French* commanders being come to the ſame place from the other quarters, he exhorted, intreated, and conjured them all to follow him, promiſing them

them a certain victory over the Catholicks, who being now in confuſion, buſied in plundering and killing, and wearied out with watching, marching, and fighting, could not be able to ſtand againſt ſo much a greater number, with which they might inſtantly fall upon them. But ſuch a panick had ſeized them, that it was not poſſible to perſuade them to it: and the *French* commanders, conſidering that the infantry might retire ſafe into the caſtle, and that the cavalry, which was ſtill freſh and entire, had poſſeſſion of the paſſage towards the field, diſſuaded the Baron from that attempt; and contenting themſelves with putting the reſt of the army in order, propoſed only to defend their poſt. The Duke of *Guiſe*, after his ſoldiers were glutted with ſlaughter, enriched with ſpoil, all gallantly mounted, and from foot ſoldiers now become horſemen, retired, with eleven of the enemy's colours and all their baggage, to *Eſtampes*; from whence, after he had given God thanks, he immediately ſent away the colours as a preſent to the King, giving him an account, in a vaunting and oſtentatious manner, of ſo glorious a victory, which he had ſo eaſily obtained, and without any loſs on his ſide. 1587.

But the King, ſeeing the event prove quite contrary to his deſigns, now determined to purſue the remainder of the *German* army in good earneſt, that he might have a ſhare in that glory, which he ſaw reſulted from victory: and therefore immediately ſent the Duke of *Eſpernon* that way, whilſt he himſelf followed him at the head of all his army, with a full reſolution to face the enemy. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, after the example of the Duke of *Guiſe*, frequently attempted to beat up the *Germans* quarters, but with ſmall ſucceſs. For the experience of the commanders, the valour of the ſoldiers, and their fortune were all very unequal; circumſtances which often produce very different conſequences, from the ſame cauſes and deſigns. Wherefore, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, by the King's direction, began again to treat of an agreement with the *Swiſs*, by means of the Sieur *De Cormons*, a *Hugonot* Gentleman, who had been taken a few days before in a ſkirmiſh betwixt the armies. The *Swiſs* indeed were reduced to a very ſad condition by perpetual marches; without money, having never received their pay: daunted at the defeat of the Reiters, and unwilling to fight againſt the colours of their own nation: and ſo much the more, becauſe they had not a General of authority and experience ſufficient to govern and command them, from which they concluded, that the end of ſo great an army would be miſerable and ruinous; ſo that it was no very difficult matter to make them ſubmit to the King upon certain conditions. And when their commanders went to wait upon his Majeſty, they were kindly received (that he might not affront that nation) and having been magnificently entertained by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, obtained a ſafe conduct to return to their own houſes, which was alſo punctually obſerved,

1587. though hardſhips, and fatigues, and ſickneſs, had left but few alive out of ſo great a number.

The Reiters and their commanders, and the *French* ſoldiers, being diſheartened by the two late defeats, and deſerted by the *Swiſs*, reſolved to turn back, and endeavour to get out of the confines of *France* by the way of *Burgundy*, hoping to eſcape ſafe into the towns of *Germany*, and the territories of *Baſil*. And with that reſolution, being united and drawn cloſe together, they began their march that way. But it was not ſo eaſy as they thought to get thither. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, being returned into *Burgundy*, took great care to guard the confines. And the Sieur *De Mandelot* and the Count *De Tournon*, having marched out of *Lions* with the provincial forces, were alſo advanced to hinder them: the King was but half a day's march behind them, and ſtraitened them in the rear: and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with his uſual celerity, ſometimes on the flank, ſometimes in the rear, and ſometimes getting before them, continually harraſſed and diſtreſſed them. The *French* infantry was quite tired out, ſo that the ſoldiers deſerted, and concealed themſelves in the cities and villages through which they paſſed; the horſes being jaded and unſhod, could not follow the haſty march of their commanders: and the loſs of their baggage, the want of money, the ſcarcity of proviſions (as all the people hid what they had in ſome ſecure place) the heavy rains, and dirtineſs of the roads, which are always deep in *Burgundy*, their continual fatigues, watching, ſickneſs, and diſcord, had reduced them to extreme deſpair. Upon which account, by the interpoſition of the ſame Sieur *De Cormons*, they determined to ſubmit to the King's mercy, who offered to grant them a moſt ample ſafe conduct, provided they would deliver all their colours furled up into his hands, and promiſe never more to take up arms againſt him.

The Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Boüillon*, the Sieurs *De Clervant*, *Chaſtillon*, and other *French* commanders, took great pains to prevent their coming to ſuch a reſolution, promiſing them their arrears of pay, and ſpeedy relief from the King of *Navarre*; and endeavoured to perſuade them not to ſubmit to the diſgrace of acknowledging themſelves conquered and ſubdued: alledging, that the forces in *Lionnois* were not ſo ſtrong, but they might paſs that way, and get with ſafety into the territory of *Geneva*. But whilſt theſe things were carrying on, being informed that the Reiters perſiſted in their reſolution to ſubmit, and intended to make them priſoners, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the King, and ſecure the pay which was due to them, they ſecretly determined to ſeparate, and try to ſave themſelves by taking different ways, before the *Germans* could have an opportunity of executing their deſign.

The Duke of *Boüillon*, therefore, with a few horſe, made his eſcape without

without delay, by the way of *Roane* and *Lionnois*, and avoiding the common roads, after many difficulties and dangers got to *Geneva*, where, being worn out with grief and fatigue, he died a few days after, leaving his eſtate to his ſiſter, whom he recommended to the care of the Duke of *Montpenſier*. Monſieur *De Chaſtillon*, with an hundred Cuiraſſiers, and two hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback, having often encountered the provincial forces of *Burgundy* and *Lionnois*, with very good ſucceſs and no leſs valour, at laſt arrived in *Languedoc*, and retired to his government of *Vivarez*. The Sieur *De Clervant*, who had concealed himſelf amongſt the *Swiſs* that went away with a ſafe conduct, eſcaped in their company to *Baſil*. The Prince of *Conti*, with a few horſe, got through by-roads, and in a ſecret manner, to his own houſe; and the other commanders, taking different ways, met likewiſe with different fortunes. 1587.

The Reiters, having obtained leave of the King to carry home their colours, but not flying, divided themſelves into two parts, one with the Baron *D'Onaw*, and Colonel *Damartine*, paſſed through *Savoy*, where, being reduced to the number of five hundred only, they were plundered by the Duke's forces. The other, with the Baron *De Epſe*, marching through *Burgundy* to the confines of the county of *Montbeliart*, was followed by the Marquis *Du Pont* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, by whom they were overtaken without the borders of *France*, and all cut to pieces in different encounters. But this did not ſatisfy thoſe chiefs of the League; for they furiouſly ſacked and burnt moſt of the towns and caſtles in that county, not only to revenge the like outrages committed by the Reiters in *Lorrain*, but becauſe that Count had been the principal author of raiſing thoſe forces. The ſlaughter of the *Germans* was indeed very lamentable, even in the eyes of their enemies. For being ſeized with fevers, and weakened to ſuch a degree with the bloody flux, that they fell down in the highways and towns as they paſſed, they were knocked on the head without mercy by the country people. Amongſt numbers of others, eighteen of them, that were left ſick at a poor cottage in *Burgundy*, were cruelly butchered, like common animals, by a woman, who cut all their throats with a knife, in revenge for the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained.

Nor did thoſe three thouſand *Swiſs* meet with better fortune that had gone into *Dauphiné*, under the command of the Sieur *De Cugy*, to join Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, who kept the *Hugonot* party alive in that province, though he could make no great progreſs for want of forces, but employed himſelf in taking places of ſmall importance, and in actions of little moment, having with him but a very few foot ſoldiers, and only the *Hugonot* Gentlemen of that country. Theſe *Swiſs*, together with four hundred *French* muſketiers, having paſſed the narrow defiles, were marching forwards to join him. But as they were paſſing the river *Iſare*, they were

1587. attacked by Monſieur *De la Valette*, brother to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, with the cavalry of *Provence*, and by Colonel *Alphonſo Ornano*, a native of *Corſica* (commonly called, for that reaſon, *Alphonſo Corſo*) with the infantry of *Dauphinè*, and ſo furiouſly charged there, that, all the reſt being killed upon the ſpot, only ſixty of them eſcaped from ſo great a ſlaughter. Upon which, the Sieur *Les Diguieres* himſelf was alſo obliged to retire to the mountains.

Such was the end of that mighty army of the *Germans*; after the defeat of which, the King returned armed to *Paris*, and entered the city in a triumphant manner, on the 23d of *December*, where he was, in appearance, joyfully received by the people: but it was plain, from the incredible acclamations of every one, eſpecially of the *Pariſians*, that all the honour redounded to the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe glorious actions now became the ſubject of endleſs applauſe and admiration, and were daily celebrated by the tongues and pens of his whole party.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK IX.

ARGUMENT.

The deſign of the Duke of Guiſe and the League to depoſe the King, and utterly ſuppreſs the Hugonot party, whilſt the people are elated by the victory. The Pariſians aſſent to it, and are more reſolute than the reſt: they make preparations to ſeize upon the King's perſon, and to ſhut him up in a monaſtery. The King, being adviſed of it, reſolves to curb their inſolence; and for that purpoſe cauſes his Swiſs to draw near the city, and makes other proviſions. The Pariſians, finding they were diſcovered, ſend for the Duke of Guiſe to protect them. At his arrival they take up arms, make barricadoes, drive away the Swiſs, and beſiege the King in his palace. He, not being able to make any reſiſtance, ſecretly flies from Paris, and retires to Chartres, and from thence to Roüen. He reſolves to make a peace with the Duke of Guiſe,

which is negotiated by the Queen Mother, and concluded. The Duke of Eſpernon leaves the court, and retires to Angouleſme: where his life is in great danger, by a conſpiracy amongſt the citizens. The Duke of Guiſe comes to the King at Chartres, and is advanced to greater power and favour than ever. The ſtates are aſſembled at Blois, as it had been agreed in the articles of peace. The Pope declares Cardinal Moreſmi his Legate in France. The King diſmiſſes the High Chancellor, Secretary Villeroy, and the Sieur De Bellievre from court. He ſends an army, commanded by the Duke of Nevers, againſt the King of Navarre: who, after taking many places, lays ſiege to Ganache. The aſſembly is opened at Blois: the practices and machinations of both ſides there. The Duke of Guiſe cauſeth the ſtates to demand, that the King of Navarre may be declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, and endeavours to get himſelf created Lieutenant-General, with abſolute authority over the army, and in the kingdom, as his father had been formerly. News comes, that the Duke of Savoy had ſeized upon the marquiſate of Saluzzo: which gives a new turn to affairs. But the Duke of Guiſe ſo contrives it, that all redounds to his power and advantage. The King, being very much diſtreſſed, reſolves to get the Duke of Guiſe aſſaſſinated: he finds many difficulties and impediments in it, but at laſt his deſign is accompliſhed; and upon Chriſtmas Eve, the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal his brother are ſlain, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, with many others, impriſoned. He ſends Colonel Alphonſo Corſo to ſeize upon the Duke of Mayenne at Lions: but he has intelligence of it, and retires to Dijon. The Queen Mother dies in the ſeventieth year of her age, and things continue in great confuſion.

1587. THE *Hugonot* party was no leſs dejected, than the League was elevated at the defeat of the *German* army. For the King of *Navarre*, having received the news of ſo great a loſs, though he was victorious on the other ſide of the *Loire*, yet being afraid that the ſtorm would ſuddenly diſcharge itſelf upon his head, retired, without making any other attempt, to his uſual place of refuge, the city of *Rochelle*, and the other heads of his party ſhut themſelves up in the ſtrongeſt places, waiting to ſee the event of ſuch reſolutions, as they knew would be taken againſt them.

On the other hand, the Duke of *Guiſe*, being arrived at *Nancy* with the other Lords of his family, after he had laid waſte the county of *Montbeliart*, began, without further delay, to conſult about the means of ſpeedily accompliſhing the deſigns of the League, and how he might beſt turn the conſequences of the late victory to his own advantage. In this conſultation, which was reſumed at different times, for many days, the greater part of the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*, forgetting all moderation, ſo neceſſary

neceſſary in proſperity, and ſpreading their ſails very boldly before the wind, talked of no leſs than the utter extirpation of the *Hugonots*, the depoſing of the King, and putting him into a cloiſter (as they had learned from hiſtory had been done in former times to *Chilperic*) of deſtroying the houſe of *Bourbon*, of pulling down the minions and favourites of the court, and dividing the great offices and dignities of the crown amongſt themſelves, and, in ſhort, of ruling and governing the whole kingdom of *France* at their pleaſure: and were ſo puffed up with preſumption upon their own merit, that their counſels were neither meaſured by juſtice nor poſſibility; taking it for granted, that every thing was in their power, and that it was not only lawful for them to undertake, but eaſy to execute any enterpriſe, how high or important ſoever. Theſe vaſt deſigns were in ſome meaſure oppoſed by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who being of a mild and temperate diſpoſition, equally averſe to running any riſque, and to the pretenſions of the Lords of *Guiſe*, endeavoured, by the authority he had, as head of that family, to moderate thoſe counſels, which he thought too precipitate, and to keep things, as much as poſſible, within the bounds of reaſon. The Duke of *Mayenne* was of the ſame way of thinking, and concurred with him in it; being of opinion, as he ever had been, that they continually expoſed the whole fortune of their family to the utmoſt danger, without any evident neceſſity. But the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Chevalier his brother, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Elbeuf*, the Count *De Chaligny*, and, above all the reſt, the Duke of *Guiſe*, impelled not only by the intrepidity of his own nature, and the confidence that he had in his great abilities, but by the proſperous ſucceſs of all his undertakings, could bear no delay in the purſuit of the hopes he had conceived, and inſiſted, not without reaſon, that the longer they deferred, the more time they gave the King to contrive their ruin, and to compleat the deſign of ſuppreſſing them, which he had already formed. 1587.

This diverſity of opinions obliged them to determine upon a middle courſe; and accordingly, about the end of *January*, one thouſand five hundred and eighty eight, they came to two reſolutions. One was, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, with all his forces, and ſome aſſiſtance out of the Low Countries, ſhould attack the towns that belonged to the Duke of *Bouillon*, in order to root the *Hugonots* out of thoſe parts, and to keep the forces of the League in breath and diſcipline. The other, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the reſt of the confederate Lords, ſhould not immediately oppoſe the King's perſon at the firſt; but that they ſhould unite with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to ſtrengthen their pretenſions, and to make it appear, that things of themſelves naturally tended to the completion of their deſigns: after which, they ſhould preſent a petition to his Majeſty, containing many demands in their favour, which would neceſſitate him to declare 1588.

1588. declare his final reſolution. For if he granted them, their deſires would be fulfilled without noiſe or diſturbance; and if he denied them, he would thereby give them a plauſible reaſon and opportunity to take up arms, and to extort that by force, which he would not conſent to of his own accord.

The conjuncture for invading the Duchy of *Boüillon* was in appearance very opportune. For the Duke himſelf, and his brother, the Count *De la Mark*, being both dead, and having left *Charlotte* their ſiſter ſole heir to their dominions, under the guardianſhip of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Lords of the League well knew that he, being a Catholick, was not at all acceptable to the city of *Sedan*, *Jamets*, and other places in that Dukedom, and that they did not much confide in him, though he was their Governor. And Monſieur *De la Noüe*, executor of the late Duke's will, was not only abſent, but alſo, to deliver himſelf from the impriſonment of the *Spaniards*, by whom he had been taken in the Low-Country wars, had promiſed not to bear arms againſt his Catholick Majeſty, nor againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*. From whence it ſeemed probable, that as *Charlotte* ſtood in need of a powerful protection, and was likewiſe embroiled with the Count *De Montlevrier*, her uncle, who pretended a right to her inheritance, ſhe would hardly be able to reſiſt the forces of the Duke of *Lorrain*, as he alſo, by virtue of an old title, laid claim to many places in that ſtate. All theſe things being conſidered, the Duke, without loſing a moment of time, having got an army in readineſs, under the command of the Marquis his ſon, accompanied by the Sieurs *De Rhoſnè* and *Oſſonville*, after he had over-run and plundered all the country, laid ſiege to *Jamets*, in full expectation of taking it. But he found it a very difficult undertaking. For Monſieur *De Schelandre*, who was the Governor of it, made a very prudent and careful proviſion for the defence of it: and Monſieur *De la Noüe*, having firſt made a long apology in writing for exerting himſelf in a defenſive war, to maintain the rights of an helpleſs orphan, came to *Sedan*, and began to make vigorous preparations to ſupport the war. So that the ſiege of *Jamets*, growing cooler and cooler every day, laſted till the end of the year, at which time other things happened, that called away their forces to enterpriſes of greater importance.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, having departed from *Nancy* and come into his government of *Champagne*, cauſed a long writing, in the names of himſelf, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other heads of the League, to be preſented to the King; in which, after a large preamble and many remonſtrances, very artfully laid together, they demanded in ſubſtance: "That he would cordially and ſincerely unite with them, and declare "himſelf head of the League, to the utter deſtruction and extirpation of "the *Hugonots*: That he would diſmiſs thoſe perſons from his court, his

" councils, and from their employments, that ſhould be ſpecified by the " Catholick Princes, as ſuſpected and ill affected to their religion: That he " would cauſe the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be received and " obſerved throughout his whole kingdom, except in thoſe articles which " were of manifeſt prejudice to the privileges of the *Gallican* church: " That he would put ſuch places as ſhould be thought proper, into the " hands of the confederate Princes, for their ſecurity, where they might " keep garriſons, and make all neceſſary fortifications, at the expence of the " crown: That he would maintain an army upon the confines of *Lorrain*, " under the command of one of the confederate Princes, to prevent the " incurſions of foreigners: That he would order all the eſtates of the *Hu-* " *gonots* to be immediately confiſcated and ſold, to defray the charges of " the late wars, and to aſſiſt the confederates in any future contingencies." 1588.

Such was the ſubſtance of that writing, though it contained many other things of leſs importance: and when it was preſented to the King, in the beginning of *February*, he received it with his uſual diſſimulation, and deferred his anſwer, according to cuſtom, to another time. Nor was the Duke of *Guiſe* very importunate to know his reſolution; for the intent of thoſe demands was only to render the King contemptible and odious in the eyes of his ſubjects, and ſuſpected of favouring the *Hugonots*; and to furniſh the League with a ſpecious pretence of taking up arms, and proſecuting their ſecret deſigns, before the gale of popular applauſe began to blow over. But theſe artifices were unneceſſary to enflame the populace: for the grievances which the expences of the war, the maintaining of ſo many armies, and the King's own profuſe manner of living daily increaſed, had entirely alienated the hearts of the people from him. The fame and ſplendour of the Duke of *Guiſe's* victories had eclipſed the Majeſty of his name; his obſtinate fondneſs of his minions, had cooled the affections of his moſt faithful and ancient ſervants, and the *Pariſians*, who were entirely influenced by the ambitious deſigns of *The council of ſixteen*, could no longer endure his government. The city was full of defamatory pamphlets, political diſcourſes, groundleſs tales, and ſatyrical verſes, which not only abuſed and vilified the Duke of *Eſpernon's* good name, but made very free with his Majeſty. On the other ſide, all the ſtreets, and every corner of *Paris*, reſounded with the praiſes of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was celebrated both in proſe and verſe by a thouſand writers, with the titles of *The new David*, *The ſecond Moſes*, *The deliverer of the Catholick people*, *The prop and pillar of the holy church*. And the preachers openly inveighing againſt the preſent government, in their wonted manner, but with much greater licence, filled the ears of the people with wonders, or miracles as they called them, of this *New Gideon*, who was come into the world for the preſervation of *France*. Which things ſpreading from the city of

Paris,

1588. *Paris*, as from the heart, diffuſed themſelves through all the provinces, which became poſſeſſed with the ſame impreſſions, to the diſadvantage of the King, and in favour of the League. This commotion was not a little increaſed by the King's own proceedings; who being either blinded with the affection that he bore to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, or becauſe he was not willing to advance other men, whom he had no great reaſon to truſt, declared him Admiral of the Kingdom, and Governor of *Normandy*, places that were vacant by the death of the Duke *De Joyeuſe*. This pierced the Duke of *Guiſe* to the heart, when he ſaw that the King continued his former manner of proceeding, and that one man alone engroſſed all the power and favour of the court, whilſt he himſelf, his brother, and the reſt of his family, how conſiderable ſoever their ſervices had been, could not obtain any thing at all. So that, forgetting the reſolutions that had been determined upon at *Nancy*, and that precaution and moderation which the Duke of *Lorrain* had recommended, he immediately began to think of reducing the authority of the government into his own hands, making the *Pariſians* his principal inſtruments; who, being no leſs diſpleaſed and incenſed than himſelf, earneſtly ſollicited him to take that reſolution. Wherefore, having received particular information of the ſtate of things from *The council of ſixteen*, by which they aſſured him, that they had twenty thouſand armed men in the city at their devotion, ready to go upon any enterpriſe, and that they were divided into ſixteen corps, to every one of which they had appointed a commander; and that the reſt of the people, without doubt, would follow the motions of the principal men, as they were ill affected to the King and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and at the ſame time moſt zealous in the cauſe of religion. He, conſidering that confuſion generally ariſes in a multitude, and that ſixteen ſeveral corps could not ſo ſoon and ſo readily join all together in one body when occaſion ſhould require, wrote to the Council, deſiring they would leſſen that number, and reduce it to five, and appoint them a place where they ſhould meet, upon a ſignal that ſhould be given them, and that they would diſpoſe things in ſuch a manner as might prevent diſorder and confuſion. And, that he might not only abſolutely aſſure himſelf that the affair ſhould proceed according to his own deſigns, but becauſe he durſt not truſt to the ſmall experience of thoſe heads that were choſen and appointed by the *Pariſians*, he ſent them five commanders, who were to regulate the five diviſions, and to moderate and direct the courſe of an armed multitude. Theſe were the Count *De Briſſac*, the Sieurs *De Bois-Dauphine*, *De Chamois*, *De Eſclavoles*, and Colonel *St. Paul*, to whom was likewiſe added the Sieur *De Meneville*, who from the firſt had been the contriver and chief manager of that undertaking. All theſe came publickly to *Paris*, on pretence of private buſineſs; and being lodged in ſuch quarters of the city as were aſſigned them, frequented

quented the court, and followed their affairs, leaving the care to *Merevile* of bringing the matter to maturity. And to add the greater weight to it, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent inſtructions to the Duke of *Aumale*, (who had ſome forces with him in *Picardy*, in order to make himſelf obeyed by many Governors of places there, who, at the inſtigation of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, refuſed to acknowledge his authority) that he ſhould keep five hundred good horſe in readineſs to be at hand in due time, to give life and vigour to the attempts of the *Pariſians*; who being informed that ſuch orders were given, ſollicited *John de Conty*, one of the Sheriffs, or *Eſchevins* of the city, as they are uſually called, to let them have the keys of *St. Martin's* gate, which he kept by virtue of his office, that when there ſhould be a proper opportunity, they might bring in thoſe forces that were to come out of *Picardy*. But as he ſeemed unwilling to comply with that requeſt, they applied to *Pierre Brigard*, another of the *Eſchevins*, who promiſed them the keys of *St. Dennis's* gate, by which they might be introduced as conveniently as by *St. Martin's*. And becauſe they were apprehenſive that *Conty*, who had refuſed them that favour, might diſcover the affair to the King, they found means to have him repreſented as a heretick, and guilty of many other miſdeameanors, endeavouring by that method to diſcredit him, that ſo his information might not be believed. 1588.

Things being diſpoſed in this manner, the means of executing them ſtill remained to be conſidered. The commanders ſent by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the major part of thoſe that were choſen by *The council of ſixteen*, thought that to attack the *Louvre*, where the King lay, ſurrounded with his guards, and the Nobility that attended him, would be a very hazardous enterprize, and of too violent a nature, and not at all likely to ſucceed. They likewiſe foreſaw, that the fact would appear very atrocious in the eyes of the whole kingdom; that if it failed in the leaſt point, or ſhould become a work of time, many commotions would ariſe, and the King might poſſibly get the better of them. For which reaſons they unanimouſly reſolved, to take the opportunity which the time of *Lent* would afford them, of ſeizing upon his perſon, when he walked in proceſſion with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, as he uſed to do, in the habit of a penitent, amongſt *The whipping Friars*, neither attended by his guards, nor the common retinue of the court; and that as ſoon as he was ſecured, he ſhould be ſhut up in a monaſtery, under a ſtrong guard, on pretence of defending him from the violence of a popular tumult, cauſed by the reſentment of the common people, who were exaſperated by the heavy burdens that were laid upon them, and provoked by the inſolence of the minions. After which, the Duke of *Aumale's* five hundred horſe ſhould immediately enter the city, to take poſſeſſion of the principal places, and keep them well guarded, till the arrival of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who ſhould

1588. assemble the States General, and by repreſenting to them the King's incapacity, with his evil government, and worſe intentions, might cauſe the affairs of the kingdom to be managed at the arbitrement and to the ſatisfaction of the League.

But *Nickolas Poulain*, who was privy to the whole conſpiracy, preſently took an opportunity, by means of the High Chancellor, of acquainting the King with the reſolution that had been taken. And though, on account of the enormity and improbability of the attempt, he did not abſolutely give credit to that information, which was founded upon no other bottom than the bare affirmation of *Poulain*, a man of no very good repute, and therefore liable to be ſuſpected of private views and expectation of a reward for ſuch a ſervice: yet he thought it convenient to take all neceſſary precautions, and pretended to be indiſpoſed, that he might have a reaſonable excuſe not to go any more to thoſe ſpiritual exerciſes, with the fraternity of the penitents, during that ſeaſon. And, that he might be the better aſſured of the truth, he ordered *Poulain* to be introduced ſecretly one night into his cloſet; and in the preſence of the High Chancellor, Monſieur *D'O*, and the Abbé *Del Bene*, examined him ſtrictly concerning all the circumſtances that he had diſcovered to them, ſeeming not to believe him, and to ſuſpect, that he was employed and ſuborned to ſay ſo by thoſe of the *Hugonot* party. But *Poulain*, with an undiſturbed countenance, and in a diſtinct narrative, confirmed all that he had told the Chancellor, even to the minuteſt and moſt particular circumſtances of the conſpiracy, naming all the accomplices, and giving a clear account of the whole affair from the very beginning: and at laſt, freely offered to be put in priſon, and kept there, till he had juſtified all that he had ſaid: adding, that *The council of ſixteen* was to be held the next day at the houſe of Monſieur *De la Bruyere* (one of the conſpirators) and that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend whom he thought proper along with him, with a ſufficient guard, he would put them all into his hands, ſo that none of them ſhould be able to make their eſcape, or to deny the conſpiracy. Upon which the King diſmiſſed him, with gracious aſſurances of his favour, and very large promiſes, and went directly to the Duke of *Eſpernon's* lodgings, where they conferred together about half an hour. From thence he went, at midnight, to the Queen Mother's apartment, which was in the palace, and having waked her, gave her a full account of all that had been communicated to him, and began to enter into a conſultation with her, whether it would be the beſt way to follow *Poulain's* advice, and ſend the next day to ſeize upon the conſpirators.

The thing in appearance was practicable and ſecure, but in reality full of difficulty and danger. For it was not to be doubted, but upon any little commotion, all the quarters of the city would be up in arms, according

ing to the diſpoſition already made, and under their appointed commanders, who would never ſuffer their principals to be apprehended, and carried away priſoners, by ſo ſmall a force as a company of the guards, which was all they were able to ſend upon that errand. Nor was there any reaſon to doubt of ſuch a conſequence, as they had often ſeen, that whenever any one of the leading men in the city had been taken up by the officers of the court, either upon civil or criminal occaſions, the common people had conſtantly run to arms, in a tumultuous and ſeditious manner, to reſcue him. And if the populace ſhould be raiſed, upon the ſpecious pretence that their chiefs and protectors were going to be ſeized upon, and ſhould ſuddenly aſſault the *Louvre*, when the King and court were unarmed, unprovided, and undefended, except by the ordinary guards, they would hardly be able to make head againſt ſo formidable a body, conducted by ſuch reſolute and experienced commanders; who, though they came for that very purpoſe, would not fail to uſe their endeavours, upon ſo fair an opportunity, to make it appear, that they did not proceed to thoſe extremities with any deſign to offend others, but merely to defend themſelves. They conſidered, that the people of *Paris* were ſo powerful, that they could not be curbed but by a ſtrong hand, and that to attempt what they could not execute, would be only to defeat the whole undertaking, and to expoſe themſelves to contempt and deriſion. They foreſaw, that the conſpirators would be immediately ſupported by the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Aumale*, who were near at hand, and in arms: whereas the King had no body of men to depend upon in ſo great an exigency. They knew very well, that they could not confide in the *Hugonot* party, not only becauſe they had always ſtood in awe of the King, and looked upon him as a bitter enemy to their religion, but becauſe the defeat of the *German* army had ſo diſmayed them, that they all rather thought of quitting the kingdom, and ſaving their lives by flight, than of following the fortune of the Princes, to preſerve themſelves by the dint of the ſword. And ſo much the more, as the Prince of *Condé* died about that time at *St. John d'Angeli*, by poiſon, given him, as it was reported, by his own ſervants, upon ſome private diſguſt: which event had almoſt reduced that party to deſpair, as they had nothing left to depend upon, but the unſhaken conſtancy and reſolution of the King of *Navarre*. Beſides this, the great diſtance that he was at, and many other conſiderations, entirely put an end to all hopes and expectations from that party, eſpecially on ſo ſudden an emergency. So that, after all, to which ſide ſoever they turned, they could not propoſe any means to themſelves, of raiſing forces ſufficient to curb the inſolence of the *Pariſians*. Upon which, the Queen made uſe of the *Italian* proverb, *Biſogna coprirſi bene il viſo, inanzi che ſtuzzicare il veſpaio.* "A man ought to cover his face well before he ſtirs up a

1588. "waſp-neſt." Adding, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to arm and provide themſelves well in the firſt place, and then it would be an eaſy matter to ſuppreſs the conſpirators.

After long conſultations, therefore, they ſent for the Abbé *Del Bene*, with whom, after they had conſidered the ſame things over again, they concluded, that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, under the pretence of taking poſſeſſion of his government of *Normandy*, ſhould go immediately into that province, which borders cloſe upon the territory of *Paris* itſelf: that he ſhould ſecure *Roüen* and *Havre de Grace*, the chief places of that province, and which ſhut up the ſea and river *Seine*: for which purpoſe he ſhould aſſemble ſome forces, with which he might be ready to come up when occaſion required. That they ſhould likewiſe endeavour, by all means poſſible, as they had already begun, to draw Monſieur *D'Entragues* over to the King's party, who was Governor of *Orleans*, a city that commands the paſſage from *Berry* and *Beauſſe* into the territories of *Paris*. That the *Swiſs*, who yet continued in the King's pay, ſhould be brought to quarter at *Lagny*, and in other places adjacent, to ſhut up the river *Marne*, which is commonly called *The nurſe of the Pariſians*, and to cut off the paſſage from *Champagne*. For as they were already ſure of *Chartres* and *Pontoiſe*, one of which was under the government of the High Chancellor, and the other under that of Monſieur *D'Alincourt*, ſon to Secretary *Villeroy*, *Paris* would be blocked up and bridled on every ſide. So that by afterwards bringing in the greater part of the *Swiſs*, and reinforcing the regiment of guards, by calling all the ſoldiers to their poſts, who are often abſent in time of peace, they might then ſecurely take the heads of the conſpiracy; and if the people ſhould riſe, it would be an eaſy matter to quell them by the help of the *Swiſs*, and the more powerful curb of famine. In the mean time, they concluded it would be the beſt way, for the King to diſſemble his knowledge of their proceedings, and to abſent himſelf from publick ceremonies, and from certain ſuſpected places, that he might not furniſh the conſpirators with the opportunity they wiſhed for, of putting their plot in execution.

This reſolution, grounded as it were upon neceſſity, was approved of the next morning both by Secretary *Villeroy* and the High Chancellor; but moſt of all, by the Sieur *De Villequier*, who ſtill perſiſted in his opinion, that the information was not true, but that the enemies of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and of the *Pariſians*, had ſuborned *Poulain* to raiſe this calumny to do them a miſchief, and give a ſanction to any attempt upon them. Upon which the King, having ſent for *Conty*, and *Pierre Ugoly*, another of the *Eſchevins*, that would not comply with the requeſt of the conſpirators, and deſired to hear from them what they knew of that particular. *Conty* excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that, as there had been a report raiſed, that he

he was infected with *Hugonot* principles, and guilty of other crimes, he had not dared to diſcover what he knew, for fear of being thought a malicious ſlanderer; and then freely laid open all that had paſſed about the keys of *St. Martin's* gate. And *Ugoly*, relating many other particulars that were come to his knowledge, confirmed the ſame things. So that the truth of the information being proved beyond diſpute, they proceeded to the execution of the deſigns that had been formed. 1588.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* departed two days after, with a very ſmall attendance, that he might not weaken the court; and being come to *Roüen*, the metropolis of *Normandy*, took poſſeſſion of the government, and confirmed both the Parliament of that province and the Sieur *De Carrouges*, Governor of the city, in their attachment to him and their devotion to the King's ſervice. But he did not ſucceed ſo well at *Havre de Grace*. For *Andrew Brancas* Sieur *De Villers*, a *Provençal*, who was put into the government of that place by the late Duke *De Joyeuſe*, had already taken part with the League: the Duke of *Guiſe*, who narrowly watched all opportunities, having practiſed upon him, on account of the importance of that place, and prevailed upon the *Pariſians* to give him thirty thouſand crowns, under a pretence of keeping a communication with the ſea and the paſſage of the *Seine* open, that the city might enjoy the advantage of commerce, and the conveniency of bringing up the proviſions that came up from thoſe parts: by which bribe, and the promiſe of protection from the Duke of *Guiſe*, he was abſolutely gained over to the intereſts of the League. So that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, perceiving he could not reduce that place to his devotion, and being unwilling to hazard his reputation at his firſt coming into his government, paſſed through the country of *Caux*, where it is ſituated, to the other ſide of the *Seine*, and came to *Ponteau de Mer*, *Honfleur*, and from thence along the ſea-ſide to the city of *Caen*, where he was received with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, as the place was full of *Hugonots*, and utterly averſe to the deſigns of the League.

In the mean time the Sieur *D'Entragues* was treated with about the city of *Orleans*, by the means of Secretary *Villeroy*; in which negociation there aroſe ſo many difficulties, that the King could not bring it to the deſired concluſion with all his ſollicitations. Moſt people were of opinion, that the reaſon of his not ſucceeding in this affair was, becauſe Secretary *Villeroy*, now an open enemy to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, was deſirous that the Duke of *Guiſe's* party ſhould prevail, that he might be humbled; never imagining that the League would dare to proceed ſo far as to plot againſt the perſon of the King himſelf, but that they only aimed at pulling down the minions, and the extirpation of the *Hugonots*: and that he therefore artfully interrupted the treaty at *Orleans*, and protracted

1588. tracted the reſolution of Monſieur *D'Etrangues*, by interpoſing difficulties and delays. And this ſeemed the more probable, as the affair was eaſily brought about afterwards, at a time leſs opportune and leſs favourable. But Monſieur *De Villeroy* excuſed himſelf in a long apology, ſhewing that thoſe delays were occaſioned, on one ſide, by the irreſolution of Monſieur *D'Entragues*, and on the other, by that of the King himſelf, who would neither conſent to diſmember the government of the city of *Orleans* from that of the province, as he requeſted, leſt it might diſguſt the High Chancellor, who poſſeſſed it, nor cauſe the Duke of *Eſpernon* to make him any ſatisfaction, though he thought himſelf injured by him in the perſon of his ſon. Whatever was the occaſion, the treaty went on ſo ſlowly, that they did not come to any concluſion ſoon enough to block up the city of *Paris*; which the King was very intent upon, and had cauſed the Marſhal *De Biron* to bring the *Swiſs* to quarter at *Lagny*, a town near the city, ſituated upon the river *Marne*, ſtationing part of them in all the neighbouring places, as it was the moſt convenient. At the ſame time the number of the *French* guards was increaſed. For inſtructions had been given to every Captain, to order all the ſoldiers to their poſts, and not to give any one leave to be abſent. The archers, who uſed to wait by the quarter, and but three months in the year, were all ſummoned to attend at once. The five and forty Gentlemen appointed by the King, kept round his perſon and apartment night and day; and many Gentlemen were invited, on a pretence of other affairs, to reſide at court. All theſe things being obſerved by *The council of ſixteen*, who kept ſpies in every place, and that the King, contrary to his cuſtom, had withdrawn himſelf from thoſe exerciſes of devotion and recreation in which he was wont to take pleaſure, they grew very ſuſpicious that he had been informed of their deſigns by the Eſchevins *Conty* and *Ugoly*. Upon which they began to be afraid, and to take care of themſelves: yet they did not give up their undertaking, but rather doubled their preparations, and made proviſion for all things with greater diligence and expedition. But as ſoon as they knew the *Swiſs* were quartered at *Lagny*, they were certain their plot was diſcovered, and fell into great confuſion, as it uſually happens in popular commotions, their hearts failing them, when they found there was no man amongſt them of ſufficient experience and authority to conduct ſo important an enterpriſe. Wherefore, as they were now thoroughly ſenſible of the want of a chief, whoſe abilities, courage, and reputation, might give life to their attempts, they diſpatched *Pierre Brigard* in very great haſte, to intreat the Duke of *Guiſe* not to defer his coming any longer, as they had ſo often ſollicited him: for by his preſence their deſigns might be brought to a happy concluſion: whereas, if they were abandoned by him, they ſaw they muſt neceſſarily fall into the King's

King's hands (to the utter deſtruction of the city) from whence they could not think of any poſſible means of delivering themſelves. 1588.

The Duke, who had ſome knowledge of the King's intentions, and at the ſame time could not bear the thoughts of ſuffering the foundation of the League to periſh in that manner, nor of deſerting thoſe, who had fixed all their hopes on him, and foreſeeing that his own ruin would be the immediate conſequence of that of the *Pariſians*, if thoſe remedies had time to operate which the King had begun to apply, reſolved to go directly to *Paris*, to give the finiſhing hand to the deſign, as thoſe of the King's party ſaid; or at leaſt, as he and his adherents gave out, to ſave the city and *The council of ſixteen*, who he knew were in extreme danger, and to clear himſelf of the calumnies, which his enemies, and the favourers of the *Hugonots*, had raiſed upon him. And that he might make the leſs noiſe, and proceed with the ſame artifice that was practiſed by the King, he ſent his Gentlemen, by ſeveral ways, and a large band of old ſoldiers, who entered ſeparately, upon different days, into the city, and lodged apart in various quarters, whilſt he himſelf, with only ſeven horſemen in company, took the road to *Soiſſons*, where the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was, in order to confer with him, and to go from thence to *Paris*. Yet it was ſoon known that he was upon his journey; for *The council of ſixteen* had induſtriouſly ſpread it abroad, to diſpel the melancholy apprehenſions that had taken poſſeſſion of the people, when they ſaw ſuch preparations making to diſtreſs them. Which being reported to his Majeſty, determined him to ſend Monſieur *De Bellieure*, as far as *Soiſſons*, to diſſuade him from coming, and to let him know, that at ſo turbulent and ſuſpicious a conjuncture he ſhould be much offended at it. But the Duke, who was not to be deterred from perſiſting in his undertakings, by ſuch conſiderations as uſually prevail upon weak and irreſolute minds, but deſirous to arrive unexpectedly, that he might neither be way-laid nor prevented, anſwered the King's meſſage in an ambiguous manner, and ſaid, "That his only ambition was to ſerve his Majeſty, and the cauſe of "religion; that he was ſenſible he had been grievouſly ſlandered by his "enemies, and therefore impatient to vindicate himſelf: that his journey "was exceeding private, and without any train that could make him ſuſ-"pected of ſiniſter deſigns: that he was deſirous to convince his Majeſty, "that he was ready, upon all occaſions, to obey his commands;" adding many other things, but of general and doubtful import; nor did he fully ſatisfy his meſſenger, whether he would obey the King in that particular, or purſue his intended journey to *Paris*; yet he ſeemed rather to hint that he would ſtay at *Soiſſons*, to know his Majeſty's further pleaſure. But Monſieur *De Bellieure* was no ſooner departed with this doubtful anſwer, than he took horſe and followed him, making the beſt of his way through bye-

1588. bye-roads, leſt he ſhould meet other meſſengers from the King. So that *Philibert* Sieur *De Guiche*, and *Charles Benoiſe* the King's Cabinet Secretary, who were diſpatched one after the other to prevent his proceeding to *Paris*, could not meet with him any where till he was at the gate of *St. Dennis*, when it was too late to forbid his coming.

The Duke entered the city on *Monday* the 9th of *May*, when it was almoſt noon, with a train that only conſiſted of ſeven horſemen, including his Gentlemen and other ſervants. But as a little ſnow-ball rolling down a high hill, grows ſo big, that at laſt it becomes almoſt a mountain, ſo the people flocking out of their houſes and ſhops with acclamations of joy to follow him, he had not paſſed half through the city, but he had above thirty thouſand perſons about him, and the crowd was ſo great, that he himſelf could hardly make his way through it. The ſhouts of the people filled the air, nor did they ever cry, *Long live the King*, with half ſo much heartineſs as they now cried, *Long live the Duke of Guiſe*. Some ſaluted him, ſome gave him thanks, ſome bowed to him, ſome kiſſed the hem of his garment: thoſe that could not get near him, made ſigns with their hands and other geſtures, to ſhew how infinitely they were rejoiced. There were ſome who adored him as a ſaint, touched him with their beads, which they immediately kiſſed, or touched their eyes and foreheads with them: and even the very women threw garlands and flowers upon him, as he paſſed under their windows, and honoured and bleſſed his coming; whilſt he, with a complaiſant air and ſmiling countenance, behaved himſelf with the utmoſt affability, ſpeaking familiarly to ſome, courteouſly returning the ſalutations of others, and looking kindly upon them all: and paſſing through that numberleſs throng with his hat off, omitted nothing that was neceſſary to conciliate the applauſe and affections of the people wholly to him.

In this manner, without ſtopping at his own houſe, he proceeded directly to *St. Euſtace*, and diſmounted at the Queen Mother's palace, who, being aſtoniſhed at his unexpected arrival (as Monſieur *De Bellievre*, who returned but three hours before, had made a doubt of his coming) received him with a pale countenance, in great agitation of ſpirit, and, contrary to her cuſtom and conſtitution, with evident ſigns of terror and diſmay. The Duke's behaviour was very reſpectful and ſubmiſſive, and that of the Queen rather forced and conſtrained. For ſhe told him, "She was very glad to ſee him; but ſhould have been much more ſo, if "it had happened at another time." To which he modeſtly anſwered, though in a highiſh tone, "That he was a faithful ſervant of the crown; "and that as he had been thoroughly informed of the groundleſs aſper- "ſions and calumnies that had been thrown upon his reputation, and "the evil deſigns that were then carrying on againſt the Catholick re-

" ligion, and the honeſt and well affected citizens of *Paris*, he was come 1588.
" thither to divert that ſtorm, and to clear himſelf, or elſe to lay down
" his life for the ſervice of the church, and the preſervation of the pub-
" lick."

Their diſcourſe being diſcontinued whilſt he ſaluted the other Ladies, according to the cuſtom of the court, the Queen Mother called *Luigi Davila*, her Gentleman-Uſher, and commanded him to let the King know the Duke of *Guiſe* was come, and that within a little while ſhe would bring him perſonally to the *Louvre*. The King, who was in his private cloſet with Monſieur *De Villequier*, *Bellieure*, and the Abbé *Del Bene*, was ſo ſhocked at this meſſage, that he was obliged to reſt his head upon his arm, with his face towards the table; and having examined *Davila* concerning every particular, commanded him to deſire the Queen ſecretly to defer his coming as long as ſhe poſſibly could. At the ſame time *Alphonſo Corſo*, a moſt faithful ſervant of the King's, and one that had deſerved exceeding well of the crown, came into the cloſet, and joined in opinion with the Abbé *Del Bene*, who adviſed his Majeſty to receive the Duke of *Guiſe* in the ſame cloſet, and cauſe him to be killed in that very place; to which purpoſe the Abbé applied that paſſage out of the prophet *Zechariah*, *Smite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered.* But *Villequier*, *Bellieure*, and the High Chancellor, who was alſo come in during this interval, were of a different opinion, and ſaid, that if ſuch a thing ſhould happen whilſt the people were in ſo great a ferment, they would ſhew no regard to royal Majeſty, but would break through all bounds of law and duty, and run furiouſly to revenge. And as things were not yet ripe, nor his Majeſty in a condition to defend himſelf, and bridle the inſolence of the city, the forces of the *Pariſians* were too powerful to be provoked.

Whilſt the King was thus diſtreſſed, and in doubt what to reſolve upon, the Queen Mother came, and brought the Duke of *Guiſe* with her; ſhe was carried herſelf in a ſedan chair, whilſt the Duke walked by her all the way on foot, but with ſo great a train, and ſuch a confluence of people, that the whole city ſeemed to be crowded into the court of the *Louvre* and the ſtreets thereabout. They paſſed through a lane of ſoldiers drawn up, with Monſieur *De Grillon*, Colonel of the guards, at the head of them; who being a blunt ſoldier-like man, and no very well wiſher to the Duke of *Guiſe*, whilſt he bowed courteouſly to every private ſoldier, ſhewed but little reſpect to the Duke, which was much taken notice of by him, and affected him ſo much that he changed countenance, and afterwards turned quite pale, when he ſaw the *Swiſs* ranged under arms along the bottom of the ſteps, the archers in the hall, and all the Gentlemen gathered together in the rooms above, to wait for his coming. As

1588. ſoon as they had entered the King's apartment, whilſt the Duke of *Guiſe* was making a very low reverence, his Majeſty ſaid to him, with an angry look, "I ſent you word that you ſhould not come;" to which the Duke anſwered, with the ſame ſubmiſſion that he had ſhewn to the Queen, but in a ſofter manner, "That he was come to throw himſelf into the arms "of his Majeſty's juſtice, to clear himſelf of thoſe calumnies and aſper-"ſions that had been caſt upon him by his enemies: that nevertheleſs he "would not have preſumed to come, if he had been plainly told that his "Majeſty commanded him to ſtay away." Upon which, the King turning to *Bellieure*, and aſking him, in a haſty manner, whether he had not given him peremptory orders to tell the Duke of *Guiſe* not to come, except he had a mind to be accounted the author of all the tumults and inſurrections at *Paris?* Monſieur *De Bellieure* ſtepped forwards to give an account of his meſſage. But as he was beginning to ſpeak, the King interrupted him, by ſaying, "It was enough;" then addreſſing himſelf to the Duke of *Guiſe*, he told him, "That he did not know of any body that "had calumniated him; but that his innocence would have appeared "more clearly, if his coming had not occaſioned ſuch a commotion, "nor diſturbed the peace of the government, as he found it was like to "do." But the Queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the King's reſolute diſpoſition, and perceived, by his countenance, that he was determined upon ſome bold ſtroke, took him aſide, and told him in a few words what ſhe had ſeen herſelf of the concourſe of the people, and that it was no time then to execute any precipitate reſolution. The Ducheſs of *Uſez*, who ſtood cloſe by him, confirmed what the Queen had ſaid: and the Duke of *Guiſe*, attentively obſerving every minute circumſtance, when he ſaw them in this ſtate of irreſolution, that he might not give the King time to determine upon any thing, pretended to be fatigued with his journey, and taking his leave, returned with the ſame confluence of people, but not attended by any of the court, to his own houſe in *St. Anthony's ſtreet*.

Many condemned the King, for not taking that opportunity of cutting him off; and many, who knew the ſtrength and ſpirit of the *Pariſians*, and that he had ſeveral that wiſhed him well, even in the court itſelf, thought it a moderate and wiſe determination to let him go. But the Duke, reflecting upon the danger he had eſcaped, and condemning himſelf for his late raſhneſs, began to gather all his friends and dependants round him, who were diſperſed in the ſeveral quarters of the city; ſo that he who entered at noon with no more than ſeven attendants, had above four hundred Gentlemen and commanders in his houſe at night. At the ſame time he ſent for *The council of ſixteen* and all the *Eſchevins*: and after a long conſultation, in which he was fully informed of all particulars,

ticulars, gave orders that guards ſhould be kept in every ward; that the people ſhould have notice be ready: and that upon any commotion, they ſhould, according to the orders already given, and under the officers already appointed, all repair to the principal parts of the city, and particularly to his houſe, whither a quantity of ſwords, muſkets, drums, and other warlike proviſions and inſtruments were conveyed the ſame night, ſufficient to arm great numbers of people, and for the defence of his perſon, about which they kept guards and centinels, with the ſame vigilance that is uſually obſerved in armies when they are near an enemy. 1588.

There was no leſs precaution taken at the *Louvre*, and at the Queen Mother's palace, whither ſhe returned very late at night. For her Gentlemen kept a very ſtrict and careful guard, and the whole night was ſpent with great ſuſpicions and apprehenſions on every ſide. And now all things were become publick, and every body knew that it was the King's deſign to curb the *Pariſians* and ſuppreſs the Duke of *Guiſe*: and that he, on the other hand, was come to make himſelf maſter of the city, to drive his enemies from court, and to find means of transferring all the authority of the government upon himſelf. During theſe mutual ſuſpicions, and the reports which were ſcattered abroad, *Poulain*, being admitted the ſame night into the King's cloſet, informed him, that he had heard the Duke of *Guiſe* had ſaid publickly, "That he would ſoon clear "himſelf of the calumnies that had been thrown upon him:" and offered again to be put in priſon till the truth of what he ſaid ſhould fully appear: for when the heads of the conſpiracy were taken, he made no doubt but the King would be particularly informed of the whole. He ſaid, further, that before the arrival of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the preparations which the King was making had greatly intimidated them all, and made them proceed with great ſecrecy and caution, but that now he was preſent their ſpirits revived, and that there was a council to be held in the dead of that very night, at the houſe of *La Chapelle*, where it would be eaſy to take them all without any danger, and then he would be convinced that he had told him no lie. This propoſal occaſioned ſo many debates, and ſo much doubt and irreſolution amongſt them, that they ſat all night in conſultation, without a wink of ſleep, till day-light appeared on *Tueſday* morning, which was the 10th of *May*; a day of great terror and diſtraction. The city was full of meetings and cabals, the *Louvre* guarded by an unuſual number of ſoldiers, the Duke of *Guiſe's* palace was kept locked full of arms, the King in his cloſet, at ſecret conſultation with his Counſellors. Yet the Duke of *Guiſe* came to the *Louvre* in the morning, but with a train of above four hundred Gentlemen and commanders, privately armed, with piſtols under their cloaks, and went to viſit the young Queen at her lodgings; and from thence, after he had

1588. waited upon the King till he went to maſs, retired with the wonted concourſe of people to his own houſe, where he ſpent the reſt of the morning in conſulting with the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, who above all others was his moſt intimate confidant, becauſe he was a bitter enemy to the Duke of *Eſpernon*. After dinner he went to the Queen Mother's palace, whither the King alſo came, and they had a long converſation together in the garden. There the Duke of *Guiſe* taking courage, as he was then out of danger, and in the midſt of the city where he was the ſtrongeſt, diſcourſed a great while of the motives of his coming, of the ſatisfaction which the confederate Princes expected, and of making war upon the King of *Navarre*: accuſing the Duke of *Eſpernon* and his brother Monſieur *De la Valette*, as authors of all the preſent diſcontents and diviſions, and ſaid it was owing to their machinations that the *Hugonots* were not rooted out, and *France* reſtored, by a laſting peace, to its ancient ſplendor. He added, that the minds of the ſincere Catholicks could not be at reſt whilſt they ſaw the King ſurrounded with ſuſpected perſons, and ſuch as were of doubtful opinions in point of religion, whilſt the ancient manner of governing, practiſed by former Kings, was perverted, and whilſt, inſtead of employing his forces againſt the *Hugonot* faction, he turned them againſt his faithful people of *Paris*, who deſired nothing more than the ſafety of their ſouls and conſciences; wherefore, in order to enjoy peace and tranquillity, it was neceſſary to change the manner of proceedings and form of government, that ſo the Catholick faith might be ſecured, his good ſubjects out of danger, and every one live quietly and in due obedience.

To theſe remonſtrances the King returned a full anſwer, and ſaid, "That he was ſufficiently inclined of himſelf to the extirpation of the "*Hugonots*; but that it was proper to ſtay for a convenient opportunity, "and to wait his pleaſure, and not to endeavour to compel him to it by "force: That the plots and machinations of thoſe of the League, had "prevented him from taking ſo effectual methods as he deſigned, ſince "they had proceeded ſo far as to diſturb the eſtabliſhed order of govern-"ment. Nor had that contented them: for ſlanderous tongues had too "licentiouſly offended his patience, againſt all truth and reaſon: that "however the clemency of his nature ſtill inclined him to pardon all "ſuch as would acknowledge their errors, and ſerve him dutifully for the "time to come. That no Prince in *Chriſtendom* had ſhewn a greater "averſion to hereticks than he had done, nor taken more pains to per-"ſecute and ſuppreſs them. That never any King had manifeſted a "greater degree of favour and affection to any ſubject, than he had to "the whole houſe of *Lorrain*, and the perſon of the Duke of *Guiſe* in "particular. That all offices and dignities could not be conferred upon

"one

" one man: and that as God beſtows his bleſſings upon many, accord- 1588.
" ing to the quality of their vocations, ſo a Prince is obliged to diſtribute
" his bounty and favours amongſt ſeveral, according to their deſerts and
" his own inclination. That he had advanced the Lords of *La Valette*,
" becauſe they were ſons of a moſt Catholick father, who had ſignalized
" himſelf by his bravery in the wars, and deſerved very well of the
" crown, as he had oftner appeared in arms than any other perſon againſt
" the *Hugonots*: that he had been faithfully ſerved by them himſelf, as
" the vigilance and activity of the Duke of *Eſpernon* had ſufficiently teſti-
" fied in the defeat of the *Germans*, and the ſucceſs of *La Valette* in
" making ſo great a ſlaughter of the *Swiſs* that went into *Dauphinè*. Yet
" for all that, he would not be thought to compare them with the houſe
" of *Guiſe*, as they were neither equal in birth nor deſert: but that ſta-
" tions in courts are different, as there are different manſions in paradiſe.
" That it had ever been left to the free choice of all Kings, to favour
" and employ whom they pleaſed, and to chuſe ſuch companions in
" their hours of recreation as they thought proper and liked beſt: other-
" wiſe a Prince would be deprived of that liberty which private men
" freely enjoy; as there was no one ſo mean, but had it in his
" power to live and converſe with whom he pleaſed, and to diſpoſe of
" his eſtate according to his own will and deſire. That he had not re-
" ceived any counſel from the Lords of *Valette*, that diſſuaded or pre-
" vented him from making war upon the *Hugonots*: yet if it could be
" proved, that they had not behaved themſelves with due integrity in
" any employment, he was ready to puniſh them according to the nature
" of their fault; but that he would not baniſh them his court, merely
" to gratify the caprice of others. That he would inviolably obſerve
" what he had ſo often ſolemnly ſworn to concerning the edict of union,
" and that his reſolution was more than ever bent upon a war againſt the
" King of *Navarre*, from which he was reſtrained by no other conſi-
" deration, but that of laying ſuch heavy burdens upon his ſubjects as he
" muſt neceſſarily be obliged to do, in order to maintain armies in ſo
" many different parts, which was matter of no ſmall concern to him.
" That, however, his people, and eſpecially the *Pariſians*, had no rea-
" ſon to complain, ſince they themſelves had been the principal exciters
" and abettors of the war. That a war could not be carried on with-
" out money, and money could not then be raiſed without overloading
" the people, by which he ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of bearing
" the blame of an oppreſſion which was not owing to him: for thoſe
" that now made the loudeſt complaints of impoſitions, were the very
" perſons that had ſeditiouſly forced him into a war. That the city of
" *Paris* in particular, to which he himſelf had done more real good than

" any

1588. " any ten of his predeceſſors put together, which had been the conſtant
" object of his favour and attention, and where he had almoſt always
" reſided, to the great emolument and enriching of the citizens, had
" now declared againſt him in a hoſtile manner, and was not ſatisfied
" with ridiculing and defaming his good name, but had even dared to
" conſpire againſt his perſon. That he very well knew, theſe plots and
" machinations were originally of foreign contrivance, and that all his
" native and loyal citizens had expreſſed their deteſtation of them in the
" beginning; and for that reaſon, he had once determined to baniſh all
" ſtrangers out of the city, in order to take away the fuel from a fire
" which began to ſpread in ſo dangerous a manner. That he was not
" willing to employ foreign forces to purge the city, whilſt he could be
" faithfully ſerved by the citizens themſelves. That he demanded his
" aſſiſtance in an undertaking of ſo great importance, and that he would
" give him ſome ſatisfactory proof of the great fidelity and ſincerity which
" he profeſſed: for when he could once depend upon the obedience of his
" ſubjects, he ſhould have nothing more to requeſt of him: and after all
" ſtrangers were driven out, and the city compoſed upon proper terms and
" without tumult, he would forget all former ſuſpicions, and willingly
" conſent to a reformation of the ſtate."

After he had given this anſwer to the Duke of *Guiſe*, he called upon the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and the *Eſchevins* of the city, who were preſent, and commanded them to make a ſtrict ſearch into all the houſes of the city, the day following, with ſuch other perſons as he ſhould appoint for that purpoſe: and that they ſhould turn out all ſtrangers whom they found reſiding there without any urgent and apparent neceſſity: that they ſhould make no diſtinction of perſons, as he had certain information there were at leaſt fifteen thouſand then in the city, who were employed on purpoſe to raiſe ſcandals, and came thither only to excite new commotions, to the evident peril of the lives and fortunes of the citizens. With this commiſſion the Deputies departed, promiſing his Majeſty to ſerve him faithfully: and after much other converſation of the ſame kind, the Duke of *Guiſe* alſo took his leave, with the ſame promiſes; for he thought he had ſufficiently lulled the King aſleep with his ſubmiſſive manner of behaviour, and that his preſence had ſo terrified him, that he ſhould no longer have any occaſion for much force: upon which he ſaid to ſome of his familiar friends, " That he hoped he ſhould be able to
" have an aſſembly of the States General convened, without any difficulty
" or oppoſition, in which he did not doubt but things would ſucceed
" according to his wiſhes and deſigns."

The King deputed Monſieur *De Villequier* and Monſieur *D'O* to make ſearch for the ſtrangers; which (as the ſame guards were kept, and the

ſame apprehenſions continued) was begun the next morning, but with the utmoſt repugnance and diſſimulation in the *Pariſians*, who knew that thoſe that were lodged in the city, were all dependants of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and ſent thither by him: nor were they willing to weaken their own forces by expelling them. So that the King's Deputies perceived they laboured but in vain, and that the deſign of diſarming and reducing the Duke of *Guiſe* could not ſucceed by that means, nor produce any good effect; and therefore they acquainted the King with it, who was ſo enraged, that he reſolved at laſt to quell the people by force, and endeavour to ſuppreſs the conſpirators, without further delay. For that purpoſe, he immediately diſpatched the Marſhal *De Biron* to bring the *Swiſs* into *Paris*, and Monſieur *D'O* for the companies of his guards, which were lodged in the adjacent places out of the city; and gave orders, that neither the gentlemen, archers, nor ſoldiers of his guard, ſhould ſtir any more out of the court, but that they ſhould all keep cloſe about his perſon. 1588.

Theſe proceedings were not unknown to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, in order to oppoſe the King's forces with the ſtrength of the people, cauſed a report to be preſently ſpread round the city, that the King had reſolved to put ſix ſcore of the principal Catholick citizens to death, and to place guards in the chief poſts to diſtreſs the people, and therefore it was neceſſary for them to prepare for their defence. A counterfeit liſt was framed of the ſix ſcore names, and copies of it diſperſed; at the head of which was the Duke of *Guiſe*, and after him, the Preſidents *De Nully*, *De Maître*, the Sieurs *De Buſſy* and *La Chapelle*, *Hotteman* the Receiver, all the Parochial Clergy, Preachers, Deputies, and *Eſchevins*, and, in ſhort, all ſuch as were favourites of the people, who might thereby be excited to take arms for their preſervation. And this forgery they cauſed to be publiſhed, by artful and induſtrious perſons, who were well acquainted with the humours of the people; and to be expatiated upon with ſo much earneſtneſs and vehemence of expreſſion, and ſuch an appearance of terror, that they began to talk of riſing that very night: the Duke's commanders and Gentlemen being diſtributed through every quarter, to controll and direct the fury of the armed multitude.

But things were not yet fully ripe, and the night of the 11th of *May* was ſpent in theſe practices on every ſide, till, on the Morning of *Thurſday* the 12th, they heard the fifes and drums of the *Swiſs*, who beat a march, as they entered the city at *St. Honore's* gate, with Marſhal *De Biron* at their head on horſeback, and were followed by the *French* companies, under their ſeveral Captains, with their matches lighted. The King alſo, being mounted on horſeback, went out to receive them, and having ſaluted them at the entrance of the gate, ſtrictly forbid them all to commit the leaſt outrage, or do any ſort of injury to the citizens, on pain of death, without mercy,

1588. mercy, which he repeated many times with a loud voice. And having given orders to Monſieur *D'O* and the Marſhal *De Biron*, to take poſſeſſion of, and place guards in, all the chief places of the city, went back again to the *Louvre*, where the ſoldiers of the guards were under arms, and ready to march upon any occaſion. The Marſhal *De Biron*, who perhaps was not thoroughly acquainted with the King's deſign, thought it would be the beſt way, in the firſt place, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe places that were neareſt the *Louvre*, for the ſecurity and defence of the court; and therefore immediately made himſelf maſter of *St. Innocent's* church-yard, at the end of *St. Honore's* ſtreet, and there lodged nine hundred *Swiſs*, poſting the reſt, to the number of ſixteen hundred, about the neighbouring ſhambles, the *Marchè neuf*, the *Chaſtelet*, and the city hall. In like manner, Monſieur *D'O* took poſſeſſion of the *Pont au Change*, and the *Pont St. Michael*, placing Monſieur *Du Gaſt* upon the one, and Monſieur *Marivaut* upon the other: the companies of *Beauvais*, *Nangy*, and Monſieur *D'Archant*, being left to guard the gate of the *Louvre*, that looks toward the ſtreet of *St. Thomas*. This diſpoſition of their forces, however, was attended with very ill ſucceſs, and it would have been much better to have ſecured *Maubert's Place*, *St. Anthony's Place*, and the ſtreets near the *Baſtile*, which are all in the remoteſt part of the city, and near the Duke of *Guiſe's* palace. For when he was once beſieged, ſo that he could not ſtir, and the ſtreets of *St. Dennis* and *St. Martin* blocked up, to divide the people into two parts, that they might not be able to join together, the whole city would have been in the King's power, and the fury of the people ſufficiently bridled. But ſuch a diſtribution of the ſoldiers as they had made, was more proper to defend the *Louvre*, than to hinder the inſurrection of the citizens, which was moſt likely to take its birth and beginning where the Duke of *Guiſe* reſided, and where he himſelf could give life to it.

At the entrance of the King's forces, which was preſently known to the whole city by the beat of the drums, the people, who were full of terror and diſtraction, and now convinced, that the report which had been ſpread of the King's intentions was certainly true, began to gather together, ſhutting up their doors and ſhops, which (according to the cuſtom practiſed in that city of going to work before day) were already opened, and every one was making ready his arms, expecting directions how to proceed.

It was now broad day-light, when the Queen Mother, being deſirous to know what the Duke of *Guiſe* was doing, ſent *Luigi Davila* with her enquiries after his health, and other compliments to him (for ſhe ſtill continued her uſual diſſimulation) charging him to take exact notice of every little circumſtance that he ſaw or heard. When he came to the *Hôtel de Guiſe*,

Guiſe, as they call the houſes of the principal Lords, he found the gates ſhut, contrary to cuſtom, and being let in through the wicket, ſaw two long rows of gentlemen armed in the court, and the Duke of *Guiſe* walking up and down alone in the midſt of them, to whom he delivered the Queen's compliment, as he was commanded. But the Duke, being aware of her intentions, and deſirous to ſhew that he was well prepared, took him by the hand in an obliging manner, and having begun a converſation with him, led him into the garden, where he ſaw a vaſt quantity of arms heaped together, and all the lower rooms full of ſoldiers, and reformed officers, moſt of whom he knew, and was acquainted with. After they had taken two or three ſhort turns in the garden, the Duke, who yet was in great ſuſpence, and, as one might eaſily perceive, full of deep thought, diſmiſſed him, with a return of compliments to the Queen. When he came back to the *Louvre*, whither ſhe was already gone, he was directly introduced into the King's cloſet, where he gave a particular account of all that he had obſerved: adding, that as he paſſed through the city, he took notice they were ſhutting up their ſhops and houſes, making ready their arms, and blocking up their doors with caſks and other lumber, that many of the Duke's officers and gentlemen were talking together, the chief citizens very buſy every where, and that, eſpecially in *Maubert Place* and *St. Anthony's ſtreet*, the people were gathering very faſt together, and making greater preparations than any where elſe. The King having made him repeat his account, immediately ſent his Secretary *Benoiſe* to Monſieur *D'O*, commanding him to advance beyond the bridges, and cauſe the companies of *French* guards to take poſſeſſion of *Maubert Place*, and *St. Anthony's ſtreet*. 1588.

Monſieur *D'O* inſtantly ſent Colonel *Grillon* to execute the King's command; but he came too late. For the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*, with the ſtudents of the Univerſity, and the watermen that lived about *St. John en Grève*, had already taken that poſt, which till then had been imprudently neglected: and having drawn chains acroſs the ſtreets, and ſhut up all the paſſages with barricadoes of large beams of wood, and barrels filled with earth, had made that their place of arms. So that Monſieur *De Grillon* was obliged to retire; and as he endeavoured to return to the place from whence he came, his retreat was cut off by the Count *De Briſac*; who, with the people belonging to the quarter of *St. Germain*, had encloſed him in ſuch a manner, that he was confined betwixt the bridges, and could not move at all, nor make the leaſt reſiſtance on any ſide, though he had the chief ſtrength of the *French* ſoldiers with him.

All the reſt of the citizens being now in motion, ſeconded this beginning with furious cries, of *Arm*, *arm*, ringing the alarm-bell in every

1588. quarter, making barricadoes in the ſame manner within thirty paces of each other, with ſuch order and expedition, that the whole city, though ſo large a one, was blocked up in a moment, and ſhut in every way, the King's forces beſet on all ſides with barricadoes, even to the very doors of all their guard-houſes, and, which was worſt of all, Colonel *St. Paul*, with the people of *St. Euſtache* and *Mont Martre*, coming down with great fury, and blocking up the ſtreets from place to place, made their laſt barricadoes at the very gates of the *Louvre*, right over againſt, and even in the face of the King's *corps de garde*. After the ſtreets were thus blocked up, and fortified on all ſides, they every where loudly and furiouſly cried out, to have the foreign ſoldiers cut to pieces: upon which the *Swiſs* were immediately attacked in *St. Innocent's* church-yard, where they were ſo confined, and in a manner impriſoned, that they could not make any defence at all; ſo that after ſix and thirty of them were ſlain in the firſt onſet, the reſt ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and were ſtripped by the people with equal fury and oſtentation. All the other *Swiſs* guards at the *Chaſtelet*, the little bridge, the ſhambles, and the city-hall, were attacked at the ſame time, and having been ſtripped in the like manner, were made priſoners at diſcretion. But they ſhewed a little more reſpect to the *French* guards; for, after they had made them put out their matches, and lay down their arms, they kept them, in that manner, till further orders.

In the mean time, the King was perſuaded by the Queen Mother and Monſieur *De Villequier*, to go out of the *Louvre*, and ſhew himſelf to the citizens, taking it for granted, that the people would be ſo awed with the ſplendor of royal Majeſty, that they would immediately acknowledge and obey him, and not only lay down their arms, when they had received ſecurity for their own lives and fortunes, but ſuffer the delinquents to be taken and puniſhed. But the King thought this advice too dangerous to be put in practice, as it would expoſe all the remains of his dignity and authority to the fury of the people, without any certainty that it would be attended with ſucceſs: and, which was ſtill worſe, it ſeemed to him an expedient of ſuch a nature, that if it did not ſucceed, it could not any way be remedied, but the event would be the loſs of his life, and the certain deſtruction of the ſtate. Wherefore, he reſolved to ſend out the Marſhals *D'Aumont* and *De Biron* to a parley with the people, and to endeavour to appeaſe them by fair words and promiſes. But this was likewiſe in vain: for all the anſwer that the Marſhals received, was a ſhower of ſtones, and a volley of muſket ſhot, which was poured upon them; ſo that they were obliged to retire without effecting any thing. There was now nothing left, therefore, but to defend the *Louvre*, in which, beſides the uſual guards, who were very alert in their duty, there were above five hundred Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, that had made it their earneſt requeſt to have the defence of the palace-gate committed to them. 1588.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, either ſtruck with the temerity of the enterpriſe, or not having deſigned from the beginning to proceed any further, or terrified at the point of execution, by the greatneſs of the attempt, or thinking that things were now brought to a ſufficient height, when he ſaw the city in his power, the guards taken and diſarmed, the King himſelf, with all his friends, ſhut up, and as it were impriſoned, in the *Louvre*, and that he ſhould be able to accompliſh the reſt of his deſigns, by way of compoſition, reſolved to appeaſe the tumult, without uſing any further violence. For which purpoſe he mounted on horſeback, unarmed, and with nothing but a battoon in his hand, to ſhew the greater contempt of his enemies: and riding through all the quarters, ſpoke to the people as he paſſed along, exhorting them to ſtand upon their guard, ſince God had been ſo merciful to them, as to ſecure their lives, families, religion, and the honour of the holy church; encouraging them to put their confidence in him, and fear nothing, for every thing was now ſafe: and coming to the place where the *French* guards were taken and kept priſoners, he ordered Colonel *St. Paul* to conduct them to the *Louvre*, and there diſmiſs them. From thence he paſſed by *St. Innocent's*, and cauſed the arms of the *Swiſs* to be reſtored to them, and in the ſame manner commanded the Count *De Briſac* to take them to the entrance of the *Louvre*, and let them go. All the ſoldiers went bare-headed, without drums, or obſerving the leaſt order, trailing their pikes as priſoners; and being led to the gate of the *Louvre*, were there received by the Marſhal *De Biron*, who quartered them in the places contiguous to it. So that the Duke of *Guiſe's* victory could not have been graced with a nobler triumph, or a more remarkable ſpectacle.

Many were of opinion, and *Alexander Farneſe* Duke of *Parma*, a Prince of great valour and conſummate experience, ſaid, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had attempted too much, and done too little, not remembering the proverb, that, "Whoever draws his ſword againſt his Prince, ought preſently "to throw away the ſcabbard." For ſo bold an enterprize ſhould either not have been undertaken at all, or, when it was begun, ſhould have been executed, whatever had been the event. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, either out of a ſenſe of juſtice, of which he took upon himſelf to be the protector, or being ſtill deſirous to make uſe of the cloak of piety and religion to cover his deſigns; or, elſe becauſe he never had any further aim than his own ſecurity, and the reformation of the government, and now hoped, by treaty and gentle means, to get all the power and authority of the government into his own hands, without ſeizing it openly and by force, thought he had reduced the King to ſuch an extremity, that he muſt of neceſſity

1588. be obliged to ſubmit to his pleaſure, and grant ſuch terms as he required, which he made no doubt of having afterwards confirmed by the univerſal conſent of the people. There were ſome who ſuſpected that it was the Duke of *Guiſe's* intention, at laſt, to ſhut up the King in a monaſtery, under pretence of incapacity and evil government, and to aſſume to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the crown. But moſt people believed, that as he aſpired to exclude the houſe of *Bourbon* from the crown, and to transfer it upon himſelf after the King's death; ſo, he never thought of depriving the King of it whilſt he lived; and therefore imagined it was ſufficient, if, by ſecuring the whole power and authority of the government, he could take means for the excluſion of his adverſaries, and advance his own deſigns in ſuch a manner, that he might eaſily put them in execution at a proper time. And this, as it was the more favourable, was alſo the more probable opinion. However it might be, the Duke, concluding he had made himſelf maſter of *Paris*, and ſurrounded the *Louvre* in ſuch a manner, "that (as he wrote the ſame day to the Duke of *Lorrain*) he ſhould be "able to give an account of every thing that was in it," appeaſed the violence and uproar of the people, would not ſuffer them to proceed any further, or make any attempt upon the *Louvre*, cauſed the guards that had been taken and pillaged to be let go; but ordered that the barricadoes ſhould remain as they were, that the people every where ſhould continue under arms, and that the guards ſhould be kept with all poſſible ſtrictneſs, expecting ſome body to come from the King, now he was beſieged and reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, with ſome overtures of agreement.

Nor was he diſappointed in this expectation: for after many conſultations in the King's cloſet, the Queen Mother reſolved to go to him herſelf, and ſent to demand a paſſage of the citizens, who, with intolerable inſolence (which yet ſhe bore with wonderful patience and diſſimulation) denied to let her paſs in her coach, for fear of ſpoiling the barricadoes, but ſaid they would give her leave to go on foot. Upon which ſhe took a ſedan chair, and being attended by Secretary *Pinart*, Monſieur *De Bellieure*, and a few of her Gentlemen, with infinite difficulty got to the *Hôtel de Guiſe*. For being obliged to ſtop every minute till the barricadoes were opened, which were all immediately ſhut up again as ſoon as ſhe was through them, it was above two hours before ſhe arrived there, on account of the great diſtance it was at, and being delayed at ſo many paſſages. At her arrival the Duke came out to meet her, and made bitter complaints in publick, "That the King, by endeavouring to bring a garriſon at ſo unſeaſonable a time into the city of *Paris*, where there never uſed to be any before, had given the people reaſon to ſuſpect, that he deſigned to take away the lives of his good Catholick ſubjects, which had been the cauſe of a tumult that all the art of man could not prevent. That the King did very

" very great injuſtice to his loyal city of *Paris* in general, and to him in 1588.
" particular, who had approved himſelf his moſt faithful ſervant upon ſo
" many occaſions, by uſing them in that manner. That nevertheleſs he
" had borne the injury patiently, and had done all that lay in his power to
" ſtifle the apprehenſions of the people, and to appeaſe the tumult." To which the Queen anſwered, with the ſame artifice and diſſimulation, " That the King intended nothing further than to drive out ſtrangers for
" the peace and ſecurity of the citizens; and having been very ill ſerved
" by ſome people, whom he had employed in that affair, he had cauſed
" his guards to enter for the ſafety and defence of the city, that afterwards
" he himſelf might make a ſearch in perſon, and by his vigilance and
" authority, prevent the evil that was ready to fall upon the inhabitants.
" That ſuſpicious people had taken arms with too much precipitation,
" but that ſhe hoped, when the truth was once known, every one would
" be pacified and quiet again."

After this diſcourſe in publick, they retired into the garden by themſelves; where the Duke of *Guiſe* (pretending that he had at laſt found out the King's deſign of deſtroying all ſuch as had any intereſt with the people, and were not acceptable to his favourites, and that therefore it was neceſſary for him to look well to his own perſon, as well as the preſervation of the publick) began to make exceeding high and exorbitant demands, and ſuch as only became an abſolute conqueror: for he inſiſted, " That the King ſhould declare him his Lieutenant-General in all the provinces and places of his dominions, with the ſame authority that his father had enjoyed in the time of *Francis* the ſecond: that the States-General ſhould be called at *Paris*, in which aſſembly the power granted to him ſhould be confirmed. That, to ſecure the people from the danger of a *Hugonot* Prince, the King of *Navarre* and the other Princes of *Bourbon* his adherents, ſhould be declared to have forfeited their inheritance to the crown. That the taxes and impoſitions upon the people ſhould be limited. That, to take away all odious and ſuſpicious innovations, the form of government ſhould be reduced to a certain ſtandard, which it ſhould not be lawful for the King to alter. That the Duke of *Eſpernon*, Monſieur *De la Valette* his brother, the Marſhals *De Retz* and *Biron*, Monſieur *D'O*, and Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* (all ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with the hereticks, and of daily inventing new grievances) ſhould be deprived of all their offices and governments, and baniſhed the court for ever. That, in order to take away the ſuſpicion which every one had, with great reaſon, entertained, that the hereticks were not proceeded againſt ſincerely, and in good earneſt, the abſolute management and conducting of the war ſhould be given to him; which ſhould be carried on with two armies, one in *Poictou*, the other in *Dauphinè*.

1588. *phinè*. That, to remove all fears and jealouſy of tyrannical proceedings, the King ſhould diſmiſs his guard of five and forty Gentlemen, and forbid them to return to court, reſerving only ſuch guards as his predeceſſors were wont to have: That he ſhould take away the regiment of guards from Monſieur *De Grillon*, and give it to ſuch a perſon as the Catholick Princes might confide in. That all the fortreſſes in *Picardy* ſhould be delivered up to the Duke of *Aumale*, as Governor of that province. That the Duke of *Nemours* ſhould have the government of *Lions*, and the Duke *D'Elbeuf* that of *Normandy*. That the King ſhould put ſix ſuch towns as they ſhould name into the hands of the Lords of the League, in which they might keep garriſons, under ſuch Governors as they pleaſed. That a proper aſſignment ſhould be given to the *Pariſians*, for the payment of the rents of the city hall: and that the government of the city ſhould be given to the Count *De Briſac*, upon whom alſo ſhould be conferred the office of Colonel-General of the *French* infantry, enjoyed at that time by the Duke of *Eſpernon*. That the poſt of Admiral ſhould be reſtored to the Duke of *Mayenne*; and Monſieur *De la Chaſtre* made Marſhal, in the room of Monſieur *De Biron*."

After the Queen had thoroughly conſidered theſe demands, one by one, and ſhewn the unreaſonableneſs and exorbitancy of them, ſhe at laſt aſked the Duke of *Guiſe*, "What he imagined the people of *France* "would ſay, and what the Princes of *Europe* would think, if, even "with his Sovereign's conſent, a ſubject ſhould accept, much more if "he ſhould demand, ſuch conditions: and whether it would not ſeem "to them, as if he intended to put ſhackles upon the King, and pluck "the crown from his head?" To which the Duke of *Guiſe* boldly anſwered, "That he demanded no place nor office for any one that was "not very worthy of it: and that to baniſh rebels, enemies of the publick "good, favourers of hereticks, and perſecutors of the Catholick religion, "was to purge the ſtate of a moſt dangerous poiſon, that ſo the King "might afterwards enjoy the obedience that was due to him in perfect "tranquillity: and that the remedy indeed was bitter at firſt, but would "prove ſalutary and effectual in the end." In ſhort, after many long debates, and much altercation, the Duke of *Guiſe* concluded with ſaying, "That as the King had at laſt diſcovered his ſecret intentions, and "brought things to ſuch a paſs, he was reſolved either to ſacrifice his "life, or to ſecure the Catholick religion and the dignity of his own fa-"mily."

With this anſwer the Queen returned at night to the *Louvre*, where they ſtill continued under arms, and the private perſons had as many debates and conſultations, as there were amongſt the King's counſellors in his cabinet. The variety of opinions was very great amongſt the latter,

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as private paſſions and particular intereſts had no leſs weight there, than regard for the ſtate and good of the publick. For the High Chancellor, Secretary *Villeroy*, and Monſieur *De Villequier*, who were not only deſirous of ſeeing the Duke of *Eſpernon* humbled, and the *Hugonots* extirpated, but had ſome reaſon to hope they ſhould not loſe their credit, even if the League ſhould prevail, adviſed the King to comply with the greater part of the Duke of *Guiſe's* demands, to the exceeding diſguſt of his Majeſty, who could not by any means endure the thoughts of it, though he at that time concealed his diſpleaſure. On the other hand, Monſieur *D'O*, Monſieur *De Rambouillet*, the Abbé *Del Bene*, and Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* inſiſted that it was more eligible to ſuffer any hardſhips whatſoever, than ſubmit to that. Monſieur *D'O* at the ſame time offered, however, to reſign all his employments, and the Colonel his office of Lieutenant in *Dauphiné*, if that could in any degree ſerve to allay the preſent diſcontents. The Queen and Secretary *Pinart* ſteered a middle courſe, and were in hopes that the Duke of *Guiſe* would recede from a great part of his demands. It was conſidered, nevertheleſs, that one ſide of the *Louvre* was cloſely inveſted, where there was no very large quantity of proviſions; and much to be apprehended that the people would go out of the city and beſiege it on the other ſide, to cut off all communication with the country, by which the King and all the court would be immediately reduced into the enemy's power. But ſtill the Duke's propoſals were ſuch as the King could not in any wiſe be perſuaded to accept of. 1588.

The night was ſpent in this manner, full of terror and irreſolution at court; whilſt, on the other hand, the Duke of *Guiſe* was exceedingly vigilant and active in viſiting the guards of the city every hour, leſt their negligence and ſupineneſs might afford the King's forces an opportunity of recovering thoſe places which they had loſt before, and for fear the darkneſs might create confuſion, and occaſion ſome new tumult.

The next day, in the morning, after they had been at maſs, the King and Queen Mother had a private conſultation together, in which it was reſolved, that ſhe ſhould return to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and pretend an inclination to conſent to his propoſals, in order to prolong the negociation till the King could get ſecretly out of the new gate, on the back ſide of the *Tuilleries*, that was ſtill in his power; by which means he might make his eſcape from *Paris*, before the enemy had time to block him up there, and get to *Chartres*, the Governor and people of which place were entirely at his devotion. For this purpoſe the Queen, with the ſame difficulty as before, went again to the *Hôtel de Guiſe*; but as ſhe paſſed along, one of the citizens ſtepped cloſe up to her, and informed her, that fifteen thouſand men were preparing to inveſt the *Louvre* on the

1588. the other ſide. Wherefore ſhe immediately began a negociation with the Duke; and though ſhe found him much more obſtinate than before, yet ſhe continued treating with him, concerning the articles of accommodation, with infinite patience. In the mean time the King, under a pretence of going to walk in the *Tuilleries*, as he often uſed to do, went out, with a very few attendants, and walked gently forwards, talking with them till he came to his ſtables, which lay very near the gardens: but when he got thither, he ordered the doors to be ſhut, and having put on a travelling dreſs, immediately took horſe, with only ſixteen Gentlemen and twelve ſervants, and going out of the new gate, rode as faſt as he could to *Chartres*; where he was received by the people with as many demonſtrations of joy, as the Duke of *Guiſe* had been by the *Pariſians*.

Two hours at leaſt after the King's departure, the Sieur *De Meneville* came to the Duke of *Guiſe*, whilſt he was ſtill in treaty with the Queen, and whiſpered him in the ear, that the King had ſuddenly left *Paris*, and gone out at the new gate. At which unexpected news, the Duke, being not a little ſurprized, turned to the Queen, and ſaid aloud, "Ah, "Madam! I am a dead man: whilſt your Majeſty is amuſing me in "this manner, the King is gone away to ruin me." But the Queen, ſeeming ignorant of what had paſſed, immediately anſwered, "That ſhe "did not believe it, as the King had not made her privy to any ſuch "deſign, and that it might be ſome ſudden reſolution of his council." Upon which ſhe called for her ſedan, and returned directly to the *Louvre*. When ſhe came thither, and found that the regiment of guards, commanded by *Grillon*, and the *Swiſs*, under the conduct of the Sieurs *De Dampierre* and *Tinteville*, had followed the King, ſhe inſtantly diſpatched one of her Gentlemen after them, with orders not to loſe a moment, but to continue their march day and night. Which they ſo punctually obeyed, that they arrived at *Chartres* but a few hours after his Majeſty. The next day his whole court arrived there, not all together and in one body, but in ſeparate companies and diviſions, as it ſuited their conveniency. Amongſt the reſt, *Nicholas Poulain*, together with the *Eſchevins John de Conty* and *Pierre Ugely*, made their eſcape from *Paris*, all congratulating each other upon the miraculous deliverance they had had from the fury of the citizens: who ſo little ſuſpected the King would have taken ſuch a ſtep, that they neither had made any proviſion againſt it, nor knew what courſe to take, when it had happened. This indeed was no more than might have been expected from a giddy and precipitate multitude; but that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould not have foreſeen the blow, gave much room for ſpeculation at that time: and, conſidering his uſual vigilance and foreſight, may ſeem wonderful to any one that ſhall ſeriouſly reflect

upon it. So that this fatal overſight could only be attributed to one of thoſe marvellous ſtrokes of divine Providence by which the Almighty is ſometimes pleaſed to baffle human wiſdom, and confound the devices of worldly policy. 1588.

When the King had thus made his eſcape, the Duke of *Guiſe's* deſign of extorting the aforementioned conditions from him, whilſt he had him, as it were, in priſon, naturally vaniſhed of itſelf, and it became neceſſary for him to take ſome other courſe. Wherefore, after he had mortified himſelf ſome time with the thoughts of having let ſo fair an opportunity ſlip out of his hands, he began to think of making himſelf abſolute maſter of the city of *Paris*. For as he ſaw a war ready to break out betwixt him and the King, he knew he could have no better foundation to build upon than the forces and aſſiſtance of the *Pariſians*. His firſt deſign was to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Baſtile*, which was held in the King's name by *Lorenzo Teſtuto*, Captain of the watch. And in this he ſucceeded without much difficulty. For though the Governor might have made a very good defence, yet, as ſoon as he ſaw the artillery drawn out of the arſenal to batter it, he gave it up into the hands of the people, and they immediately delivered it to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, without further delay, having called the people together, turned *Hector Peroſe*, *Prevôt des Marchands*, out of his office, as one that depended upon the King, and ſent him priſoner to the *Baſtile*: after which, he cauſed *La Chapelle Martel*, the chief engine of the League and incendiary of the people, to be choſe in his room. *Conty* and *Ugoly* were likewiſe deprived of their employments, as fugitives, and ſucceeded in their places by *Compans* and *Rolland*, both of them members of *The council of ſixteen*, and principal conſpirators. On *Monday* the ſtreets were cleared, the barricadoes taken away, and the ſhops and houſes opened: but guards were ſtill kept with great care and ſtrictneſs, as many rumours of danger were ſpread abroad, to keep the people conſtantly in alarm, and to prevent their fury from ſubſiding.

After the city was ſecured, the next thing to be done was to open the paſſages of the river, that it might be ſupplied with proviſions; as the Duke of *Guiſe* very well knew, that hunger would ſoon reduce the people to repentance. Upon which account, as there were ſome forces already come out of *Picardy*, and two regiments of foot raiſed in the city, ſiege was laid to *Bois de Vincennes*, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance; *St. Cloud*, *Lagny*, *Charanton*, with all the other neighbouring towns, did the ſame: and *Pontoiſe*, though it pretended to hold out for the King, yet it did not hinder ſuch proviſions as are the produce of thoſe parts, from being carried down the *Seine*. It only remained to reduce *Corbeil*, in which place *John de Villers* had ſhut himſelf up in hopes of

1588. making a good defence, as the people were well affected to the King, and his Majeſty himſelf was ſo near at hand, that he might eaſily ſend relief from *Chartres*. Nor did he much dread the tumultuous forces of the *Pariſians*, but thought, though he had no regular garriſon, he ſhould be able to hold out many days; which ſeemed likely enough in the beginning, as he had gained ſome advantage over them in the firſt ſkirmiſhes that happened upon their arrival, and had in a great meaſure abated the ardour of the *Pariſians*. But the King, who had turned his thoughts another way, and was not willing, now all the other paſſages were already open, to give beginning to a tedious war, by an undertaking of no great conſequence, wrote to *Villers*, that he might leave the people at liberty to diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleaſed, and ordered him to return to court. Upon which, as ſoon as he was gone, the people opened the gates of their own accord, and gave up the town to the *Pariſians*.

All theſe things were done almoſt in the ſight of the Queen, who was inwardly not a little mortified at them, though ſhe ſtrove to diſſemble ſo great injuries, and would not ſtir from *Paris*, under a pretence that ſhe made no doubt of their obedience, but, in reality, that ſhe might be preſent and ſee how things were carried on, and in expectation of receiving inſtructions from the King in what manner to proceed.

When his Majeſty came to *Chartres*, he was not only undetermined in his own mind what courſe to take, but found alſo a great difference of opinions amongſt his Counſellors. For *Villeroy* and his adherents ſtill perſevering in their firſt advice, inſiſted, "That a war with the Duke of *Guiſe* was by no means to be entered into, leſt it ſhould divide and cauſe an open diſſention in the Catholick party, and thereby give the *Hugonots* a manifeſt opportunity of ſubverting religion: That many particulars ought to be diſſembled and borne with for the good of the whole, and that reaſon plainly dictated to them to come to an agreement with the Duke of *Guiſe*, as the King's authority entirely depended upon the ſtrength of the Catholicks, and therefore it would be highly imprudent to deſtroy, or at leaſt to diminiſh it by diviſion." But Monſieur *D'O*, Monſieur *De Ramboüillet*, *Alphonſo Corſo*, and the reſt, argued, on the contrary, "That to comply with the Duke of *Guiſe's* demands, was to reſign the crown, and give it to the houſe of *Lorrain*, which, after the reſt of the line of *Bourbon* were extinguiſhed, and the *Hugonots* totally rooted out, would preſently make uſe of the favour of the people, and its own overgrown ſtrength, to depoſe the King and ſhut him up in a monaſtery, as it was already commonly reported they intended to do. That the Duke of *Guiſe* alone would have the merit of whatſoever ſhould be undertaken againſt the *Hugonots*, and that to conſent to it, would be to authoriſe and confirm his ambition ſo much the more, and even to increaſe the people's affection

affection to him. For it would manifeſtly appear, that the King had complied with his demands by compulſion, and out of the awe which he ſtood in of his power and intereſt: and therefore it was better to undergo any hardſhip or difficulty whatſoever, than to be guilty of ſo mean and unworthy a condeſcenſion, as to deprive the lawful ſucceſſors of the crown, and reduce himſelf to a ſtate of ſlavery and ſubjection." To which the others replied, "That his Majeſty, by his good actions, would, in a ſhort time, recover the hearts of his people, which were alienated at preſent, and that his giving ſatisfaction to the heads of the League, by diſcarding his minions, and admitting the others to ſhare in the dignities and adminiſtration of the government, would ſoon put an end to all diſturbances, and diſſolve the union; nor would any one dare to oppoſe the King's ſacred Majeſty, when that old and ſpecious pretence was taken away. That if this inſurrection really proceeded from motives of religion and conſcience, the effect would naturally ceaſe as ſoon as the cauſe ſhould be taken away, by proceeding againſt the *Hugonots*; and if it was the effect of ambition, the King, even in that caſe likewiſe, had it in his power to compoſe all differences and diſtractions, by making ſome ſort of proper ſatisfaction to the great men. In ſhort, that there was no way ſo eaſily and ſecurely to get the better of his enemies, as by doing that of himſelf which the League were endeavouring to make him do by force. For to try the fortune of war would be too dangerous and precipitate a reſolution, and not likely to be attended with ſucceſs, as he had neither forces, adherents, nor money ſufficient to enable him to attempt an undertaking of ſo great importance, being deprived of the ſtrength of the Catholicks, who for the moſt part followed the fortune of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and not having the leaſt reaſon to expect any aſſiſtance from the *Hugonots*, on account of his ancient hatred and manifeſt diſtruſt of them. That it was the advice of all wiſe men to accommodate ones ſelf to the times, to wait for more favourable opportunities, and rather to bend than be pulled up by the roots." Such a diverſity of opinions occaſioned great doubt and perplexity in the King's mind, not only on account of the weight of the arguments, but alſo becauſe he began to ſuſpect that they who gave him this advice, were moved by private and particular intereſts, rather than by any zeal for his ſervice, or regard for the good of the publick. 1588.

The enmity betwixt Monſieur *Villeroy* and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, was no longer any ſecret. For the year before, when the King quartered with his army at a town called *St. Aignan*, upon his march againſt the *Germans*, the means of raiſing money to make the *Grand Prevôt* march with his archers (who refuſed to follow the court for want of pay, though their attendance was very neceſſary) being ſpoken of in the King's cabinet,

1588. Monſieur *De Villeroy* told him, that the council having conſidered how to provide for that emergency, had given him orders to repreſent to his Majeſty, "That as certain collectors of the revenues, who were then in "priſon, had been fined twenty thouſand crowns, all that ſum, or at "leaſt ſome part of it, might be applied for the ſatisfaction of the *Grand* "*Prevôt* and his archers." To which the Duke of *Eſpernon* anſwered, in an angry manner, "That his brother Monſieur *De la Valette* already "had a promiſe of that money, to pay his ſoldiers in *Dauphinè*, and that "it could not be diſpoſed of in any other manner without abuſing and in-"juring him, which he ſaw many people were very ready to do, on pur-"poſe to affront him himſelf: but that he was determined to reſent it one "time or other, in ſuch a manner as would make his enemies glad to "let him alone for the future." But *Villeroy* replying, "That it was an "order of Council, and no contrivance of his own;" the Duke of *Eſper-non* gave him the *lye* in the King's preſence, and called him many very opprobrious names, as *knave*, *raſcal*, and *malicious fellow*. This abuſive language *Villeroy* was going to anſwer. But the King, riſing up from his ſeat, commanded him to hold his tongue. Upon which he left the room without any ſatisfaction from the Duke, and the next morning de-ſired his Majeſty's leave to reſign his employment, as he could not think of ſerving him any longer, after he had been treated in ſo indecent and unworthy manner. But the King would not admit of this; though, on the other hand, he did not take any pains to make the Duke of *Eſpernon* give him proper ſatisfaction, till time of itſelf afforded the Duke an op-portunity of making ſome ſort of apology to him for his behaviour at *St. Aignan*, which indeed made an outward reconciliation, though there was never afterward any good underſtanding or ſincere friendſhip betwixt them. The King therefore ſuſpected, and not without great reaſon, that Monſieur *De Villeroy* favoured the Duke of *Guiſe's* deſigns and ſupported his pretenſions, in hopes of ſeeing the Duke of *Eſpernon* diſmiſſed from the court, deprived of his honours and employments, and utterly diſ-carded. And though his Majeſty ſeemed not to take notice of it, yet he could not help remembring that *Pontoiſe*, of which the Sieur *D'Alin-court* was Governor, had not taken any pains to hinder proviſions from being brought to *Paris*, which ſecretly diſpleaſed him, and made him very ſuſpicious of *Villeroy's* counſels. Monſieur *De Bellieure* likewiſe, who had been impoſed upon by the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Soiſſons*, when the King ſent him thither to forbid his coming to *Paris*, was not only much fallen out of the King's favour, but had occaſioned ſome ſuſpicion in him that he had not acted with integrity in that affair: ſo that the deception of ſo wiſe and experienced a man, was imputed to perfidy and diſloyalty. Nor was the High Chancellor in any better eſteem: for as it was known

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that the King had liſtened to ſome propoſals of diſmembering the Duchy of *Orleans* from his government to gratify *Entragues*, he was ſuſpected of promoting a peace, that the King might not have any further occaſion to ſtir up a revolt in that city, which was ſtill in agitation by the means of Monſieur *De Chemeraut*. 1588.

On the other hand, Monſieur *D'O* and Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* were ſuſpected by the King, as acting only in emnity to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had openly declared, that he would not come into any terms of accommodation, except they were firſt deprived of their employments, and removed from court. So that he imagined, they adviſed a war only to ſecure themſelves. And he was become ſo ſuſpicious, as men in adverſity generally are, that he thought not only ſeveral other people, but even the Queen his mother, ſeemed too much inclined to favour the demands and pretenſions of the League; which indeed was very far from being true; for ſhe had always loved him moſt tenderly above all her other ſons, and, during the whole courſe of ſo many troubles, had laboured with the greateſt earneſtneſs for the preſervation of his crown. Yet it had been obliquely, and by degrees, inſtilled into his mind by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who inſinuated that the Queen, ſeeing he had no ſon, would be glad to have the houſe of *Bourbon* excluded from the ſucceſſion, and particularly the King of *Navarre*, whom ſhe mortally hated, on account of her daughter Queen *Margaret:* that, on the other hand, ſhe was deſirous, without any regard to the *Salic* law, to have the kingdom deſcend to the Duke of *Lorrain* her ſon-in-law, and the Marquis *Du Pont* her grand-child, who both were extremely beloved by her: for which purpoſe ſhe had from the beginning ſecretly fomented the League, and at preſent encouraged all ſuch meaſures as tended to the deſtruction of the right line, and to the grandeur and eſtabliſhment of the houſe of *Lorrain*, of which her ſon-in-law and her grand-child were the heads. And it was true indeed, that the Queen had always been very fond of her grand-children of *Lorrain*, who ſhewed her all poſſible reverence and reſpect: upon which account ſhe had taken the Princeſs *Chriſtina* to be brought up with her, and was continually ſolliciting the King to call either the Marquis *Du Pont*, or the Count *De Vaudemont*, or ſome one of the other brothers to court, and employ them in his moſt important affairs. And it was alſo true, that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the greatneſs of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whom ſhe looked upon as *a rock of offence*, and an enemy to her power and authority, which ſhe was apprehenſive would decline in her old age, as it uſually happens. But there was a wide difference betwixt a deſire that the King ſhould advance her grand-children, and an endeavour to promote the greatneſs of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who already eclipſed and depreſſed that of the Duke of *Lorrain* and his ſons. For though he always ſeemed to reverence the head

1588. head of his family, yet he laboured only for himſelf, and would never have ſuffered the fruits of all his toils and machinations, and of the numberleſs dangers that he had undergone, to redound wholly to the exaltation and advantage of the Duke of *Lorrain*. Nor did her endeavours to put the King out of conceit with *Eſpernon*, and to perſuade him to diſcharge him the court, in order to take away all reaſons of diſcontent, by any means prove that ſhe was deſirous of having his Majeſty trampled upon, and compelled by violence to receive law from the Duke of *Guiſe's* pleaſure. But theſe ſuſpicions had taken ſo deep root in the King's breaſt, who was naturally of a jealous and melancholy diſpoſition, that after ſo many repeated proofs of her ſincere affection, and though he ſtill ſhewed his mother very great reſpect, and never determined upon any thing without her knowledge and advice, yet he was poſſeſſed with an opinion, that ſhe was intereſted in favour of the Catholick party, and in a great meaſure deſired the very ſame things that the League demanded.

With theſe apprehenſions he became more auſtere and moroſe than he uſed to be, as thoſe about him ſoon obſerved; his ſleep went from him, and he ſpent the night, either in deep thought by himſelf, or in liſtening to the advice and opinions of others, which he balanced and conſidered very maturely. The perſons, whoſe judgment he moſt relied upon in theſe conſultations, were * *Nicholas d'Angennes*, Sieur *De Rambouillet*, a man of great learning, experience, and ſingular abilities: and *John*, Marſhal *D'Aumont*, a ſoldier, of an open and generous diſpoſition, and very great courage; yet he did not altogether lay aſide the Marſhal *De Retz*, and the Abbé *Del Bene*, though he thought one of them depended too much upon the Queen Mother, and the other too intimate with the Duke of *Eſpernon*. In this ſtate of diffidence and anxiety, he reſolved to depend wholly upon diſſimulation, and ſeemed outwardly to approve of the opinion of thoſe that perſuaded him to join with the Duke of *Guiſe*, commending it as the moſt pious reſolution, and ſuch as carried the faireſt appearance: though he inwardly abhorred it, and could not bear the thoughts of ſubmitting to the power of the *Guiſes*, nor forget the affront he had received, which he had continually before his eyes; and concluding within himſelf, that he could never be ſure of his life, nor abſolute maſter of his crown, ſo long as the head of that faction was alive, and the League ſubſiſted, he at laſt reſolved to endeavour, by all poſſible ways, to deſtroy him; but becauſe he thought it would be both difficult and dangerous to effect that by war, and his conſcience would not ſuffer him to join the *Hugonots*, he propoſed to ſupply all deficiencies by cunning and artifice; and hoped, by complying with the Duke's propoſals, to draw him into ſome

* *Davila* calls him *Franceſco Maſſeuore di Rambullet*, and ſays he was a lawyer; which is a miſtake.

place

place in a while, where he might have him taken off, by the same means that he remembered had been practised in the reign of his brother, *Charles* the ninth, against the Admiral *De Coligny* and his adherents. 1588.

With this intention he wrote very mild letters to the Governors of the several provinces, artfully excusing himself about the insurrection of the *Parisians*, without laying much blame upon the people, or even upon the Duke of *Guise* himself, endeavouring only to keep the provinces quiet and in due obedience. After the dispatch of these letters, which were thought necessary by every body, he first sent *Myron*, his Physician, to the Queen Mother, and, a few days after, *Gaspar*, Count of *Schombergh*, with directions, to endeavour by all means to conclude an agreement with the Duke of *Guise*, as he was resolved not to make war against his Catholick subjects, but to employ his arms in good earnest for the utter extirpation of the *Hugonots*. And because he saw how much *Villeroy* was inclined to those measures, and knew he would spare no pains to make a peace, he sent him also to *Paris*, with a full commission to satisfy the Duke of *Guise's* demands, that so he might compose all discords, and reunite the Catholick party in one indissoluble body, as *Villeroy* himself had persuaded and advised him.

The Duke of *Guise* having, in this interval, made himself entirely master of *Paris*, and opened all the passages that served to furnish the city with provisions, was exceeding busy in getting possession of several other convenient places, and for that purpose had caused siege to be laid to *Melun*, a town near *Paris*: and having left the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to govern the city, was gone himself to *Meaux* and *Chasteau Thierry*, to reduce those places.

His brother, the Cardinal of *Guise*, who wanted neither courage nor abilities, and boldly followed his example and counsels, had raised the people, and got the upper hand in the city of *Troyes*, which at the beginning had declared it would continue firm to the King: the Duke of *Aumale*, with the forces of *Picardy*, had laid siege to *Boulogne*, a considerable fortress upon the sea-side in that province; and the adherents of the League made it their business to surprise towns and castles in every part, and to draw as many followers as they possibly could to their party. But the Duke of *Guise*, after he saw the King had escaped out of the net, and that he could not so easily bring his first design to bear, affected to have that seem to have been done on purpose, which indeed was wholly owing to oversight and neglect, and endeavoured, in pamphlets artfully drawn up, and arguments set off with much eloquence, directed to the King and all the people of *France*, to make it appear, that his actions tended only to the benefit of the kingdom, the service of his Majesty, and the advantage of every one: that the insurrection of *Paris* was not in any wise owing to him, but

1588. but occaſioned by the apprehenſions of the people: that it was his intention, and ever had been, to pay ready and due obedience to his Majeſty, as he deſired nothing more than that evil Counſellors might be removed from about his perſon, and that ſincere and effectual means might be taken to ſecure religion. And though his actions for the moſt part very ill agreed with his profeſſions, yet the pretence of zeal for religion was ſo plauſible and efficacious, and he knew how to act his part ſo well, that the multitude thought him a faithful ſervant to the King, and were perſuaded he was only moved by his regard for the Catholick religion, and moſt ardent deſire to promote the happineſs of the whole Kingdom.

Whilſt they proceeded in this manner on both ſides, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was then in *Normandy*, having heard of the inſurrection at *Paris*, and the conſequences of it, came to wait upon the King with a conſiderable number of Gentlemen that attended him. But his Majeſty, having already reſolved to diſſemble with every one, and to truſt no-body but himſelf, received him neither with the ſame degree of confidence, nor demonſtrations of favour, that he uſed to do; on the contrary, he ſeemed to look coolly upon him, and to be deſirous that he would leave the court, in order to put an end to all thoſe diſguſts, which were ſaid to be occaſioned by his exorbitant greatneſs. And as he outwardly appeared determined to give all manner of ſatisfaction to the Duke of *Guiſe* and the League, and knew that a peace could never be concluded with them, except he conſented to remove him from court, his intention was to do it before the agreement, that it might ſeem a voluntary act, and not to proceed from compulſion. For this purpoſe, he employed Monſieur *De Bellieure* and the Abbé *Del Bene* to deſire, that, in regard to the preſent diſtractions, and to remove the cauſes of them, he would reſign his government of *Normandy*, and deliver up the fortreſſes of *Metz*, *Loches*, *Angouleſme*, *Xaintes*, *Bouglogne*, and only retain his government of *Provence*, in which, for his greater ſecurity, his brother *La Valette* ſhould continue his Lieutenant: that he would retire thither from the clamour that was raiſed on his account, and wait for a more quiet and ſeaſonable opportunity of returning to court. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was a man of great penetration, and had been inſtructed by the King himſelf in his arts and maxims of governing, ſeeing perhaps into the King's ſecret intentions, by having been ſo intimate with him, conſented, without any demur, to quit his government of *Normandy*, in which he perceived he was not likely to be ever very firmly eſtabliſhed, from the oppoſition that many Governors of the towns there made to his authority. But, tho' he aſſured the King, that he would comply with his requeſts in every reſpect, yet he was reſolved not to part with any of his ſtrong places, as he was in hopes of defending himſelf there, from the fury of the ſtorm that he ſaw was going to diſcharge

itſelf upon him: ſo that, whilſt he was treating about the manner of delivering them into the King's hands, and to whom and which way they ſhould be reſigned (ſtill ſhewing more regard for his maſter's ſecurity than his own intereſt) and whilſt the King was in ſome doubt whom to truſt with them, he ſuddenly left the court, under an appearance of withdrawing from his Majeſty's diſpleaſure: and being attended by the Abbé *Del Bene*, who was no leſs perſecuted by the League, made all the haſte he could to *Angouleſme*; where, from the ſtrength of the citadel, and the nearneſs of the *Hugonots*, he thought he might ſtay with more ſecurity, and from whence it would be eaſy for him, upon any occaſion, to retire into *Provence*, through the towns of *Languedoc*, that were held by the Marſhal *D'Anville*. 1588.

This retreat cut off the pretences of the League, and removed all impediments that might have prevented an agreement, at the ſame time that it was a prudent reſolution on his ſide. For the Duke of *Guiſe* and the *Pariſians* had now bent their whole power againſt him, and publiſhed many pamphlets, in which they accuſed him of being a ſower of diſcord, and the principal cauſe of ſo great evils. And though he cauſed them to be anſwered in the ſame manner, and endeavoured to ſhew, by variety of arguments, that the preſent diſtractions were occaſioned by the ambition of the houſe of *Lorrain*, and could not proceed from the modeſty and dutiful behaviour of him and his brother, who had ever received the King's favours with gratitude and humility, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſerve his Majeſty, in ſuch a manner as might moſt effectually conduce to his advantage and reputation: yet, as he ſaw the cloud would certainly burſt upon him, he choſe rather to ſecure his moſt important governments by retiring, than to be forced, by one means or other, to reſign them if he ſtayed. Many were of opinion, that the King was privy to his departure; and ſo much the more, as the Abbé *Del Bene* went with him. Nor was this ſuſpicion altogether without foundation: for as the Duke of *Guiſe* demanded, that he ſhould give up thoſe four principal fortreſſes; and the King was not willing, to deprive both the Duke of *Eſpernon* and himſelf of them at the ſame time, to put them into the hands of ſuch perſons as he could not at all confide in; it was neceſſary he ſhould pretend to go away in diſguſt, without the King's knowledge, and that he ſhould let them ſee he would not quit them, except he was forced: that ſo the King might afterward be furniſhed with a reaſonable excuſe for not demanding them immediately, and the Duke of *Guiſe* leave off teazing him to take them away from *Eſpernon*, when he ſaw they were detained contrary to his inclination. But whether they gueſſed at each other's intentions by circumſtances, or whether the King communicated his deſigns to him by means of the Abbé *Del Bene*, or whether the Duke took that reſolu-

1588. tion of his own accord, was not known to any one at court, and the King's moſt intimate Counſellors were intirely in the dark about it. Yet this I can affirm for truth, that after the Duke returned from *Normandy*, he was no more admitted to ſuch a degree of confidence in the ſecret conſultations as he had been before: but the night before he went away, the Abbé *Del Bene* was a long time in ſecret conference with the King, in the dead of the night, which was not known to any but thoſe that lay in the King's anti-chamber.

The King ſeemed exceſſively enraged and perplexed at his departure, and at his taking the road toward *Angouleſme*, and ordered Secretary *Villeroy* to write immediately to the Sieur *De Tagens*, who commanded the forces in thoſe parts, and to the inhabitants and deputies of the town, charging them neither to receive nor obey him. But the courier made ſo little haſte, that the Duke had got poſſeſſion of it before the King's letters arrived. For as he had purſued his journey thither with the utmoſt expedition, and came upon them in a very ſudden and unexpected manner, he inſtantly ſent *Tagens* with his forces to the confines, under a pretence of defending them from the frequent incurſions of the *Hugonots*. After which he turned out the old Governor of the citadel, and put another perſon into his office, upon whom he could rely; and having taken poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, had ſufficiently fortified himſelf in it, before he could be diſturbed or prevented by any new orders.

Upon the Duke's departure from court, the King gave the government of *Normandy*, one of the largeſt and moſt important provinces in the kingdom, to *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpenſier*, leſt it ſhould be demanded by the Duke of *Guiſe* for ſome of his dependants; being reſolved to comply with him and the heads of the League in outward appearances, but not to grant them the marrow and ſubſtance of what they required.

Now the Duke of *Eſpernon* was removed, it was no difficult matter to come to an agreement. For on one hand, the King granted every thing that the League aſked for, or pretended to: And on the other, the Duke of *Guiſe* had no longer any excuſe leſt, nor any occaſion at all to continue in arms againſt him, when he ſaw the power of the minions at an end, and the King thoroughly diſpoſed to make war upon the *Hugonots:* as extreme envy had ſpurred him on to perſecute the former, and inveterate hatred to the latter had been the main foundation of all his pretences. So that, after Secretary *Villeroy* and *Miron* the Phyſician, had often gone backwards and forwards, from *Paris* to the King, and from the King to the Queen Mother, a treaty of accommodation was ſet on foot, under the management of the King himſelf alone. For as yet, neither the Marſhal *D'Aumont* nor Monſieur *De Ramboüillet* were fully let into the ſecret of his deep and well diſſembled intentions.

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In the mean time the King, being of opinion that his ſtay at *Chartres* was neither ſafe nor honourable, began to think of going to *Roüen*. But as he was not very certain how that Parliament ſtood affected, nor which ſide Monſieur *De Carouges*, then Governor of the town, was inclined to take, he ſent *James Auguſtus de Thou*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, to inform himſelf of the diſpoſition of the citizens, and to endeavour to attach them firmly to his ſervice. This commiſſion indeed was punctually executed by Monſieur *De Thou*, but rather in a rhetorical manner, than by ſolid and weighty arguments: For he addreſſed himſelf to the people in general, and the common magiſtrates, in a florid and pompous harangue, without applying to the private intereſts of the Firſt Preſident of that Parliament, who was a creature of the late Duke *De Joyeuſe*, or taking any notice of the Governor and the Count *De Tillieres* his ſon, who had ſome dependance upon the Duke of *Guiſe* and the League. Upon which, the King immediately diſpatched *John d'Emery*, Sieur *De Villers*, with more explicit and peremptory orders; as he was not only a Gentleman of the ſame province, but, which was of greater importance, had a particular friendſhip with the Governor of that place. When he arrived there, and had acquainted them with the diſcharge of the Duke of *Eſpernon* (who was not very acceptable to that city) from the government of the province, and the choice that his Majeſty had made of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a Prince of the royal blood to ſucceed him, it gave great ſatisfaction to the people in general: and having firſt conferred in private with the Governor, and promiſed the reverſion of his government to his ſon; and afterwards with the Firſt Preſident, whom he buoyed up with great hopes of the King's favour, and of ſucceeding to the principal offices of the Crown, he brought them all into ſo good a humour, that both the Parliament and people ſent a very dutiful and honourable deputation to invite the King to their city: and the Governor, in particular, ſent his ſon to court, as a hoſtage for their fidelity. 1588.

After theſe proofs of their affection, the King determined to go, without any further delay, to *Roüen*. The news of which being carried to *Paris*, the Parliament there was not a little vexed, that the other courts ſhould be before-hand with them in profeſſions of loyalty and obedience; and, at the perſuaſion of the Queen Mother, ſent a dutiful meſſage to aſſure him of their fidelity: and ſoon after, the *Pariſians* alſo, by the Duke of *Guiſe's* advice, ſent deputies to him, with a long apology for their late behaviour, which they endeavoured to palliate with various excuſes: but this was not till the peace was in a great meaſure concluded.

Whilſt that was negotiating, the Count *De Schomberg* at laſt prevailed upon Monſieur *D'Entragues* to liſten to an agreement, which had been ſo long attempted in vain. For as he was pleaſed at the Duke of *Eſper-*

1588. *non's* removal, he came over to the King's party with the city of *Orleans*, upon a promiſe, that the government of it ſhould be continued to his heirs, and that the governments of *Chartres* and *Beauſſe*, then held by the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, ſhould be added to it. This treaty, however, was not managed ſo ſecretly, but it came to the knowledge of the Duke of *Guiſe*; who, in order to fruſtrate an agreement that was compleated after ſo many endeavours, took care in the treaty of peace to demand the city of *Orleans* for one of the places which he required as a ſecurity for the performance of the King's promiſes. So unexpected a demand for a while delayed the concluſion of the peace; but the difficulty was got over, by the earneſt deſire that Secretary *Villeroy* had to ſee it compleated. For as he had either received orders from the King to haſten a concluſion, or was picqued, that others had brought the treaty of *Orleans* to bear, when he could not, or becauſe he ſo thought fit of himſelf, he was reſolved that the whole affair ſhould not be diſconcerted by a refuſal of that particular; and when he ſaw the Duke of *Guiſe* obſtinately determined to have it, he at laſt gave the point up, without the King's knowledge: who afterwards alledged, that the town of *Dourlans* in *Picardy*, and not that of *Orleans* in *Beauſſe*, had been demanded of him, ſo that it was with great difficulty, and after much time, that he was at laſt prevailed upon to give it up.

The conditions of peace were nearly the ſame that were contained in the inſtrument which had been drawn up at *Nancy*, in concert with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and preſented to the King at the beginning of the year. For it was agreed, " That the King ſhould again declare himſelf head of the Catholick League, and ſwear to take up arms, and never to lay them down, till the *Hugonot* religion ſhould be totally eradicated. That he ſhould oblige all the Princes, Peers of *France*, Lords and Officers of the crown, towns, colleges, corporations, and the whole body of the people, by a publick edict, to ſwear the ſame, and engage themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, never to ſuffer any perſon to reign over them that was not of the Catholick religion, and free from all ſuſpicion of hereſy. That for the time to come, none ſhould be admitted to any office, place, or dignity, in any part of the kingdom, but ſuch as were Catholicks, and made profeſſion of their faith according to the doctrine of the *Sorbonne*, and the belief of the *Roman* Catholick church. That all things paſt, ſuch as the revolting of towns, inſurrections of the people, ſeizing upon fortreſſes, raiſing ſoldiers, detaining the King's revenues, and all other irregularities whatſoever, that had been occaſioned by the late commotion, ſhould be pardoned and remitted, and that the King ſhould command a total oblivion of them, as things done for the ſervice of religion and the good of the publick. That two armies ſhould immediately be raiſed againſt the *Hugonots*;

Hugonots; one in *Poictou*, under the command of the King himſelf, or any other perſon whom he ſhould pleaſe to appoint; the other in *Dauphinè*, under the command of *Charles* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Mayenne*, which ſhould never be recalled, but conſtantly paid and recruited till the work was fully compleated. That the decrees of the council of *Trent* ſhould be received and obſerved throughout the whole kingdom, except in ſuch articles as were contrary to the privileges of the *Gallican* church, which ſhould be ſpecified in the ſpace of three months, by a congregation of Prelates and the King's council. That the King ſhould permit the Lords of the League to retain thoſe cities and fortreſſes, yet ſix years longer, that had been granted them for their ſecurity in the year 1585; and that *Dourlans*, *Orleans*, and *Montereau* ſhould be added to them. That the King ſhould give the Duke of *Guiſe* a patent to command all the forces in the kingdom, with full power over his armies, and every perſon in them. That the government of *Boulogne* ſhould be taken away from the Sieur *De Bernay*, who was an enemy to the Duke of *Aumale*, and given to ſome ſuch Gentleman of the province, as ſhould be agreeable to both parties. That *Valence* in *Dauphinè*, and the caſtle thereof, which had been ſeized upon by Monſieur *De la Valette*, during the late commotions, ſhould be reſtored to the Sieur *De Jeſſan* the former Governor. That the deputies choſen by the *Pariſians* after the tumult, ſhould be approved of and confirmed by the King. And finally, that, in the *October* following, the States-General ſhould be aſſembled at *Blois*, where the edict of the Catholick union ſhould be ſworn to, the decrees of the council of *Trent* received, and the authority granted to the Duke of *Guiſe* confirmed." Concerning Monſieur *D'O*, Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, the Marſhal *De Biron*, and the reſt, there was no mention at all made: for now the Duke of *Eſpernon* and his brother *La Valette* were removed, they ſeemed not to have either ſtrength or authority ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable a power as that of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who thought he already had the management of the whole ſtate in his own hands, and no longer condeſcended to trouble himſelf about ſubjects, and ſuch as were not his equals. 1588.

After the articles were thus agreed upon, and the peace concluded, the King, being impatient of any delay that might retard the effects of his ſecret deſigns, immediately diſpatched his letters-patent to all the provinces and ſeveral bailliages, to ſummon an aſſembly of the States to meet, in the month of *October*, at *Blois*: which place he thought more convenient for his purpoſe than any other, not only becauſe it was at a good diſtance from *Paris*, and near thoſe towns that were held by the *Hugonots*, but for the advantage of a large and commodious caſtle; but moſt of all, becauſe the people of it were entirely at his devotion, and had not the

1588. the leaſt commerce or correſpondence with the League. And that he might ſet an example to the deputies that were to be elected, not to make any delays, he left *Roüen* a few days after, and went toward *Chartres*, that he might be ready to go from thence to the place appointed. When he came to *Mante*, a town upon the road betwixt *Roüen* and *Chartres*, he was met by the Queen Mother and the Queen his wife, with whom he ſtaid there two days. After which the Queen Mother returned toward *Paris*, to conduct the Duke of *Guiſe* to court; and the King continued his journey toward *Chartres*, with a deſign to ſtay there till the reſt of the court came up.

Not many days after, the Duke of *Guiſe* came thither alſo with the Queen Mother, attended by a ſumptuous, rather than a numerous train, and behaved with the moſt profound ſubmiſſion and reſpect to his Majeſty, though his countenance ſufficiently declared the arrogance of his heart, and how much he was elevated with the thoughts of abſolute power and dominion, which he now imagined himſelf ſecure of: and, which was of the greateſt importance, he was not only adored by his own friends, but even admired and dreaded by thoſe that adhered to the King's party, for his glorious actions and atchievements. Which being taken notice of by the King, who was naturally very jealous and quickſighted, filled him with incredible impatience, and ſpurred him on to haſten his deſtruction. But he concealed this reſolution under a very different appearance, and ſeemed to be ſincerely reconciled to him in all reſpects, profeſſing that, for the time to come, he would proceed according to his advice, and commit the whole management of the ſtate to his valour and wiſdom. For which purpoſe, he immediately cauſed the edict of union to be publiſhed in his Council, and ſworn to by all the members, and war to be openly declared againſt the *Hugonots*: for the proſecution of which, according to the articles of peace, two ſeveral armies were appointed, one in *Dauphinè*, under the Duke of *Mayenne*, the other in *Poictou*, of which the King declared *Lewis Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, his General, and inſtantly diſpatched the neceſſary commiſſions for both, with orders to raiſe regiments of horſe and foot. This firſt ſtep was ſucceeded by another, of ſtill greater conſequence. For the new power of the Duke of *Guiſe* was immediately not only confirmed in the Council, but publiſhed in the Parliament, and augmented with his former office of *Grand maſter of the palace*, which, except the expreſs title of Lieutenant General, included all the authority that is uſually annexed to that dignity: as, the command of all armies whereſoever he ſhould be in perſon, the office of High Conſtable in muſtering and paying the forces, the power of limiting and fixing the price of proviſions, the protection of the common people, the puniſhing of outrages committed by the ſoldiery, and other articles of

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that nature; which, excepting that of the King, veſted the higheſt authority and command in the Duke of *Guiſe*, and fixed him in that power which the Maſters of the palace anciently enjoyed in the times of the *Merouingian* Kings. His Majeſty ſhewed no leſs favour to the Cardinal of *Bourbon:* for by the conſent and with the approbation of his Council, he declared him *Firſt Prince of the Blood*, granting him the privilege of creating maſters of arts, and allowing his ſervants the ſame immunities and exemptions that were enjoyed by his own; which was in a great meaſure to declare him lawful ſucceſſor to the Crown. 1588.

Theſe great and important conceſſions were attended with others of no leſs conſequence: as the King's exceeding familiarity with the Duke of *Guiſe*, the profound reſpect that he ſhewed the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the favours which, by their interceſſion, he daily granted to divers other perſons, the diſcarding his old friends, the ſecret conſultations which he often held with the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, the Sieurs *De la Chaſtre*, *Baſſompierre*, and other intimate friends of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and principal adherents of the League, and many other ſuch like things, which ſeemed to demonſtrate the King's ſincerity and affection to them, and at the ſame time ſerved to cover his ſecret and real deſigns. And he was the more inclined to purſue theſe meaſures by the behaviour of the Pope, who being overjoyed at the Duke of *Guiſe's* ſucceſs, in driving the *Germans* out of the kingdom, and totally diſſipating their army by his admirable conduct, had wrote letters to him full of encomiums and congratulations, comparing him to the ancient *Maccabees*, the champions of the *Iſraelites*, ſo highly extolled in the ſacred writings, and exhorting him to perſevere in his glorious and ſucceſsful endeavours for the ſervice of the holy church, and the total extirpation of the *Hugonots*. Theſe letters were printed and publiſhed in *Paris* by the Duke's adherents, with a view to advance his credit and reputation, and were received by the people with infinite applauſe, at the ſame time that they occaſioned no ſmall jealouſy and vexation in the King, who could not bear to ſee, that one of his ſubjects ſhould have more weight and authority in the kingdom than he had himſelf. So that the tenour of the Pope's letters, and the opinion of the court of *Rome*, created ſo great a diſguſt and uneaſineſs in his mind, not only in regard to conſcientious motives, but upon other very important conſiderations, that he was determined to uſe proper and effectual means to divert any deſign that the Pope might be forming, and to convince the world, that he was not at emnity with the Apoſtolick ſee, nor ſo diſobedient to the holy church as was commonly reported. His Holineſs was very deſirous of interfering in the affairs of *France*, as much as it was poſſible, to promote the enterpriſe of the Catholicks againſt the *Hugonots*. For which purpoſe he was determined to appoint a Legate to aſſiſt at that memorable convention

1588. convention of the States, who might take care of the intereſts of the Apoſtolick ſee, and join the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in ſolliciting the King to haſten their meeting, and to declare war againſt the King of *Navarre*; but more particularly, to have him and all his family declared incapable of ever ſucceeding to the Crown, as manifeſtly guilty of hereſy. Yet becauſe he thought he did not ſee clearly into the affairs of that kingdom, and was not very ſure what the real deſigns of the League might be, he was in doubt whom to employ in that Legation, as he was deſirous neither abſolutely to alienate the King's affections, nor to offend the Duke of *Guiſe*, and thought a matter of ſo great importance required a perſon of ſingular prudence and abilities to conduct it. But he was not determined in his choice, till the King, who had been adviſed of his intention before-hand by *Piſani*, his reſident Ambaſſador at the court of *Rome*, deſired his Holineſs would ſend a perſon that he could confide in, and not one that was wholly devoted to the intereſts of the League, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours at that court, that *Giovanni Franciſco Moreſini*, a Senator of *Venice*, and Biſhop of *Breſcia*, who then reſided at the court of *France* as the Pope's Nuncio, might be appointed Legate. A man indeed of ſo much worth, and ſo well acquainted with the true ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, that he was very acceptable to the King, and yet not altogether diſtruſted by the Duke of *Guiſe*, on account of his admirable addreſs and engaging behaviour to every body. The choice was not diſagreeable to his Holineſs, who was thoroughly acquainted with the Nuncio, and held him in great eſteem for his extraordinary prudence, and the experience he had gained in ſtate affairs, by having been much employed in the management of thoſe of his own Republick. Beſides, as he was a noble *Venetian*, and conſequently well affected to the crown of *France*, he thought he would not ſuffer himſelf to be made a tool of, nor run blindly into the meaſures of the League; for it was the Pope's deſire to hold the balance even, and not to favour the Duke of *Guiſe's* deſigns, any further than the good of the Catholick religion, and the ſervice of the *Roman* church abſolutely required. But tho' the King was much pleaſed with the perſon of the Legate, who at that very time was alſo created Cardinal, yet he was outragiouſly offended at the Pope for giving an account of his election to the Lords of the League, and exhorting them to communicate their deſigns to him, and to confide in him, and that his letters upon this occaſion were printed and publiſhed by the League, with their uſual oſtentation. This conſideration, however, did not tranſport him ſo much, that he outwardly expreſſed any ſigns of diſpleaſure. On the contrary, he carefully diſſembled it, and endeavoured by all poſſible means to gain the Legate, that by his means he might be the better able to juſtify his

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own actions to the Pope, and by degrees take off the favour and aſſiſtance which he ſeemed inclinable to give to the League. 1588.

The court was buſied in theſe affairs, when news was brought of a conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon* at *Angouleſme*, by which he had like to have been ſuddenly deſtroyed. For when the courier arrived there (which happened very late) with the King's orders, not to receive or admit the Duke into the poſſeſſion of that government, ſome of the citizens, who were not much pleaſed to ſee him there, (as they differed in their affections) and thought they ſhould do the King acceptable ſervice, if they could force him out of poſſeſſion, diſpatched one of their confidants directly to the Secretary *Villeroy* at court, to know the King's intention more particularly, and to inform him, that they would attempt either to drive him out of the city, or take him priſoner, though he reſided continually in the citadel, which was a very ſtrong place, and well fortified. This propoſal was not diſagreeable to *Villeroy*, on account of his enmity to the Duke; and as he had been employed to write the aforeſaid letters, he thought this a fair opportunity of fulfilling the King's deſire, and therefore acquainted his Majeſty himſelf with it. But the King, who was now grown very diſtruſtful and ſuſpicious of *Villeroy*, would not fully ſignify his pleaſure to him in that matter; but, to prevent him from penetrating into his ſecret deſigns, and diſcovering his affection for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whom he ſtill loved in his heart, and confided in as much as ever, he ſaid, "He ſhould not be ſorry to ſee him driven out of *Angouleſme*, or "brought priſoner to him, provided his life might not be endangered:" which, though it was ſpoken with much coolneſs, was very differently repreſented by the Secretary to the meſſenger of the conſpirators, who being ſometime after admitted into the King's cloſet, and known by him, was referred to ſuch inſtructions as he ſhould receive from the Secretary: and the Secretary, though he would not give him any in writing, yet ordered, that they ſhould endeavour by all means to get the Duke of *Eſpernon* alive into their hands, or drive him out of the city; affirming, that it was his Majeſty's earneſt deſire, and that by ſo doing, they would very much oblige him.

The conſpirators, therefore, being encouraged, both by the relation of *Villeroy*, though very different from the truth, and by the addition of many words and circumſtances, which was made by the meſſenger, as it uſually happens upon ſuch occaſions, were deſirous to ſhew themſelves punctual performers of their promiſe, and began to talk not only of taking the Duke alive, but of killing him, if they could not otherwiſe ſecure him: and having conſulted about it with the Sieurs *De Merè*, *De la Meſſeliere*, the Viſcount *D'Aubeterre*, and ſome other Gentlemen of the country, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, which is the feaſt of St. *Laurence*, they ruſhed on a

1588. ſudden into the citadel, and having got poſſeſſion of the gate, before the guards ſuſpected any thing of the matter, they proceeded to the Duke's lodgings, and fell upon his ſervants that were in the antichamber, whilſt he was talking in his apartment with the Sieur *De Marivaut*, and the Abbé *Del Bene*. But the bravery of a few gave a check to the fury of numbers. For *Raphaello Gieronimi*, a *Florentine*, killed three of the conſpirators, and defended the entrance of the door a great while, till he loſt his life by a piſtol ſhot. When he was dead, and the enemy began to preſs forwards with greater violence, one *Sorlin*, the Duke's Surgeon, though he was deſperately wounded, called aloud to the reſt of the family, who were in the lower rooms, to come up to his aſſiſtance, by which means they ſtopped the fury of the aſſailants, till the Duke, and they that were with him, having ſhut the door of the chamber, and barricadoed it with trunks and cheſts, were able to defend themſelves againſt ſo ſudden an attack. Whilſt they were thus engaged at the chamber door, the Duke's Gentlemen, (amongſt whom *Lancilotto di Nores*, a *Cypriot*, was the firſt) hear the noiſe, immediately took arms, and recovered the gate of the citadel, which the Sieurs *D'Ambleville* and *L'Artigues* ſtaid to defend, whilſt the reſt ran armed up ſtairs, and coming upon the conſpirators, who were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to force their way into the chamber, cut them all in pieces, except one of the Conſuls of the city, whom they laid hands on, and took alive. By this time the Duke had put on his armour, and coming out of the chamber, ſtood undauntedly upon his defence, together with his ſervants, and deſcending into the court, where the tumult increaſed, he, with his own hand, killed the Conſul's brother, who had ſcaled the walls of the citadel, and was come thither, with ſome others that had armed themſelves, to relieve their friends. There they took five more of the chief citizens priſoners, who had got in by the ſame means, and in this manner the fury of the citizens was repulſed.

In the mean time the alarm-bell was rung; at the ſound of which, all the people of the city were in motion, the chief of whom ran to ſeize upon the Duke's Lady; who, not ſuſpecting any ſuch thing, was gone to maſs at the great church. And as the conſpirators received freſh reinforcements every minute by the coming in of the Gentry, who were privy to the matter, they became ſo ſtrong and couragious, that they immediately began to make preparations to aſſault the citadel. But the Duke, and they that were with him, defended it gallantly, and by threatning to put thoſe priſoners to death that were in their hands, who were perſons of note, and leading men amongſt the citizens, they kept the people in awe till the Sieur *De Tagens* came up with his ſoldiers, who being quartered in the country, made all the haſte he could to the city at the noiſe, which was heard a great way off. At his arrival the people were terrified, and the

the heads of the conſpiracy ſo diſmayed, that by means of the Biſhop of the city, and the Abbé *Del Bene*, it was at laſt agreed, that the priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Ducheſs reſtored, the Gentlemen that were concerned in the conſpiracy put out of the city, and the Duke acknowledged Governor for the King as before; who having ſhewn great courage in defending himſelf, and no leſs moderation after the agreement, ſoon extinguiſhed the ſudden blaze which had like to have conſumed him. 1588.

The news of this affair threw the Secretary *Villeroy* abſolutely out of the King's favour, who could not believe that, if the meſſenger from the citizens of *Angouleſme* had been anſwered as doubtfully and coldly in that matter as he intended, they would ever have run ſuch lengths as to make an attempt upon the Duke's life, as he had expreſly forbid them to do any ſuch thing, but took it for granted, that *Villeroy* had laid hold of that opportunity, to gratify the open emnity and implacable hatred that he bore to the Duke *Eſpernon*. Upon which account, he was not a little vexed within himſelf, as he thought he was beſet on every ſide by Miniſters that were governed by paſſion and private intereſt, and did not much reliſh that too great ſagacity, which enabled them to ſound the very bottom of his heart: ſo that he could not help calling to mind the example of his grandfather, who, in the latter part of his reign had diſcarded all thoſe old Miniſters of ſtate, that were become ſuſpected and diſagreeable to him by their too much wiſdom, and had employed men of ſtrict integrity, but ſuch as were not poſſeſſed of the higheſt underſtanding, from whom he had received better and more effectual ſervice, than from thoſe that were grown old in the knowledge and experience of court affairs. Upon this conſideration, as ſoon as he had left *Chartres*, in order to continue his journey to *Blois*, where he was determined to give the finiſhing ſtroke to his deſigns, he diſcharged the Sieurs *De Pinart* and *Brulart*, old Secretaries of State, and ſent *Benois*, his Cabinet Secretary, in whom he put great confidence, to tell the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Monſieur *Bellieure*, and the Sieur *De Villeroy*, who were gone home upon their private affairs, that his Majeſty was ſatisfied with the pains they had already taken to ſerve him, and commanded them to return no more to court. Which order was received and obeyed by *Bellieure* with great reſignation: the High Chancellor attempted, in vain, to juſtify himſelf, and to be recalled: and *Villeroy*, though he ſubmitted, was nevertheleſs exceedingly affected with it, as he thought his long toils and ſucceſsful ſervices were unjuſtly ſlighted, and too ungratefully requited. In the room of the High Chancellor, the King choſe *Francis de Monthelon*, his Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be the Keeper of the Seals, a man of approved integrity and honeſt intentions, but not much uſed to matters of government, in which, till that time, he had been very little employed. *Martin*

1588. *Ruzè*, Sieur *De Beaulieu*, and *Lewis de Revel*, were made Secretaries of State, both men of unblemiſhed reputation, uncorrupted fidelity, thoroughly diſintereſted, and bred up in his ſervice from their youth, but not eſteemed too knowing in ſtate affairs. In this manner he thought he had put out the fox's eyes, as he ſaid, and taken proper care to be faithfully and punctually ſerved, whilſt his Miniſters would not be able to ſee any deeper into his deſigns, than he himſelf was pleaſed to allow them.

By theſe changes the court was wholly altered, not only in appearance, but alſo in the form and manner of governing. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, who of late had but ſmall ſhare in the Council, now ſeemed to dictate all the reſolutions that were taken there, in concert with the Arch-biſhop of *Lions* and the Sieur *De la Chaſtre*, his moſt intimate confidants, who were treated ſeemingly with very great reſpect. And in the Cabinet Council, where the Queen Mother uſed to bear the chief ſway, the King was grown ſo ſuſpicious, that ſhe had now very little part. All the reſt of the old confidants were likewiſe excluded, except the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, and the Sieur *De Rambouillet*, who ſtill had the King's ear, and were privy to his moſt ſecret reſolutions. The Duke of *Nevers* alſo, who not long before was not only ſuſpected, but even hated by the King, had now great power with his Majeſty, as he was grown a very different ſort of a man from what he formerly had been. But this was not ſo much owing to the fame of that Nobleman's wiſdom and experience, which were ſufficiently known, as to the emulation and ſecret envy that the Duke of *Guiſe's* greatneſs had excited in him, which was ſo virulent, that, though they married two ſiſters, yet one could not bear to ſee the exaltation of the other. And now this inward animoſity was exceedingly enflamed, by ſeeing the Duke of *Guiſe* preferred to the power of Lieutenant General, with abſolute authority and command over every one. Wherefore, as this was no ſecret to the King, he reſolved to blow up the fire, and with that view had declared the Duke of *Nevers* General of the army which was to march into *Poictou* and *Guyenne*, to whet them up ſo much the more againſt each other, and that their emulation might flame out with greater violence. For he was well aſſured, that the Duke of *Nevers* would not endure the thoughts of being ſubordinate to the Duke of *Guiſe*; and, on the other hand, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, in order to keep him under, and becauſe he was jealous of him, would not fail to go to the army himſelf; which would occaſion their ſecret heart burnings to break out into open diſcord and diſſention. To avoid this, which the Duke of *Nevers* alſo plainly foreſaw, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelfi on account of his age, bad ſtate of health, and other pretences, from accepting of that poſt. But the King would not hear of it, nor conſent to confer it upon any other; as he likewiſe thought it was not a time to truſt the command

command of an army in the hands of any perſon that he could not thoroughly confide in. By theſe artifices both parties became ſo bitterly exaſperated againſt each other, that the Duke of *Nevers* conſtantly informed the King in ſecret of every particular that might tend to the Duke of *Guiſe's* diſadvantage; ſo that he who was before ſo much ſuſpected, now became one of his moſt intimate confidants. 1588.

With theſe deſigns the court arrived at *Blois* the 27th of *September*, where the Deputies of the provinces were already aſſembled; in the election of whom, both parties indeed had taken much pains, but the heads of the League had ſecured a very large majority. For the order of the Clergy, in regard to the intereſts of religion, almoſt wholly inclined to that ſide; the Commons, whoſe aim it was to procure an alleviation of thoſe impoſitions, with the weight of which they were not a little exaſperated, willingly concurred with the King's enemies, who promiſed and proteſted they would eaſe the people of thoſe intolerable burdens; and amongſt the Nobility, many were nearly intereſted with the houſe of *Lorrain* and the League. So that the King plainly perceived, at the very firſt, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſure of a ſufficient number of voices to carry any point that he ſhould propoſe in that meeting. But as he was determined to take another courſe, and deſirous as much as poſſible to lay aſleep all ſuſpicions, he received the Deputies on both ſides without any diſtinction, and treated them all with much kindneſs and affection, pretending that he had founded all hopes of his own private tranquillity, and the ſafety of the kingdom, in ſuch remedies as the States ſhould think fit to preſcribe. In order therefore to give beginning to an aſſembly, which he ſeemed to think of ſo great conſequence, with the utmoſt ſtate and formality, he cauſed a ſolemn proceſſion to be made, on *Sunday* the 2d of *October*, in which he himſelf being preſent, with all the Princes, the whole Court, and the Deputies of every order in their proper places, the Hoſt was carried with exceeding pomp through the ſtreets, which were all hung with tapeſtry upon that occaſion. High maſs was ſung, with great appearance of profound and ſincere devotion in every one: and the *Sunday* after, the King himſelf, with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and all the Deputies, publickly received the ſacrament in the church of *St. Francis*, to confirm the harmony and unanimity which they ſhewed for the good of the kingdom by ſo pious a beginning, as that was the profeſſed deſign of the States being convened.

The aſſembly began upon the third *Sunday*, which was the 16th day of the month. And ſoon after dinner, all thoſe whoſe duty it was to attend, being met together in the great hall of the caſtle, the King ſeated himſelf on a throne that was raiſed from the ground upon many ſteps, and covered with a very rich cloth of ſtate. The two Queens, the Princes, Cardinals, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, ſat upon ſeats prepared for that purpoſe,

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1588. in two long rows, on the right-hand and on the left; and betwixt them, in the inner part of the area, ſat the Deputies, according to their reſpective rank and pre-eminence. The Duke of *Guiſe*, as Grand Maſter, ſat with his ſtaff of office in his hand, upon a ſeat at the foot of the throne, on the right-hand; and on the left ſat the Sieur *De Monthelon*, who repreſented the perſon of the High Chancellor of the kingdom.

When they had all taken their proper places, the King, with great majeſty and eloquence opened the aſſembly with a long and pathetick ſpeech; in which, after many proteſtations of his earneſt deſires for the good and welfare of his people, and repreſenting the dangerous and diſtreſsful ſituation to which inteſtine diſcords and private intereſts had reduced the Crown, he exhorted every one of them totally to lay aſide their paſſions, to forget their emnities, to beware of engaging in factions, to provide convenient and effectual remedies for the publick neceſſities, to conſult the eaſe of every man in particular, to reunite themſelves ſincerely in obedience to him alone, to aboliſh all innovations, to deſiſt from all illegal practices, leagues, correſpondencies, and intereſted combinations, both within and without the kingdom, by which, contrary to the duty of loyal ſubjects, and to all love of their country, they had occaſioned ſo much uneaſineſs in the breaſt of their lawful and natural ſovereign, and diſturbed the quiet and tranquillity of all good men: for as he had pardoned, and would forget all that was paſt; ſo, for the time to come, he would not bear it, but look upon it as an act of downright treaſon. After he had dwelt a conſiderable time upon that point, he concluded in a grave and weighty manner, "That, as he laboured ſincerely for the welfare of "his ſubjects, and reſolved to perſecute and tread down hereſy, to favour "the good, to reſtore the ſplendour and authority of juſtice, to advance "religion, to ſupport the nobility, and to diſburden the common people: "ſo he earneſtly entreated and conjured every one of them to aſſiſt him, "with their beſt advice and endeavours, in ſo neceſſary a reformation. "For if they ſhould act otherwiſe, and enter into cabals and private "machinations, and mix in the intereſts of factious men, they would "ſtain themſelves with perfidy and treaſon, and be brought to a ſevere "account for it before the tribunal of Almighty God, after they had in-"curred the penalties of human juſtice, and rendered their names infamous "to all poſterity."

This ſpeech ſtung the Duke of *Guiſe* and all his party to the quick; and ſo much the more when they ſaw he was reſolved to have it printed. So that the Archbiſhop of *Lions* endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, by repreſenting to him, that it would be much better to ſuppreſs his ſpeech, though never ſo well drawn up, than to alienate the hearts of his ſubjects, who could not help being alarmed when they ſaw that he had not forgot what

what was paſt, but taxed them, in the preſence of the whole kingdom, with no leſs crimes than treaſon and rebellion. But the King was determined that all the world ſhould know what he had ſaid to the aſſembly of the States, and cauſed his ſpeech to be printed, which was of wonderful ſervice in excuſing thoſe things that afterwards happened. Some writers have aſſerted, that the King, at the perſuaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, ſtruck many paſſages out of this ſpeech when he ſent it to the preſs, which he had ſpoken in publick. But I myſelf, who was preſent, and ſtood ſo near as to hear every word of it, can truly affirm, that all that he ſpoke was printed, though the expreſſions were ſo heightened by the earneſtneſs of his geſtures and tone of voice, that they ſeemed much more poignant and cutting than when they appeared in print, as they wanted that life and ſpirit with which they were delivered. 1588.

After the King's ſpeech, Monſieur *De Monthelon*, Keeper of the Seals, got up, and having applauded the King's good intentions, according to cuſtom, expatiated more at large upon the points that his Majeſty had touched upon before. This was anſwered by *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, in behalf of the order of the Clergy, with great appearance of profound ſubmiſſion and obedience; by the Baron *De Seneſçay* for the Nobility; and by *Michael Marteau*, *Prevôt des Marchands* in *Paris*, for the order of the Commons. After which, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the ſecond ſeſſion adjourned to the *Tueſday* following.

That day was famous for the oath which the States took, to receive the edict of union, which the King had publiſhed in the month of *July* before, for a fundamental law of the kingdom; by which he not only reunited himſelf to all his Catholick ſubjects, but ſwore ſolemnly to perſevere till death in the *Roman* religion, to promote the increaſe and preſervation of it, to employ all his forces for the extirpation of hereſy, never to ſuffer that any heretick, or favourer of hereticks, ſhould ſucceed to the crown, not to prefer any to dignities or employments, but ſuch perſons as conſtantly profeſſed the *Roman* Catholick religion, and inſiſted himſelf that all his ſubjects ſhould promiſe and ſwear the ſame; who being thus reunited to him, were forbid to join in leagues or aſſociations with any other perſons, on pain of being proceeded againſt as traitors and violaters of the oath that they had taken, with other particulars; by which he aboliſhed the memory of all things paſt, declared himſelf head of the Catholick League and union, and reduced all the orders to their proper and natural obedience.

The ſolemnity that attended the taking this oath was very remarkable. For the King himſelf ſpoke concerning it in a very grave and weighty manner: the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* made a diſcourſe to the aſſembly, in which he

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1588. ſet forth the nature and extenſive obligation of the oath they were going take: and *Beaulieu*, the new Secretary of State, regiſtered the whole proceedings, to perpetuate the memory of ſo ſolemn an act: after which, they all returned publick thanks to God in the church of *St. Sauveur*. All theſe ceremonies, which moſt people thought calculated only to extinguiſh the remembrance of things paſt, ſerved greatly to authorize and excuſe what afterwards happened. For notwithſtanding theſe obligations, by which the adherents of the League bound themſelves to give up all further attempts, and to unite in ſincere obedience to the King: and notwithſtanding all his proteſtations in the publick aſſembly of the States, to forget what was paſt, but ſeverely to puniſh all future miſdemeanours, they did not at all abate their pretenſions, but continued them with their uſual vigour, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtill aſpiring to the expreſs title of Lieutenant General, which he had not yet been able to extort from the King, though he had in a great meaſure procured the ſame power to be annexed to his office of Grand Maſter: and the reſt never ceaſing to ſollicit the States, that the government might be reformed in ſuch a manner, as ſhould leave the King only the name and appearance of a Prince, whilſt the whole of affairs was conducted by the Duke and his dependants of the League. Even the Deputies intereſted themſelves in the views of the faction, and ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to promote the ſame ends, without any regard to ſo many ſolemn oaths, and in open contempt of his Majeſty's name, perſon, and authority. And the event plainly ſhewed with how much policy the King had proceeded in the aſſembly. For as he was no ſtranger to the obſtinacy of the confederates, he artfully laid the ſnare of publick oaths, and other ſolemn acts and ceremonies, (all which ſeemed to be in favour of the League, though they ſecretly gave it a mortal ſtab) that he might chaſtiſe them with a better grace, if at any time he ſhould catch them again in the commiſſion of thoſe crimes and miſdemeanours, which they had ſworn not to be guilty of for the time to come, and which he had publickly declared he would puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity.

There were many who thought, that if the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Deputies, and the other heads of the League, after theſe oaths, would have deſiſted from all further attempts, and given up their private intereſts and paſſions, with a reſolution to proceed with ſincerity for the future, the King, who was naturally of an honeſt and gentle diſpoſition, would even then have forgot all that was paſt, and reconciled himſelf to the houſe of *Guiſe*. But the Duke, either not diſcovering, or deſpiſing theſe artifices, was ſo elated with his ſucceſs, and ſeeing the greater part of the Deputies ſo ready to ſupport his pretenſions, that he uſed his utmoſt efforts to bring matters to that point, which he had at firſt propoſed to himſelf.

It was the general report, that he ſecretly aſpired to that power which the Maſters of the Palace anciently uſed to enjoy, whilſt the Kings were only looked upon as cyphers and ſhadows, and leading an indolent, delicate courſe of life, left the management of the ſtate entirely to their care. From whence it came to paſs, in the courſe of time, that *Chilperic*, a Prince of a ſoft and effeminate diſpoſition, being deprived of his crown and put into a monaſtery, to lead the reſt of his life in a private manner, *Charles Martel*, and afterwards his ſon *Pepin*, Maſters of the Palace (into whoſe hands he had wholly committed the reins of the government and the command of his forces) at laſt aſſumed the title and authority of King, to the manifeſt injury and prejudice of thoſe to whom it juſtly belonged. Thoſe that were intereſted, made no ſcruple of ſaying, that the example of former times was very applicable to the preſent. For the King had ſhewn no leſs ſigns of an inactive and womaniſh diſpoſition than *Chilperic* formerly had done. And the Duke of *Guiſe* had convinced the world, by his late victories and admirable conduct, that he was not at all inferior, either in valour or any other qualification, to what *Martel* or *Pepin* were in thoſe times. And though he was not of the Royal Blood, as the Maſters of the Palace anciently uſed to be, yet the intereſts of religion, with which all his undertakings were intimately connected, gave him a very fair handle for depriving the houſe of *Bourbon* of the ſucceſſion to the Crown, and transferring it to himſelf or his poſterity, under a pretence, that ſuch meaſures were abſolutely neceſſary, to prevent the moſt Chriſtian kingdom from falling into the hands of hereticks and excommunicated perſons. To ſerve this purpoſe, it was whiſpered about, that he was deſirous of being declared Lieutenant-General, not by the King, but by the States-General, with ſupreme authority, that he might be enabled not only to curb the power of the King himſelf, who, he apprehended, would ſoon return to his uſual manner of governing, but likewiſe to ſuppreſs the houſe of *Bourbon*. For if he could once get the King of *Navarre* to be declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown by the States-General, and of courſe the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be acknowledged his lawful ſucceſſor, it muſt neceſſarily happen, that after the death of the Cardinal, who was, in a great meaſure, already worn out with age and infirmities, the royal family would become extinct, and the reſt of that houſe excluded from the Crown, and rendered incapable of ever ſucceeding to it, by the ſuſpicion of hereſy. So that the Duke of *Guiſe*, by the dint of popularity, and the ſtrength of thoſe forces which were under his command, would eaſily defeat any meaſures that might be taken to prevent him and his poſterity from being called to the Crown, even whilſt the King was alive, or at leaſt after his death, if the Duke of *Guiſe* could be contented to wait for that event. But as the King led ſo diſſolute a 1588.

1588. life, and was naturally inclined to jealouſy and extravagance, and at the ſame time not at all beloved by his ſubjects, they began to think of ſhutting him up, by degrees, in a monaſtery, as *Chilperic* formerly had been.

Theſe things were in a manner publickly talked of. But the natural temper and ſpirit of the King were ſo different from thoſe of *Chilperic*, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was diſappointed in his expectations, whether he really had any ſuch deſigns, or that his intention was only to ſecure himſelf and the Catholick religion, which he could not do, except he was thoroughly and ſecurely eſtabliſhed in his greatneſs. Wherefore, as he had directed all his views to that end, in order to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the people's affections, he took the utmoſt pains, in the firſt place, to bring about a reduction of the taxes and impoſitions, and was himſelf the author of that moſt important motion. The King, however, and many of the wiſeſt of the Deputies, oppoſed it, alledging, that it was inconſiſtent and contradictory to reſolve upon an obſtinate war, to raiſe ſo many armies, to take new forces into pay, to make daily proteſtations of never laying down their arms, till they had fully accompliſhed their deſigns: and on the other hand, by leſſening, and in a manner deſtroying the King's revenues, to cut the ſinews of the war, and after ſo much boaſting, to reduce themſelves to a neceſſity of ſubmitting, for want of money, to a diſhonourable and diſadvantageous peace. But the intereſt of the Commons was ſo powerful, their inclinations ſo determined, and the Duke of *Guiſe's* authority ſo great, that notwithſtanding the weight of theſe arguments, they at laſt reſolved to demand a moderation of the taxes, an abatement of the new impoſts (which amounted to the yearly ſum of two millions of gold) the ſuppreſſion of certain offices that had been eſtabliſhed merely to raiſe money, and the total abolition of many other grievances.

But the Duke of *Guiſe* having tried his ſtrength, and being fully convinced of his intereſt with the Deputies, was ſo animated, and become ſo popular, by having ſucceeded in carrying that point againſt the King, that he propoſed to himſelf in the next place, to get the States to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*, as the moſt efficacious means, not only to ſuppreſs and exclude the *Hugonots* for ever, but alſo to cauſe the King of *Navarre* and the reſt of the houſe of *Bourbon*, to be declared incapable of the ſucceſſion. But this was not ſo plauſible an undertaking as the other: for many of the Nobility diſliked it, as tending to retrench their liberties; and it was diſguſtful to the generality of the Clergy, who were jealous of the privileges and immunities of the *Gallican* church. So that though the King, who was naturally an enemy to hereſy, conſented willingly to it, in hopes of pre-engaging the Pope's affections and good opinion, which he was apprehenſive of forfeiting by the meaſures that

that he intended to purſue; and though the Cardinals took much pains, and the Duke of *Guiſe* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to carry this point, yet the oppoſition of the Deputies and of moſt of the Clergy was ſo ſtrong, that they were forced to drop the affair, and the further conſideration of it was referred to another time. 1588.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was not at all ſurprized nor diſcouraged, when he conſidered that the reaſon why that motion did not ſucceed, was, becauſe every one was apprehenſive of having a further reſtraint laid upon them in matters of conſcience, reſolved to make a bolder attempt without this preparative, and cauſed it to be propoſed in the States, that the King of *Navarre* and the reſt of his family, being ſuſpected of hereſy, ſhould be declared incapable of ever ſucceeding to the Crown. And this was ſoon agreed to, though many people thought it never would have been, on account of the great reverence that had always been paid to the *Salic laws*, and the right line of the Royal Blood. For, notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, one of the Preſidents of the Eccleſiaſtical order, oppoſed this motion in an indirect manner, as an unſeaſonable propoſal, whilſt the King was in the flower of his age, and might ſtill poſſibly have a ſon; yet the Clergy came to a reſolution, that the King of *Navarre* in particular, and all others ſuſpected of hereſy, ſhould be declared incapable of the ſucceſſion; and that this was conformable to the intention and doctrine of the holy canons, and expedient for the ſalvation of mens ſouls and the preſervation of God's church. Upon which, the two other orders of the Nobility and Commons, by the earneſt perſuaſion of the agents of the League, determined likewiſe, that it was proper to refer themſelves in this matter to the Clergy, and to acquieſce in their deciſion: which vote, as ſoon as it had paſſed, was preſented to the King by *William D'Avançon*, Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, attended by ſix Deputies of every order, who inſiſted that his Majeſty would make it a publick decree, and cauſe it to be publiſhed and confirmed in the Aſſembly, which ſhould receive and ſwear to it as a fundamental law. But the King, who was utterly averſe to ſuch a manner of proceeding, as he knew it was the laſt effort of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the League, to bring their deſigns to a conſummation, ſeemed to commend the zeal of the Clergy, and the piety and modeſty of the other orders in things that concerned religion: and inſtead of an anſwer, gave the Deputies a proteſt, that had been tranſmitted to him by the King of *Navarre*; who having ſummoned a meeting of his party at *Rochelle*, had cauſed an inſtrument to be printed, in which he demanded the execution of thoſe edicts and declarations, that had been ſo often publiſhed in behalf of his party, and the convoking of a national or general council, by which he might be duly inſtructed in ſuch points as were controverted in

1588. matters of faith; proteſting, that he ſhould look upon whatſoever was determined to his prejudice by the Aſſembly of *Blois* as null and invalid: as he had not been called upon to clear himſelf of thoſe things that were laid to his charge, and that aſſembly was not compoſed of all the orders and degrees of people in the kingdom, ſince thoſe of his party were neither ſummoned nor admitted to it. He farther inſiſted, that he ought not by any means to be condemned for an heretick, though he was publickly called ſo by his enemies, whilſt he voluntarily offered to ſubmit his opinions to the determination of a free and lawful council, either national or œcumenical. To theſe demands of the King of *Navarre*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty added, "That as common juſtice required that "no man whatſoever ſhould be condemned without being cited to make "his defence, which (by the conſent of all learned men) was acting "according to the law of God, it would be unjuſt to paſs ſo heavy a "ſentence, without giving him any opportunity to anſwer for himſelf, "or hearing his arguments, whatever they were: for if a deciſion, which "related only to a matter of property, that was worth no more than an "hundred crowns, would be cenſurable, nay void and of no effect, "where the party had not been ſummoned to defend himſelf: much "more would a decree be deemed invalid and injurious, which was of "ſo much weight and importance as to determine the ſucceſſion of a "kingdom. That if many of the King of *Navarre's* allegations were "not altogether true, they were at leaſt ſpecious and plauſible, and ſuch "as ought not to be lightly paſſed over in a concern of ſo great conſe-"quence, but to be maturely conſidered and diſcuſſed; eſpecially as he "had aſſerted, that he had conſtantly been ready to ſubmit to the in-"ſtruction of grave and learned men: That he only claimed the liberty "of conſcience in which all *Frenchmen* were indulged, and from which "it would be hard that he alone ſhould be excluded: That he excuſed "himſelf from the imputation of being a relapſed heretick, by the ap-"prehenſions he was under, and the force that was put upon him, at the "maſſacre of *Paris*, at which time he had conſented to go to maſs, only "to ſave his life. That he urged many other things which were not "entirely to be overlooked, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt that the de-"cree of the States might not appear to have been precipitate and in-"tereſted, nor paſſed in ſo irregular and diſorderly a manner, as to ſeem "void of all thoſe regards which the ordinary courſe of juſtice requires, "even in matters of the ſmalleſt concern, much more in the condemn-"ing of a perſon of ſo great quality, and in the inheritance of a whole "kingdom. That there was time enough to admoniſh and cite that "Prince to a hearing, and ſufficient opportunity to proceed againſt him "in a legal manner, as, by the bleſſing of God, he himſelf was ſo

"ſtrong

" ſtrong and healthful, that there could not be any immediate probability 1588.
" of his death, nor the leaſt occaſion to determine an affair of that con-
" ſequence with ſo much haſte and inconſideration: upon which accounts,
" it became the dignity of ſo grave an Aſſembly, that was compoſed of
" the moſt eminent men of all profeſſions in the kingdom, to proceed
" with deliberation, and in ſuch a manner as might not appear to be the
" effect of an intemperate zeal, but of ſincere piety, regulated by prudence
" and diſcretion."

The Deputies carried back the King's anſwer to their ſeveral orders, but to no purpoſe. For the Clergy replied, " That the King of *Navarre* had " often been admoniſhed and ſummoned to appear by the Queen Mother, " and meſſengers from former Aſſemblies of the States. That there was " no occaſion for any new council, ſince the general one of *Trent* had " already condemned the tenets which he profeſſed, as heretical. That " he had been inſtructed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his uncle, ſo grave a " perſonage, and ſo nearly related to him, and yet had returned to his " firſt opinions in religion; that at laſt he had been declared a relapſed " heretick by the Pope. So that it was unneceſſary to ſend him any more " citations, or to enter into any further diſcuſſions or examinations, ſince " the preſent reſolution was not ſo much a determination as an execution, " and therefore, there was no need of any longer doubt or delay." To this declaration of the Clergy the other orders aſſented: in conſequence of which, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, with the ſame Deputies, reported to the King, " That his anſwer having been conſidered by the States, they " ſtill perſiſted in their opinion, and therefore beſought his Majeſty, " to have it immediately paſſed into an act."

The King, ſeeing the obſtinacy of the States, and being reſolved to take meaſures very different from what any one thought of at preſent, anſwered, " That he agreed to the general vote, and that he would take care to " have it paſſed into a decree." And in the mean time, in order to fruſtrate the deſign of that attempt in ſome degree, he prevailed upon Cardinal *Moreſini*, the Pope's Legate, to ſollicit an abſolution at the court of *Rome* for the Prince of *Conti* and the Count of *Soiſſons*, brothers to the late Prince of *Condé*, who having profeſſed the Catholick religion ever ſince the maſſacre on *St. Bartholomew's* day, had yet gone over to the King of *Navarre*, and borne arms for him, one at the battle of *Coutras*, and the other in the conducting of the *German* army into *France*: but having ſince repented of following that party, on account of its weakneſs, and for other conſiderations, had returned to their obedience to the King, by whoſe perſuaſion they very ſubmiſſively aſked pardon of the Apoſtolick ſee; which humiliation being repreſented in a very favourable light by Cardinal *Moreſini*, who took much pains in the affair to oblige the King,

and

1588. and to do juſtice to the right line of the Royal Blood, and being ſeconded by the earneſt ſollicitations of the Marquis *De Piſani*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, the Pope at laſt conſented to grant thoſe Princes abſolution, which threw freſh difficulties in the Duke of *Guiſe's* way, and in ſome meaſure damped the ſpecious pretenſions of the League.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the King, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the States, were all much alarmed at the news which was brought them, that *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, having entered the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo* with an army in a hoſtile manner, had taken abſolute poſſeſſion of it, and driven out the King's officers and garriſons. The Duke of *Savoy*, who was a young Prince, of a very aſpiring diſpoſition, and not a little elated by his new alliance with his Catholick Majeſty, having lately married his daughter, the Infanta *Catherine*, had formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, to which his anceſtors pretended a right by ancient ſucceſſion. As he therefore ſaw the kingdom of *France* involved in inteſtine troubles, and had taken particular notice how royal Majeſty was trampled upon, and the authority of the King's name utterly deſpiſed and aboliſhed in the late attempt of the League, in the inſurrection of *Paris*, he was reſolved not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity, but partly by ſecret practices, partly by open force, had got *Carmagnola*, and the other ſtrong holds of that ſtate into his hands, together with great quantities of ammunition, which had been left in the magazines of thoſe places ſince the laſt wars in *Italy*. But after he had executed his deſign with great reſolution, he began to entertain ſome apprehenſions, that on one hand, the *French* would reſent it, and on the other, that the *Italian* Princes would not be very well pleaſed. For which reaſons, he immediately diſpatched a courier to the *French* court, to acquaint the King, that he had been forced to take that ſtep, not with any intention to offend the Crown of *France*, but to prevent the imminent ruin of his own ſtate, in caſe the *Hugonots* ſhould get footing in the Marquiſate, as *Les Diguieres* earneſtly endeavoured to do; who, having made himſelf maſter of *Caſtel Delphine* in the *Alps*, ſeemed very much inclined to ſeize upon the Marquiſate, which would be attended with the corruption of *Piedmont*, and thoſe particular calamities to himſelf, in which he ſaw *France* at preſent involved by the poiſon of hereſy: and therefore he would keep the Marquiſate in his hands, till ſuch time as that danger was over, and his claim had been examined in a judicial manner, being ready to reſtore it when the *Hugonots* were rooted out of *Dauphiné*, and he ſhould be delivered from thoſe juſt apprehenſions which the proſpect of ſo imminent a danger had raiſed in his breaſt, provided his pretenſions ſhould be found to be unreaſonable. He cauſed the ſame things to be repreſented to the Senate of *Venice*, which he knew, as arbiter of peace in *Italy*, would be infinitely

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diſpleaſed at any ſuch innovations. The like reaſons were urged, but more explicitly, to the Pope, whom he alſo told, to keep him quiet, that this was only the prologue of a war that he deſigned to make upon the ſtate of *Geneva*, according to his own particular requeſt; and, to work upon him the more effectually, he put him in mind of the confederacy and correſpondence that was maintained betwixt the King of *France* and that commonwealth. 1588.

It was wonderful to ſee what a diſturbance this event occaſioned, and how greatly it changed the face of affairs in the Aſſembly of the States. For the King and his friends ſaid publickly, that the Duke of *Savoy* had been encouraged to ſo inſolent a manner of proceeding, by a ſecret underſtanding with the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, by this means, thought to deprive Monſieur *De la Valette* of his government of the Marquiſate. That he had purchaſed the friendſhip of the Duke of *Savoy* at that price, and gratified the *Spaniards*, who were deſirous of having that door ſhut, in order to cut off the paſſage of *French* forces into *Italy*. Many of the Nobility likewiſe firmly believed it. So that people began to murmur, and ſaid, it was too unjuſt and too unworthy a thing, to perſiſt ſo obſtinately imbruing their hands in each others blood, and in the mean time to ſuffer the honour of the nation to be trampled under foot, and the poſſeſſions of the Crown to be forcibly taken away by foreign enemies. That too much had been already done to gratify the ambition of great men, and to glut the revenge of factions. That it was now high time to reunite and join their forces, to defend themſelves from the inſults of foreigners; and that this affront was of ſo atrocious a nature, that they ought by no means to defer the taking a ſpeedy and exemplary revenge. By theſe popular and plauſible arguments, enforced with much warmth by the Nobility, who were highly enraged, the other orders were alſo moved to reſent it with the greateſt indignation: ſo that they ſeemed inclinable to lay aſide all thoughts of civil war, and to turn their arms againſt the Duke of *Savoy*. Many of the moſt underſtanding men were of opinion, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was not privy to this deſign of ſeizing upon the Marquiſate at that juncture, for it was not by any means a ſeaſonable time to proceed in ſuch a manner, and this accident alone greatly embarraſſed his ſchemes, which were now tending to a proſperous concluſion. Yet he was generally reported to be the contriver of that enterprize; which determined the States to enter into a foreign war, and at leaſt to ſlacken or defer their proceedings againſt the *Hugonots*.

This did not a little affect the Duke of *Guiſe*, whether he was concerned or not in the ſurpriſal of the Marquiſate. For he plainly ſaw, that the diverſion of thoſe humours, and employing them in a foreign war, would naturally abate the inteſtine diſcords of the kingdom, and that peace,

1588. liberty of conſcience, and the eſtabliſhment of the *Hugonots*, muſt of courſe enſue: by which, ſo many deſigns would be fruſtrated, and ſo many deep laid plots to ſuppreſs the *Calviniſts*, and to eſtabliſh his own greatneſs, would fall to the ground, and end in nothing. And if the war was turned againſt his confederates, the Duke of *Savoy* and the King of *Spain*, he was aware, that he ſhould loſe his authority by little and little, and that the credit and reputation of the Princes would riſe again, as the King's youth, and good ſtate of health, might give birth to infinite and yet unthought of events. But if he was mortified on one hand with theſe reflexions, he was no leſs vexed on the other, by the reports that were ſpread abroad by the King. The general inclination of the States likewiſe, very much perplexed him. For, as the Protector of the people, he muſt be obliged not only not to oppoſe, but to promote ſo juſt and popular an undertaking, as he thought all his deſigns would be utterly ruined, if he, who had always profeſſed to maintain the welfare and credit of the publick, ſhould now ſeem either to join in, or even to make but ſmall account of, ſo high an indignity as had been offered to the nation. Wherefore, after much uneaſineſs and deep conſideration, he reſolved, as the King had artfully done, to make a pretence of concurring with the inclination of the States, to ſhew himſelf eager to revenge any affront to the Crown, and by ſome other means, to prevent the conſequences that he apprehended from a foreign war, which he thought might be effected without any conſiderable difficulty, partly by his power, and partly by artifice. With this deſign he cauſed a report to be raiſed, that the taking of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, had been contrived and brought about by the King himſelf, to defeat the wholeſome reſolutions of the States, and to prevent the decrees from paſſing againſt the King of *Navarre* and the *Hugonots*: and that no one could more deeply reſent the inſolence of the Duke of *Savoy*, or was more impatient than himſelf, and his whole family, to ſee him chaſtiſed for it. So that he ſeemed exceedingly concerned for the loſs of the Marquiſate, and employed ſome of his dependents to move the States to declare war againſt *Savoy*; and that, as it was not poſſible for him to go in perſon upon ſuch an expedition, becauſe he could not be ſpared from court, the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother might; who, having been appointed to conduct the war in *Dauphinè*, was already arrived at *Lions*. This propoſal gave great ſatisfaction, and pretty well abated the general uneaſineſs and diſquietude; ſo that without much delay it was unanimouſly reſolved, to turn their forces againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, for the recovery of the Marquiſate, and that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould go thither in perſon.

In the mean time, however, they obſerved that formality with ſtrangers which they had not done with the King of *Navarre*, and determined to ſend

ſend *John* Sieur *De Poigny* to the Duke of *Savoy* to demand the reſtitution of thoſe places that he had ſeized upon, and if he did not reſtore them, to declare war againſt him. After which, ſtrict orders were given to the Marquis *De Piſani*, the King's Ambaſſador to the Pope, and to Monſieur *De Mets*, Ambaſſador at *Venice*, and to all the Ambaſſadors at other courts, to make heavy complaints againſt the Duke. So that the paſſions of the people being in ſome meaſure compoſed by theſe reſolutions, ſuch a turn was given to this important affair, that it was not likely to be attended with much prejudice to the main intention of the League. 1588.

Many were at a loſs, at that time, how to account for the real cauſes that occaſioned this event of *Saluzzo*. For though it was moſt commonly reported, that all had been done with the ſecret knowledge of the League, as no-body was a ſtranger to the correſpondence that there was betwixt the Duke of *Guiſe*, the *Spaniards*, and the Duke of *Savoy*: And though the heads of the League, on the other hand, endeavoured to make it believed that it had been wholly contrived by the King; yet the wiſeſt men ſeemed to be firmly perſuaded, that it was the mere motion of the Duke of *Savoy* himſelf, who being a Prince of quick reſolution and great ambition, was determined not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity as then offered itſelf. And the proceedings of the Duke himſelf ſeemed to make this the more credible. For, after the ſeizing upon the Marquiſate, he cauſed medals to be ſtamped, on which a *Centaur* was trampling upon a Crown that lay turned upſide down on the ground, with this inſcription, OPPORTUNE, which was interpreted, that he had taken the opportunity of that conjuncture, whilſt the Crown of *France* was weakened, and in a manner ſubverted by inteſtine diviſions. It is true, people generally believed, that the Duke of *Savoy* had been quickened in his reſolution by the inſtances of his Catholick Majeſty, who was deſirous, by getting poſſeſſion of the *Alps*, to prevent a *French* army from entering into *Italy*.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Nevers*, General of the King's army in *Guyenne*, having begun the war with the King of *Navarre*, had taken *Mauleon* and *Montaut*, and though his progreſs was retarded by rains and other impediments, had laid ſiege to *Ganache*, a very ſtrong town upon the confines of *Poictou* and *Bretagne*, defended by a numerous and reſolute garriſon that was put into it by the *Hugonots*. Upon which, the favourers of the League raiſed a report, that his beſieging *Ganache*, a well fortified place, and of no advantage to the main end of the war, was only an artifice to protract time; whereas, whilſt his troops were freſh and compleat, he might eaſily have deſtroyed the King of *Navarre*, without any other aſſiſtance or preparation, who was entirely deſtitute of money, and ſo ill provided with men, that he had not ſtrength enough to make any conſiderable reſiſtance. Nor was this report altogether groundleſs, or

1588. at leaſt improbable. So that the Duke of *Guiſe* reſolved, after the States broke up, and his power of Lieutenant-General was confirmed, to go in perſon to the army, and carry on the war with more vigour. But the deliberations of the States proved longer, and were attended with more difficulties, than it was at firſt thought they would have been. For though the affair of *Savoy* was in a great meaſure determined, yet it left an impreſſion upon their minds, and diſconcerted many deſigns, and, which contributed the moſt to it, the King, in order to bring his ſecret reſolutions to maturity, interpoſed long and artful delays upon all occaſions.

It is a very ſtrange thing, that chance alone had like to have produced that bloody concluſion of the States, which the King was ſecretly meditating in his own breaſt. For the Pages and Lacquies of the Princes and Lords being divided, like their maſters, into two different factions, under the names of *Royaliſts* and *Guiſards*, and quarrelling openly every day, it happened on the 30th of *November*, about nine of the clock at night, whilſt they were all together in the courts and galleries of the caſtle, waiting for their maſters, that the Pages of the Cardinal of *Vendoſme* and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, killed one of the Duke of *Guiſe's* Pages; at the the report of which, all the reſt taking arms, every one for his party, the King's, the Cardinal of *Vendoſme's*, the Duke of *Montpenſier's*, the Prince of *Conti's*, the Count of *Soiſſons's*, the Marſhal *De Retz's*, and others, being on one ſide: and on the other, the Duke of *Guiſe's*, the Prince of *Joinville's*, the Duke of *Nemours's*, the Duke of *Elbeuf's* the Count *De Briſac's*, and many others; there enſued a very fierce and bloody fray, in which other ſervants taking part by little and little, and at laſt the ſoldiers and ſome Gentlemen, things were carried to ſuch a height, that the *Guiſards*, having the ſuperiority, forced the other party into the great room that joined to the King's apartments, and was over the Queen Mother's, where all the Lords of the court were aſſembled. The uproar was ſo great, and the outcries ſo loud, that they were heard into the town, and waked thoſe that were aſleep, who thought the Princes themſelves were fighting, and that they would all be cut to pieces in the caſtle, the gates of which were already locked. The Cardinal of *Guiſe* therefore, who lodged in the town, having put off his Cardinal's habit, and called his dependents together, immediately ran thither in armour. And on the other ſide, the Marſhal *D'Aumont* and the Duke of *Longueville*, having aſſembled the King's friends, took the ſame courſe, and had like to have met the others. All the Deputies were likewiſe in arms, and ſo great was the terror when they were certain that there was a fray in the caſtle, that many, who ran away for fear, ſpread the news, and a report was brought to *Paris*, that the whole court were cutting one another to pieces, as the truth of the matter was not yet known. But the King having put on his armour, came out

of

of his apartment, ſuſpecting that the Duke of *Guiſe* had diſcovered his ſecret intentions, and taken this courſe to be before-hand with him. All his followers, that had an opportunity, did the ſame, and being thus armed, went determined to lend their aſſiſtance where they ſhould ſee it was neceſſary. On the other hand, the Duke of *Guiſe*, who ſat talking to the Queen Mother, neither moved from his ſeat, nor changed his countenance; but apprehending it to be what indeed it was, often told the Queen ſo: and perceiving that ſome of his Gentlemen, when they ſaw their party had the advantage, expected a ſignal from him to proceed further, he kept his eyes upon the ground all the while, and turning towards the fire, gave them no opportunity at all of gueſſing at his intentions, either becauſe he did not approve of the affair, or was deſirous they ſhould proceed, but without his orders, or bringing any blame upon him. In the mean time the Sieur *De Grillon*, having commanded the ſoldiers of the guard to ſtand to their arms, put an end to the fray; as it was no difficult matter to extinguiſh the fire, when no fuel was added to it by the heads of the two parties: and thus, in the ſpace of little more than an hour, the tumult was compoſed, and every thing quiet again. An accident that had a terrible beginning, and as ridiculous an end, but ſerved to ſhew very plainly the inveterate hatred, which daily increaſed, betwixt the factions. 1588.

Things were now fully brought to maturity. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, having ſufficiently experienced the attachment of the Deputies, both in publick and in private, and grown more ſecure and confident by theſe late trials, endeavoured to have it propoſed in the Aſſembly, that he ſhould be created Lieutenant-General, at the requeſt, and by the authority, of the States, which was the ultimate object of his preſent hopes. And the King loſing his power and authority every day more and more, and ſeeing that ſtorm, which he had ſo often warded off, at laſt going to diſcharge itſelf upon him, loſt all manner of patience, and became in a manner furious and frantick, ſo that he could no longer forbear proceeding to the execution of thoſe deſigns, which he had been ſo many years in forming and bringing to maturity. His Majeſty had reſolved, from the beginning, to put the Duke of *Guiſe*, with all his chief adherents and dependents, to death, which he was incited to by the ſenſe of paſt injuries, and the apprehenſion of future dangers. Nor was he with-held from it by any other conſideration, but the reſpect which he bore to the Catholick religion, and his fear that the Pope, (who he knew was not only of a fiery and reſolute diſpoſition, but exceedingly inclined to favour the League) ſhould make uſe of his ſpiritual weapons, and ſet all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* upon him, as they ſaw he was reduced to ſo weak and dangerous a condition, by the diviſions in his kingdom. But as he was aſſured, that his Catholick Majeſty and the

1588. Duke of *Savoy* would moſt certainly be againſt him; and that the Queen of *England*, the *Swiſs*, and Proteſtants of *Germany*, would take his ſide; and the other Princes were ſo far off that they could do him but little harm, he turned his attention wholly to the Princes of *Italy*, the chief of whom was the Pope, on account of the authority of the Apoſtolick ſee, and the ſpiritual arms that were in his power. Next to him the *Venetian* Senate demanded his regard, not only for the great reputation of their wiſdom, but for the ſupplies of money which he might hope for from them in time of need. And laſtly, the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, from whom he remembered King *Charles* the ninth had received conſiderable aſſiſtance, both in men and money, during the courſe of the wars that happened in his reign.

To engage the Pope, and make him his friend, beſides the ſtrong inclination that he had ſhewn to cauſe the decrees of the Council of *Trent* to be received by the States, and the profound reſpect which he had paid, upon all occaſions, to the eccleſiaſtical order, he had alſo ſent *John* Marquis *De Piſani*, his Ambaſſador to *Rome*, a man of long experience, great addreſs, and conſummate wiſdom, who, having married a *Roman* Lady of the family of *Savelli*, was extremely well verſed in the practices of that court, and very agreeable both to the Pope himſelf and the whole Conſiſtory of Cardinals; by whoſe means he endeavoured not only to ſecure *Sixtus* in the King's intereſt, by all the demonſtrations of duty and confidence, but to ingratiate himſelf with his nephews and favourites, by all ſuch means as his ſagacity could invent. And as he imagined, that the repreſentations of the Cardinal Legate, who reſided at his court, and was eſteemed a man of ſingular prudence by his Holineſs and every one elſe, would have great weight, which ſide ſoever they ſhould favour, he ſpared no pains to make him his friend and confidant: which was not very difficult to effect, as the Cardinal was a *Venetian* by birth, and conſequently a well-wiſher to the intereſts of the Crown of *France*, and becauſe he was particularly averſe to the new and ſeditious deſigns of the League. The King, therefore, truſted him with many ſecrets, and, ſeeming to depend very much upon his advice and authority, had by his means not only obtained abſolution for the Prince of *Conti* and the Count of *Soiſſons*, to the prejudice of the League, but alſo had let him into the bottom of many private deſigns, which were carried on under the ſanction of religion, and perſuaded him to lend no further aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Guiſe*. For the ſagacity of the Cardinal, who was upon the ſpot, had fully penetrated into the true end of thoſe proceedings, which were always cloaked and diſguiſed by the friends of the other faction at *Rome*, under the ſpecious pretence of zeal for religion. So that the reports, which he took the opportunity of making at proper ſeaſons, occaſioned great doubts and perplexity

plexity in the Pope's breaſt, who often told the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and the Agents of the League, " That he could not ſee clearly into the affairs " of *France*." 1588.

It was ſtill a more eaſy matter to gain the *Venetian* Senate: for beſides the many acts of friendſhip formerly ſhewn by that Republick to *Charles* the ninth, in the greateſt exigencies of his ſtate, and beſides the royal magnificence wherewith the preſent King himſelf had been received at *Venice*, which had produced a mutual and entire confidence betwixt them: the temper of the Senate alſo was extremely averſe to any thing that tended to diſturb the publick peace, and foment new ſeditions and conſpiracies. And their own intereſts made them deſirous to promote tranquillity and union in the kingdom of *France*, under the government of its natural Sovereign, that ſo, when it was firmly compacted together, it might be a counterpoiſe to the exceſſive greatneſs of other Chriſtian potentates. Wherefore, though the King had made ſome ſcruple at firſt of admitting *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who had been appointed Ambaſſador to him from the Senate, in the room of *Giovanni Delphino*, becauſe he was not one of the college of the * *Savii di terra firma*, out of which all Ambaſſadors to crowned heads are uſually elected, yet he at laſt admitted him, and was ſo pleaſed with his prudent and peaceable behaviour, that he contracted a great intimacy with him, and affairs of very high truſt and importance were tranſacted by his means betwixt the King and the Senate.

But he took a yet more effectual courſe with *Ferdinando de Medicis*, Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*. For that Prince, having lately ſucceeded his brother *Franciſco* in the government, and having renounced the title of Cardinal to take a wife, it was thought convenient at that time to give him *Chriſtina*, the Duke of *Lorrain's* daughter, and niece to the King, who had been educated by the Queen Mother: and, to haſten the marriage, *Charles*, the natural ſon of his predeceſſor, and Grand Prior of *France*, eſpouſed her by proxy for the Grand Duke; after which the bride immediately prepared to ſet out upon her journey to meet her conſort.

After theſe preparations, the next thing that the King had to think of was, how to take the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was ſurrounded with ſo many guards, and had ſuch a number of adherents. For though he had artfully drawn the States to *Blois*, a city at his devotion, and too far off to be diſturbed by the *Pariſians*, yet the Duke was come thither ſo well prepared, and had ſo many of the Deputies entirely depending upon him, that it would be no eaſy matter to do it by force. The Queen Mother

* Magiſtrates of *Venice*, ſo called becauſe they have the principal adminiſtration of affairs by land, and the care of matters belonging to peace and war.

was

1588. was ſo ill of the gout that ſhe kept her bed; and the King, not being able to get the better of his former ſuſpicions, had neither communicated his deſign to her, nor intended it: but taking an opportunity, on *Sunday* the 18th of *December*, whilſt they were feaſting in her apartments, on account of the Grand Ducheſs's nuptials, and the whole court was engaged there, he ſecretly called the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, and *Nicholas D'Angennes* Sieur *De Ramboüillet*, who were his moſt intimate confidants, into his own cloſet, and having opened his whole deſign to them, deſired their advice in it. There was not any great difference in their opinions; as they all agreed, things were now brought to ſuch a paſs, that neceſſity obliged them to come to a reſolution of taking an effectual courſe to prevent the Duke of *Guiſe's* further attempts. But they could not ſo ſoon determine upon the means that were to be uſed: for the Marſhal *D'Aumont* was for having him boldly diſpatched; but *Ramboüillet* objected the breach of faith and of the law of nations, and thought it would be the beſt way to ſecure his perſon, and then to proceed againſt him in a judiciary manner. So that, as they could not come to any reſolution amongſt themſelves, they called in to them, the ſame night, Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, and *Lewis*, brother to *Ramboüillet*, and deſired their opinions, as it ſeemed an undertaking very difficult to be effected. After a conſultation of many hours, it was at laſt determined, that he ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and that it ſhould be contrived in the following manner. At the top of the ſtair-caſe, in the King's palace, there was a great hall, in which the Council was uſually held, and which, except upon ſuch occaſions, ſtood open and free for the common paſſage of the Courtiers: at the upper end of the hall was the door of the King's anti-chamber: on the right hand of which was his bed-chamber, and on the left the wardrobe. Right over-againſt the door of the anti-chamber was the door of the cloſet, from whence there was a way out into a large room, and from thence a back ſtair-caſe, that went into the Queen Mother's apartment. When the Council was held, the Gentlemen and Courtiers uſed to attend the Lords that went to it, as far as the hall-door at the top of the ſtairs, after which, as the door was then locked and guarded by the keepers of the Council-chamber, they commonly returned into the court, which was a very large one, with a terraſs at the bottom of it, called * *La perche aux Bretons*, *The Bretons perch*, as the people who often came out of *Bretagne* to court, in order to attend their law-ſuits, uſed for the moſt part to walk and entertain

* The *Italian* editions ſay, *La pertica de' Bertoni*. The *French* tranſlator, M. *Baudouin*, calls it *Le porche aux Bretons*, and ſays, in a note upon the place, that *La pertica* is an error of the preſs in the *Italian*, and ought to have been printed *Il Portico*. Our old *Engliſh* tranſlation likewiſe calls it, *The Bretons porch*. But the anonymous author of ſome remarks upon *Davila's* hiſtory, printed at *Paris* in the year 1665, ſays, that it was a ter-

themſelves in that place. The King and his Counſellors therefore reſolved, 1588.
that the deſign ſhould be put in execution on a Council-day, as the Duke would then be without his train, amongſt the other Lords and Counſellors in the hall, and might be ſent for by the King into his apartment, which was always cleared upon ſuch occaſions, and the doors ſhut; ſo that when he was there, ſeparated from his friends, and deprived of all aſſiſtance, he might eaſily be diſpatched: and when he was dead, they had no reaſon to fear thoſe dangers and tumults which they ſhould have done if they had been at *Paris*. When they came, in the next place, to conſider of proper perſons to execute this, the King fixed upon *Grillon*, Colonel of his guards, a bold, reſolute man, and, upon many accounts, an enemy to the Duke of *Guiſe*. But after he had ſent for, and opened his deſign to him in a gracious manner, giving him to underſtand, "That he had "pitched upon him to be the man that ſhould execute an undertaking, in "which his preſervation wholly conſiſted:" *Grillon* anſwered, in a ſhort and plain manner, "Sir, it is true, I am one of your Majeſty's moſt faith-"ful and devoted ſervants; but I am a Gentleman and a ſoldier by pro-"feſſion. If you pleaſe to command me to challenge the Duke of *Guiſe*, "and fight him hand to hand, I am ready to do it this moment; but "that I ſhould ſerve as an executioner, now your Majeſty's juſtice has "condemned him to die, is a thing that would ill become one of my "rank and profeſſion, nor will I ever do it as long as I live." The King was not much ſurprized at the bluntneſs of *Grillon*, as he and the whole court knew him to be a plain, honeſt man, and one that ſpoke his thoughts freely, without fear of any body, and therefore replied, "That "he was ſatisfied, provided he would keep the ſecret, for he had not "communicated it to any one elſe; and if it ſhould be divulged, he "would be called to an account for it." To this *Grillon* anſwered, "That he was a ſervant of honour and fidelity, and ſcorned to diſcover "the ſecrets of his maſter;" and, making his bow, left the King in great perplexity what courſe to take. In this ſtate of irreſolution he continued till the twenty-firſt: at which time, having truſted the affair to *Lognac*, one of the Gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who had been firſt brought to court by the Duke *De Joyeuſe*, and by his diſcreet, obliging behaviour and inſinuating addreſs, began to grow into very great favour, he readily

raſs at the bottom of the court, about eight or nine feet high, where the *Bretons* that were followers of Queen *Anne*, after ſhe was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, commonly ranged themſelves, either for the convenience of ſeeing the company that uſed to aſſemble in the court, or becauſe they were not much acquainted with the other people, and not over and above civilized, and for that reaſon choſe to be by themſelves. So that it being remarked, after a while, that they always *perched* themſelves upon that eminence, it was afterwards called *The Bretons perch*.

promiſed,

1588. promiſed, with ſome of the *five and forty*, who chiefly depended upon him, to execute his orders without delay. Upon this aſſurance the King determined to purſue his deſign, and to have it put in execution on the morning of the twenty-third, which was the day before *Chriſtmas* eve; and coming perſonally into council on the twenty-ſecond, he told them he deſired ſome buſineſs that nearly concerned him might be diſpatched the next morning, that he might retire, with a devout and compoſed mind, to prepare himſelf for the ſolemn feſtival that was approaching, and therefore intreated them all to come early to the council.

In the mean time, there were ſome people that ſuſpected ſuch an event, and a confuſed rumour of it had ſo far tranſpired, no body knows how, that it came to the ears of the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf; who immediately entered into a private conſultation with the Cardinal his brother and the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, whether ſuch a report was worthy of credit; and, if it was, whether he ſhould retire from the States to avoid the danger. The Cardinal ſaid, it was ſafer to err in believing too much, than in being too confident, and that he would adviſe him to incline to the ſurer ſide; and preſſed him ſo earneſtly to depart, that the Duke had once determined to go away the next morning. But the Archbiſhop oppoſed that reſolution ſo ſtrenuouſly, that he changed it almoſt as ſoon as it was taken, by repreſenting to him, what a piece of extreme levity it would be eſteemed to give credit to common fame, without the leaſt foundation: that it might be an artifice in the King to drive him away from the States, that ſo all their hopes and deſigns might fall to the ground at once, and he himſelf avoid the yoke that he ſaw preparing for him by the conſent of the States: and when he was gone, that ought to rule the inclinations, and inſpect the behaviour of the Deputies, who would be able to withſtand the artifices and authority of the King? who could reſtrain the States from coming to a reſolution, very different from what they had intended? For in his abſence, the Deputies, ſeeing themſelves deſerted, and no body to ſtand by them, muſt neceſſarily ſink under the weight of the King's authority, and out of reverence to the royal name, would paſs ſuch decrees as he pleaſed, and revoke thoſe that were formerly made; which would diſconcert every thing that had been already done, and reduce the government to its former, or perhaps a worſe condition, to the utter ruin and deſtruction of the League. That all his party would complain, and with great reaſon too, that they had been betrayed and baſely abandoned by him: after which every one, by his example, would take care of his own intereſts, and endeavour to make his peace with the King: ſo that in the end he alone would be left deſtitute and forſaken. In ſhort, that it was better, even if the danger was inevitable, to hazard only his life by ſtaying, than to loſe both life and honour at once by going away, as he certainly

certainly would do. Theſe arguments made him reſolve at leaſt to defer his departure; and the Duke of *Elbeuf* coming in at that juncture, and being acquainted with the ſubject of their deliberations, added no little ſtrength to the Archbiſhop's opinion, by aſſerting, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſo well attended, and all his faithful friends ſo firmly united together, that the King would not dare to think of ſo raſh an undertaking: and that he could not help wondering they ſhould now ſtand in ſo much awe of a power, which till then they had ever deſpiſed. Upon which the Duke of *Guiſe* took courage, and not only reſolved to ſtay till the end of the Aſſembly, but ſeemed to make no manner of account of thoſe reports that were ſpread about the court. 1588.

The evening of the twenty-ſecond being come, the King commanded Monſieur *De Larchant*, one of the captains of his guards, to double them the next morning, and to take poſt at the hall door, after the Lords were gone in to council, but to do it in ſuch a manner, that the Duke of *Guiſe* might not ſuſpect any thing. In conſequence of theſe orders, *Larchant*, having ſtaid with a conſiderable number of his men, the ſame night, till the Duke came from his apartment to the King's, went to him in the midway, and beſeeched him to recommend the caſe of thoſe poor ſoldiers, who had received no pay for many months, and now made their application to him, as the head and protector of the ſoldiery, ſaying, "That "he would wait upon him again with the ſame company the next morn-"ing, to put him in mind of ſpeaking in their behalf to the Council." To which the Duke returned a courteous anſwer, and aſſured the Captain he would take particular care that they ſhould be ſatisfied. The ſame night the King gave orders to his nephew, the Grand Prior of *France*, to make a match at tennis with the Prince of *Joinville*, the Duke of *Guiſe's* ſon, and to keep him at play till he received further inſtructions from him. In the morning the King got up before day, in order to go to Council, as he ſaid, in perſon; and pretending that he ſhould ſtay there many hours, he diſmiſſed all his ſervants, and only kept *Revol* the Secretary of State, Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, and Monſieur *De la Baſtide*, a *Gaſcon* Gentleman of great courage, whom he commanded to ſtay with him in his cloſet. In his bed-chamber there was *St. Pris*, one of his Gentlemen in waiting: in the wardrobe was the Count *De Termes*, High Chamberlain, who was the Duke of *Eſpernon's* relation: and in the anti-chamber, two pages, an uſher that waited at the door that opened into the Council-chamber, and *Loguac*, with eight of *the five and forty*, to whom the King had ſignified his pleaſure, with large promiſes, and found them all very ready to obey his orders. It was about break of day when the Counſellors met, and there went into the great hall Cardinal *Gondi*, the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, the Marſhals *D'Aumont* and *De Retz*, *Monthelon* the Keeper of

1588. the Seals, *Francis* Sieur *D'O*, *Nicholas* Sieur *De Rambouïllet*, the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, and at laſt appeared the Duke of *Guiſe*; to whom *Larchant*, ſtepping forward with a greater number of ſoldiers than the night before, preſented him a petition for their pay, and with that excuſe attended him till he entered the hall; the door of which being ſhut, the ſoldiers lined the ſtair-caſe on both ſides, ſeeming to wait there for an anſwer to their petition. At the ſame time Monſieur *Grillon* cauſed the gates of the caſtle to be locked; upon which many ſuſpected what would be the event; and *Pelicart*, the Duke's Secretary, wrote the following ſhort note to him, "My Lord, make your eſcape, "or you are a dead man;" and having wrapped it up in a handkerchief, gave it to one of the Duke's pages to carry to the keeper of the Council-chamber-door, under a pretence that the Duke had forgot it when he went out of his apartment. But the ſoldiers would not ſuffer the page to paſs. As ſoon as the Duke was come into the Council, and had ſat down near the fire, he fell into a ſhort fainting fit; whether it proceeded from the apprehenſion of the danger which he ſaw himſelf in, now he was ſeparated from all his friends and dependants; or that nature, as it often happens, gave him this warning of his approaching deſtiny; or that, as his enemies ſaid, he had been too laviſh of his embraces the laſt night, with Madam *De Marmoutier*, of whom he was moſt paſſionately enamoured. But as he quickly recovered himſelf, Secretary *Revol* came into the Council out of the anti-chamber, and told him that the King enquired for him, and deſired to ſpeak with him in his cloſet. Upon which the Duke immediately roſe from his ſeat, and having ſaluted the Counſellors with his uſual complaiſance, followed him into the anti-chamber, the door of which was inſtantly locked upon them. When he came thither, and did not ſee that reſort of company which commonly uſed to be there, as there was no body but thoſe eight Gentlemen of the King's body guard who were all well known to him, he paſſed from thence to the cloſet, and the hangings at the door of it not being held up for him, as uſual, he put out his hand to lift them up himſelf: at which inſtant *St. Malin*, one of the eight, gave him a ſtab into the neck with a dagger, and the reſt fell upon him on every ſide, whilſt he was endeavouring to draw his ſword, though he had not ſtrength enough to pull it above half way out of the ſcabbard; ſo that after he had received many wounds upon the head, and in every other part of his body, being at laſt ſtabbed by *Lognac*, upon whom he had thrown himſelf in a deſperate manner, he dropped down at the door of the wardrobe, and there breathed out the laſt ſighs of his life, without being able to ſpeak one word. The Cardinal of *Guiſe*, when he heard the diſturbance in the anti-chamber, was very well aſſured they were killing his brother; and riſing up ſuddenly

denly with the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, they both ran to the hall-door, to call for the help of their ſervants, but finding the door faſt locked, they were laid hold on by the Marſhals *D'Aumont* and *De Retz*, who told them they were the King's priſoners, and led them up a little pair of ſtairs into an upper room, where they were ſhut up and ſtrictly guarded. 1588.

At the ſame time the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, being yet in bed, on account of his age and infirmities, was ſeized upon in the caſtle, together with *Charles* Prince of *Jainville*, *Charles* of *Lorrain* Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Charles* of *Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, and *Anne D'Eſte* Ducheſs of *Nemours*, and mother to the Lords of *Guiſe*. After which, the caſtle-gates being opened and the guards ſtrongly reinforced, Monſieur *De Richlieu*, Grand *Prevôt de l'Hotel*, went into the town, where he took Preſident *Nully*, *La Chapelle Martel*, the *Prevôt des Marchands* of *Paris*, *Compan* and *Cotte-blanche*, Deputies for that city, the Lieutenant of the city of *Amiens*, the Count *De Briſac*, the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*; and at laſt, *Pelicart*, the Duke of *Guiſe's* Secretary, was alſo taken, with all the papers that belonged to his maſter: amongſt which they found letters that diſcovered ſeveral machinations both within and without the kingdom, with an account of what money he had received from *Spain*, which, according to report, amounted to two millions of ducats. All the reſt of thoſe that the King was deſirous of getting into his hands, were either concealed by the favour of the people in whoſe houſes they lodged, or by their friends in the city, or ſaved themſelves by other ways and means, and eſcaped this firſt ſally of his revenge. The corps of the Duke, being wrapped in a green cloth, was carried by the door-keepers into a great room beyond the King's cloſet, and there laid till further orders. All this was performed without any conſiderable noiſe or tumult, every one being amazed and aſtoniſhed at what was done, whilſt the boldeſt and moſt reſolute amongſt thoſe of the League, with countenances full of terror and dejection, profeſſed the moſt profound ſubmiſſion and obedience.

The firſt thing that the King did was to ſend *Revol*, the Secretary of State, to inform the Cardinal Legate of what had paſſed, and to deſire he would meet him at maſs. At the ſame time he alſo ſent to give an account of it to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, intreating him to make his excuſe to the Pope, and to aſſure the *Venetian* Senate of the infinite regard that he had for their good opinion: and then, having taken a turn or two in the cloſet, he reſolved to throw off the fox's ſkin, which he had worn for ſo many years, with infinite patience and reſtraint upon his natural diſpoſition, and to reſume the courage of the lion, which, in his younger years, he had ſhewn in ſo many renowned atchievements; and having ordered the doors to be thrown open, and every one to be admitted into his apartment, he told them, in an angry tone of voice, and with a ſtern

1588. and ſevere countenance, "That from thenceforward he would have his ſubjects learn to honour and obey him; for as he had at laſt determined to puniſh the heads of inſurrections, much more reſolutely would he proceed againſt the members: that he adviſed every one to beware of treaſon and rebellion for the future; for he was reſolved to be a King, not only in words but in deeds alſo, and that he had not forgot how to uſe his ſword." After which, he immediately left them, and went down the ſtairs into his mother's chamber.

The Queen, who was ill and in bed, heard the noiſe that was above in the King's apartments, and often aſked what was the meaning of it, but no body had the courage to tell her. When the King came in, he firſt aſked her how ſhe did: to which ſhe anſwering, "That ſhe found "herſelf ſomething better;" he replied, "And I alſo now find myſelf "much better: for this morning I have made myſelf King of *France*, by "putting the King of *Paris* to death." "You have cauſed the Duke "of *Guiſe* to be killed, replied the Queen, but God grant that you be "not now made King of nothing. You have cut out work enough; "how you will be able to execute it I cannot tell. Have you provided "againſt the ſtorm that is likely to riſe? look carefully to that. Two "things are neceſſary, expedition and reſolution." She was in ſo much pain with the gout, and ſo diſturbed in her mind, that ſhe could ſay no more: and the King went directly to meet the Legate, that they might go to maſs together.

They met near the chapel, and taking a walk together, had a long conference; in which the King endeavoured to ſhew him, that he had been forced by downright neceſſity to take that reſolution. He ſaid, that the deſigns, practices, leagues, and negociations of the Duke of *Guiſe*, were better known to the wiſdom of his Eminence than to others. That by them he had been reduced to ſuch extremities, that he could not ſave his own life and crown, without putting him to death, which, by God's aſſiſtance, had been happily effected amidſt a thouſand almoſt inſuperable difficulties, and was conformable to the juſtice of all the laws in the world. That the grievous offences were notorious and manifeſt to every one, which had been committed by him, though his natural ſubject, againſt the Majeſty of the royal name, and againſt his lawful Prince, without any reaſonable occaſion; which he had long borne with and diſſembled, out of regard to the publick tranquillity, and out of the gentleneſs of his own diſpoſition. But that after the laſt pacification, in which he had generouſly granted more to the League, than they knew how either to demand or deſire, notwithſtanding the act of oblivion of all things paſt, and the ſtrict prohibition of ſuch like practices for the time to come, the Duke of *Guiſe* perſiſting obſtinately in his firſt deſigns, in violation

violation of ſo many promiſes, ſo many oaths, and ſo many ſacraments reiterated amongſt other ſolemn ceremonies, and in the preſence of the Aſſembly of the States, which repreſented the Majeſty of the whole *French* nation, had both begun again and continued the ſame practices, leagues, and correſpondencies with foreign Princes, receiving money and penſions from *Spain*, making agreements with the Duke of *Savoy*, to the prejudice of the Crown, entering into factions and machinations with the States, to tie up the hands of his Prince, to exclude the lawful ſucceſſors from the Crown, and by ſeditious and wicked artifices to transfer the whole government to himſelf, by which he had often manifeſtly incurred the guilt of high treaſon and rebellion: ſo that juſtice neither could nor ought to forbear puniſhing him any longer, in order to put an end to the perpetual danger and diſquietude in which he kept the whole kingdom and all good men. That the common forms of judging and ſentencing could not poſſibly be obſerved; for no priſons were ſecure, nor any bonds ſufficient, to reſtrain his power: that no officers would have dared to examine him, no judge to condemn him, nor any power have been able to execute the ſentence. That he himſelf had done juſtice upon him, and had ſo many proofs of his guilt, as were more than ſufficient to convict and condemn him. That he was very well ſatisfied he had done what was right in the ſight of God, agreeable to the laws of human juſtice, and the dictates of his own conſcience, and what was neceſſary for the welfare and peace of his kingdom; and therefore intreated the Legate to report the naked truth to his Holineſs, that his enemies might not be able to deform ſo juſt and expedient an action by their uſual artifices and miſrepreſentations. 1588.

Theſe things were no news to the Legate, who was already fully informed of the reports that had been ſpread; and the King's arguments were in all likelihood agreeable to his own opinion. And as he firmly believed, that now the ſhepherd was ſmitten, the ſheep would ſoon be ſcattered, the greater part of the heads being taken, and the reſt in a manner deſtitute of ſtrength or authority ſufficient to reſiſt the King's power upon ſo ſudden an emergency, he made but little account of the popular commotion which he foreſaw would enſue, well knowing, that ſuch ſeditions were like a fire of ſtraw, which riſes with great violence, but preſently ceaſes and is extinguiſhed; and thought it would be prudent, inſtead of alienating the King from the Apoſtolick ſee, to confirm and eſtabliſh his reſolution to protect religion, and by gentle and moderate counſels to divert him from coming to a precipitate agreement with the *Huguenots*. Seeming, therefore, to think, that the Pope would lend a favourable ear to his apology, he only exhorted him to give effectual proofs that his allegations were true; the only way to do which, was to perſevere in the reſolution of

1588. of protecting the Catholick religion, and extinguiſhing hereſy; by which he would convince his Holineſs, and the whole world, that he had been obliged to act in ſuch a manner by neceſſity, and was not moved to it by any hatred that he bore to the Catholick party: whereas, if he did not perſiſt in that ſalutary and chriſtian diſpoſition, he would authenticate the reports that had been raiſed by the League, and give the world reaſon to believe, that his inclination to favour the King of *Navarre*, and ſupport the *Hugonots*, had induced him to put the chief to death, and impriſon the principal members of the Catholick union. This point ſeemed of ſo great importance to the Legate, that he expatiated largely upon it, till the King aſſured him with an oath, that if the Pope would heartily join counſels and forces with him, he would attempt the extirpation of hereſy with more vigour than ever, and that he was firmly reſolved to ſuffer the exerciſe of no other religion but the Catholick in his kingdom. After this aſſeveration, which was accompanied with many earneſt expreſſions and geſtures, the Legate made no ſcruple of treating with his Majeſty with the ſame intimacy and confidence that he had done before, imagining he had gained a point that would give ſufficient ſatisfaction to the Pope; as the King, though highly exaſperated by the injurious proceedings of the League, yet ſeemed ſteddy in his obedience to the Holy See, and veneration for the *Roman* religion; and determined, though the Duke of *Guiſe* was taken off, ſtill to keep up the Catholick union, and to make war upon the *Hugonots*. Upon which account he gave the King good hopes, that his Holineſs would be ſatisfied with his reaſons; and declined entering into any further particulars at that conference, as he thought he ſhould have leiſure enough afterwards to ſollicit the releaſe of the Cardinals; and was not willing, in a time of ſo great diſtraction, and at a conjuncture when the King's reſolution might waver, to preſs things forwards in an unſeaſonable manner, but to proceed with mature deliberation, firſt to ſettle the publick, and then to adjuſt private intereſts.

But the King having conceived great hopes from what the Legate had ſaid, and perceiving, that he did not ſeem to concern himſelf much about the impriſonment of the Cardinals and other Prelates, reſolved to purſue his blow, and to rid himſelf of the Cardinal of *Guiſe* alſo, who would be altogether as reſolute and formidable a head of the League as ever his brother had been. For which purpoſe, having tried all *the five and forty*, and found them unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Cardinal, he ordered *Du Gaſt*, one of the Captains of his guard, to have him put to death the next morning by his ſoldiers. Accordingly, on the morning of the 24th, which was *Chriſtmas-eve*, Captain *Gaſt* went to the room, where the Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Lions* had paſſed the night

in great fear, confeſſing each other, and watching in continual prayer, and told the Archbiſhop, "He muſt follow him, for the King had ſome-"thing to ſay to him." Upon which the Cardinal, imagining they were leading him to execution, called out to him, "My Lord Archbiſhop, "think upon God." But the Archbiſhop, judging more rightly than he, and that he might not be wanting in the ſame good office, replied, "It behoves you to do ſo too, my Lord Cardinal." When *Gaſt* had taken the Archbiſhop into another room, he returned to the Cardinal, and told him, "He had his Majeſty's orders to put him to death." To which he replied, "That he only deſired a few moments to recommend his "ſoul to God." This being granted, he kneeled down, and made a ſhort prayer; and having covered his face with the lower part of his robe, undauntedly ſaid, "You may now execute your maſter's commands:" upon which, four ſoldiers inſtantly diſpatched him with their partizans, and carried his body to the place where the Duke's lay. But the King being aprehenſive, that if the bodies ſhould be expoſed, it might occaſion ſome tumult, ordered them to be immediately buried in quick lime, by the advice of his Phyſician; ſo that all the fleſh was conſumed in a few hours, and their bones were afterwards interred in a place that was not made known to any one; as it was thought proper to remove thoſe tragical objects from the publick view, which often excite ſuch ſtrange and ſudden emotions in the populace. Neither could the King himſelf bear to look at them. Nor did any of the court ſee them after their death, excepting thoſe few who were obliged to be preſent at it. His Majeſty being deſirous by all means to avoid the imputation of barbarity, or triumphing over the dead, by feeding his eyes with ſo ſad a ſpectacle. 1588.

In this manner died *Henry* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, a Prince illuſtrious indeed by his high birth, and the merit and greatneſs of his anceſtors; but much more reſpectable for his own extraordinary worth. For he was endowed with many excellent qualifications, quickneſs in comprehending, prudence in reſolving, boldneſs in executing, courage in battle, magnanimity in proſperity, conſtancy in adverſity, popular in his behaviour, affable in converſation, infinitely ſtudious to oblige every one and gain their affections: of a liberality worthy of the moſt affluent fortune, ſecrecy and policy equal to the greatneſs of his deſigns, a ready and active genius, pregnant with ſuch expedients and reſolutions as occaſion required, and very well adapted to the times he lived in. Theſe qualities of the mind were attended with bodily accompliſhments, no leſs commendable; patient endurance of labour, ſingular ſobriety, a majeſtick, yet gracious aſpect, a robuſt ſoldierlike conſtitution, joined with ſo much ſtrength and agility of limbs, that he was often ſeen to ſwim in all his armour againſt the

ſtream

1588. ſtream of rapid rivers, and far exceeded all other men in wreſtling, tennis, and military exerciſes. In ſhort, the vigour of his mind ſo perfectly anſwered to that of his body, that he was not only held in univerſal admiration, but extorted praiſes even from the mouths of his enemies. Yet theſe great virtues were not without the defects of human frailty. For hypocriſy and diſſimulation were in a manner natural to him: and vain-glory and ambition were ſo rooted in his conſtitution, that they made him aſpire to the command of the Catholick faction from the very beginning, and in courſe of time, from the neceſſity of ſecuring himſelf againſt the ſtratagems and artifices of the King, eaſily put him upon the raſh deſign that he had formed, of transferring the crown to himſelf, though by very dark and dangerous practices. So that at laſt, the boldneſs of his own diſpoſition, and the contempt in which he held all others, precipitately hurried him to his utter deſtruction.

Lewis the Cardinal, though he came far ſhort, yet imitated the courage and virtues of his brother. For he always ſhewed a lively and active ſpirit, great conſtancy, and magnanimity equal to his birth: but the turbulency and raſhneſs of his nature, took off very much from the opinion which had been at firſt conceived of him. His too great ardour, his deſire of change, his contempt of danger, his reſtleſs ſpirit, which have ſome kind of luſtre in a military profeſſion, ſeemed not to have the ſame decency in a ſpiritual life and an eccleſiaſtical habit.

After the execution of the two brothers was over, the reſt that had been ſeized upon, were confined and guarded in different manners. The Duke of *Nemours*, having either corrupted his keepers, or taking the advantage of their negligence, or, as many imagined, by the permiſſion and connivance of the King himſelf, (who was ſo well acquainted with his temper, that he thought him more likely to perplex and embroil, than to re-eſtabliſh and promote the affairs of the League) made his eſcape on the fourth day, from the place where he was not very carefully watched, and taking bye-roads, went ſecretly, with only one ſervant, towards *Paris*. *Anne d'Eſte*, mother to him and the deceaſed Princes of *Lorrain*, was alſo voluntarily ſet at liberty by the King, ſeemingly with much compaſſion, either out of regard to her age, or the ſplendour of her extraction, as ſhe was grand-daughter to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*. *La Chapelle Martel*, *Compan*, *Cotteblanche*, the Lieutenant of *Amiens*, the Count *De Briſac*, and the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*, were releaſed, becauſe they were of the number of the Deputies, and were demanded by the Aſſembly of the States, which complained, that the law of nations was violated, as the Deputies were Ambaſſadors from their ſeveral provinces. The Archbiſhop of *Lions* was not ſo eaſily diſmiſſed, though he was one of the

the Deputies, nay Preſident of the Clergy. For the King having often 1588.
deſired to have him examined, ſometimes by the Archbiſhop of *Beauvais*, as he was a Peer of *France*, ſometimes by the Cardinal of *Gondi*, ſometimes by the Judges of the Great Council, he had always refuſed to anſwer, that he might not prejudice the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, in which, as Primate of all *France*, he ſaid he had no ſuperior but the Apoſtolick See: whilſt the King and his Miniſters alledged, that they impeached him, not as the Archbiſhop of *Lions* (though as ſuch, in matters of treaſon and rebellion, the King conceived he had juriſdiction over him) but as a Counſellor of State. So that his Majeſty being highly provoked, and taking it for granted, that his refuſing to anſwer proceeded from a guilty conſcience, would not hear of his enlargement, though his nephew, the Baron *De Luz*, took great pains to procure it, and the Deputies made heavy complaints. *Pelicart*, Secretary to the deceaſed Duke, and ſome others of his neareſt friends, were interrogated over and over again, and when the examiners had drawn from them all that they could, were ſet at liberty by the King's command, who diſdained the thoughts of ſtaining his hands with mean blood. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who wept like a child at the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, and bitterly lamented his own misfortune: The Duke of *Elbeuf*, who had fallen into ſuch a degree of melancholy and deſpair, that he would neither change his cloaths, nor ſuffer his hair to be cut, nor take any ſuch care of his perſon as common decency required: The Prince of *Jainville*, who, after the death of his father, was called the Duke of *Guiſe*; together with the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, were, after a few days, conducted by the King himſelf to the caſtle of *Amboiſe*, where they were confined in ſeparate apartments, under the inſpection of Captain *Du Gaſt*, with a ſtrong garriſon, and ſtrict orders to keep them in ſafe cuſtody.

The Cardinal was no ſooner put to death, but Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* took poſt and went to *Lions*, where *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, third brother of the houſe of *Guiſe*, was at that time on his road to *Dauphinè*, to take upon him the command of the army, that was deſtined to make war upon the *Hugonots* in that province. He had orders to ſeize the Duke immediately upon his arrival there, and commit him to priſon; but was prevented from ſo doing by *Camillo Tolomei*, and the Sieur *De Chaſeron*, who ſecretly left *Blois* the ſame day that the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed, and having got in diſguiſe to *Orleans*, took the road towards *Lions* with the utmoſt expedition: So that upon *Chriſtmas-day* in the evening, about ſun-ſet, the Duke left the city, and retired to *Dijon*, a place under his government, at the ſame time that the Colonel entered it by another gate, to execute the commiſſion he had received. And as he was the only one

1588. of the three brothers that eſcaped the ſnare, the hopes of the League were now wholly founded in his wiſdom and valour alone.

The laſt act of the tragedy at *Blois* was cloſed by the death of the Queen Mother, who having been long afflicted with the gout, and at laſt viſited with a ſlow fever, and a violent defluxion of humours, departed this life on the 5th of *January*, 1589, being the eve of the *Epiphany*, a day that uſed to be celebrated with great feſtivity by the court and the whole kingdom of *France*. The qualities of this Princeſs, ſo famed throughout all *Europe* for the ſpace of thirty years together, may better be underſtood from the context of things that have been related, than deſcribed by a pen, or comprehended in a ſhort character. She never was at a loſs for expedients to remedy the ſudden changes of fortune, and to defeat the machinations of wicked men. During the minority of her ſons, ſhe alone ſupported the weight of ſo many civil wars, contending at once with the diſcords occaſioned by diverſity of religions, with the contumacy of her ſubjects, the neceſſities of the treaſury, the diſſimulation of the great men, and the dreadful effects of ambition; ſo that her wiſdom ought rather to be admired diſtinctly in every particular action, than confuſedly ſketched in a general draught of her virtues. The ſpirit and conſtancy with which ſhe, though a ſtranger, both entered into and maintained a competition for the whole power of the government with ſo potent rivals; the methods by which ſhe obtained it, and the firmneſs with which ſhe ſupported it, againſt the joint attacks of force and art, looked more like the conduct and courage of a man, long practiſed and hardened in the affairs of the world, than of a woman, accuſtomed to the delicacies of a court, and kept ſo low during the life of her huſband. But the patience, the addreſs, the equanimity and moderation, which, under the diſadvantage of the unreaſonable ſuſpicion that her ſon had conceived of her, enabled her ſtill to maintain ſo much authority in the government, that without her advice and conſent he durſt not proceed in thoſe very things wherein he moſt ſuſpected her, were the higheſt proof and maſter-piece of her great abilities. Beſides theſe endowments, which plainly appear in the courſe of her actions already related, ſhe had many others, with which ſhe corrected the frailties and infirmities of the female ſex, and always kept thoſe paſſions under ſtrict command, which often cauſe the brighteſt parts to wander from the paths of virtue. To theſe were joined a ſprightly turn of genius, royal magnificence, popular affability, a weighty and affecting manner of ſpeaking: to the good, ſhe was a bountiful friend, to the evil a bitter and irreconcileable enemy, and of a temper not too fondly inclined to favour and advance her dependents. Yet, for all this, as ſhe was an *Italian*, her virtues were deſpiſed by the *French* pride, and thoſe that wanted

to

to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, mortally hated her, as an obſtacle to their deſigns. The *Hugonots* in particular, blaſted her name; whilſt ſhe lived, with poiſonous libels and defamatory narratives, and poured the bittereſt curſes and execrations upon her memory when ſhe was dead. And a certain writer, who rather deſerves the name of a ſatyriſt than an hiſtorian, has taken much pains to make her actions appear very different from what they really were: often, either out of ignorance or malice, attributing the cauſes of her reſolutions to a perverſeneſs of nature, and an inſatiable thirſt of power; tarniſhing and depreciating the merit of thoſe labours, which, in the midſt of ſo many impending dangers, did, more than once, effectually preſerve the kingdom from utter ſubverſion. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that ſome tares of human frailty ſprung up amongſt ſo many eminent virtues. For ſhe was looked upon to be exceſſively deceitful and full of hypocriſy; a vice indeed which has been too common in all times, but ſeemed to be the particular characteriſtick of that age: greedy, or rather prodigal of human blood, much more than became the tenderneſs of the female ſex: and it appeared, on many occaſions, that, to attain good ends, ſhe thought all means allowable, that in any wiſe conduced to it, though they were never ſo unjuſt and perfidious. But ſurely, with candid judges, the conſideration of ſo many excellent qualities, will, in a great meaſure, cover thoſe defects, which were occaſioned by the urgency of affairs and the neceſſities of the times. 1588.

The King was preſent, and in extreme affliction, at the laſt gaſp of her life, which ſhe concluded in a very Chriſtian manner: and her death was honoured not only with his tears, but with exceeding great lamentation by the whole court: though her funeral was haſtened in ſuch a manner, by the diſtracted ſtate of affairs, that he was prevented from ſolemnizing it with his uſual magnificence. Her heirs were *Chriſtina* of *Lorrain*, wife to *Ferdinando* Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*; and *Charles* the Grand Prior of *France*, natural ſon to *Charles* the ninth, who from thence took the title of Count *D'Auvergne*. She left many legacies alſo to her ſervants; but the exigencies of the times that enſued, and ſome debts which her liberality had obliged her to contract, in a great meaſure ſwallowed up both the inheritance and the legacies.

The End of the Ninth Book, and of the Firſt Volume.

ERRATA

To VOL. I.

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